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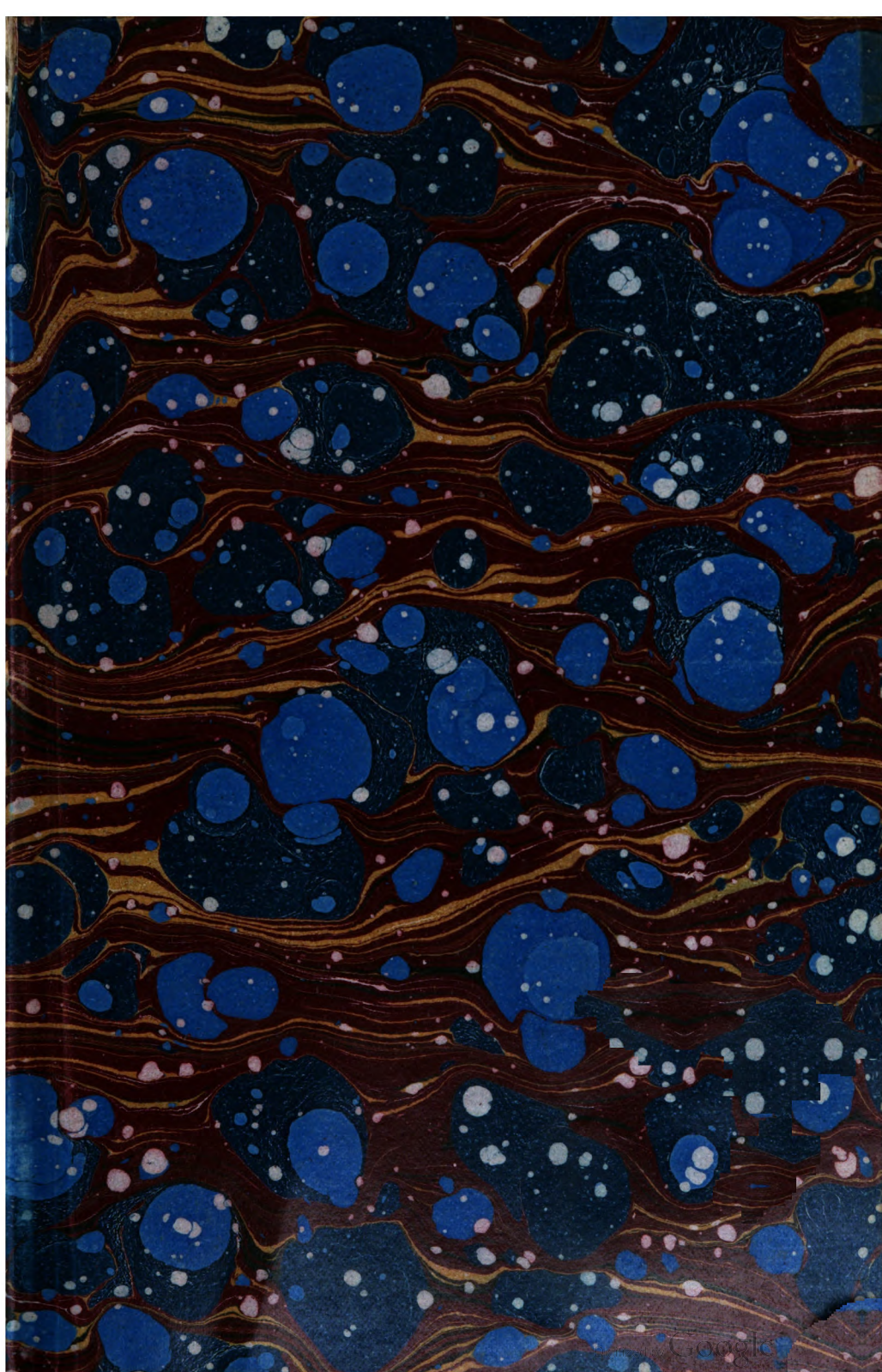
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VINAYA TEXTS

TRANSLATED FROM THE PĀLI

BY

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS

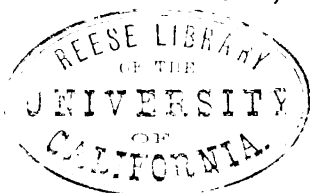
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HERMANN OLDENBERG

PART I

THE PĀTIMOKKHA

THE MAHĀVAGGA, I—IV



Orford

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

VINAYA TEXTS FROM THE PÂLI.

IN the present MSS. the Vinaya Piṭaka is divided into the following books :

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|--------------------|---|
| 1. Pârâgika, | } called collectively the Sutta-vibhaṅga. |
| 2. Pâkittiya, | |
| 3. Mahâvagga, | } called collectively the Khandhakas. |
| 4. Kullavagga, | |
| 5. Parivâra-pâṭha. | |

These books constitute that part of the sacred literature of the Buddhists which contains the regulations for the outward life of the members of the Buddhist Saṃgha—nearly the oldest, and probably the most influential, of all Fraternities of monks.

It is impossible to frame any narrower definition of the Vinaya than this, since the gradual change of circumstances in the Fraternity resulted in a gradual change also in the Vinaya itself. To give any more detailed account of what the Vinaya is, it will be necessary to trace what can be at present ascertained of its history; to show—that is, so far as it is yet possible to do so—the causes which led to the establishment of the oldest Rules and Ceremonies of the Order, and to follow step by step the accretions of new literary work around this older nucleus.

For this purpose we propose to consider first the Rules of the work called the Pâtimokkha; for the later texts presuppose its existence. It is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, of all Buddhist text-books; and it has been

inserted in its entirety into the first part of the Vinaya, the Vibhaṅga¹.

The Pātimokkha—the meaning of the name will be discussed later on—seems to have owed its existence to the ancient Indian custom of holding sacred two periods in each month, the times of the Full Moon and of the New Moon.

The Vedic ceremonies of the *Darsapūrṇamāsa* sacrifice, and of the feast or sacred day (*Upavasatha*) connected with it, are known to have been very old, and the custom of celebrating these days would naturally be handed on from the Brāhmins to the different *Samanas*, and be modified and simplified (though, as it seems, sometimes increased in number) by them, in accordance with their creeds and their views of religious duty. According to Buddhist tradition²—and we see no sufficient reason for doubting the correctness of the account—the monks of other, that is, of non-Buddhistic sects, used to meet together at the middle and at the close of every half-month, and were accustomed then to proclaim their new teaching in public. At such times the people would crowd together; and the different sects found an opportunity of increasing their numbers and their influence.

The Buddhists also adopted the custom of these periodical meetings, but confined themselves to meeting twice in each month³. And the peculiarity which gave to these meetings among the Buddhists their distinguishing character seems to have been borrowed by them neither from the Brāhmins nor from other dissenters, but to have been an original invention of the Buddhists themselves. The Brethren and Sisters made use of these half-monthly gatherings to confess to the assembled Order the sins and faults which each of them had committed; and to take upon himself, or herself, the penance which the transgressor had thereby incurred. It would be unnecessary to dwell here upon the details of these penitential meetings, as we can

¹ The opening sentence only is found in the *Mahāvagga*. See below, p. xv.

² *Mahāvagga* II, 1, 1.

³ *Ibid.* II, 4, 2.

refer the reader to the second book of the Mahāvagga, where he will find them fully set out.

It was for use at such penitential gatherings that the text, now known as the Pātimokkha, was composed. A list was drawn up—which of course it would be necessary from time to time to complete, and rectify—of those offences which ought to be confessed and atoned for; this list was read out in the half-monthly meetings of the Order; and the Brethren and Sisters who were present were asked if they were innocent of each one of the offences therein mentioned.

The use of such a list must have already begun in very early times. Tradition even ascribes the first laying down of each clause to the Buddha himself. This tradition is of course very far from being conclusive; but neither should we hold it impossible that the Pātimokkha, either in its present shape, or at least in its most essential parts, can reach back to the Buddha's own time, or to that of his personal disciples.

It is no doubt natural, through the influence of the history of early Christianity, or perhaps of the school of Socrates, to imagine that early Buddhism was far removed from all fixed and absolute forms, either of creed or of liturgy; and to represent the intercourse of Gotama and his disciples as purely and simply an interchange of spiritual edification, where the spirit was all in all, and the letter was nothing. But it should be remembered that Gotama continued to live for many years, almost for two generations, after he had formulated the essential points of his system, and after he had founded the brotherhood of his Order. And at that time the stream of scholastic and legal ideas which emanated from the earlier Brāhmanism was flowing in full force through the religious circles of India. A rich phraseology of sacred and ecclesiastical expressions, an armoury of technical terms in philosophy and in theology (still preserved in the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads), had been developed and made ready for the use of the Buddhists, and Gainas, and other reforming schools. And earlier speculation had raised a whole series of pro-

blems, and long-continued custom had elaborated a multifarious system of ecclesiastical observances, which the newly risen sects, orthodox or heretical, could grapple with, or could adopt. It seems to us that Gotama's disciples, from the very beginning, were much more than a free and informal union of men held together merely through their common reverence for their Master, and through a common spiritual aim. They formed rather, and from the first, an organised Brotherhood.

But if we look upon the *Sakyaputtiya Samanas*—for that is the name which the people in the earliest times gave to the community—as from the first an organised body, it is highly probable that the earliest formularies, both of their creeds and of their liturgies, arose in a time, if not during the life of Gotama, yet at most not long after his decease. Now among the oldest expressions of belief we may with certainty rank the four sentences known as the Four Noble Truths and the summary of the so-called Noble Eightfold Path: and the oldest liturgical formularies preserved to us are, without any doubt, the *Pātimokkha* and the various *Kammavākas*. It is true that these liturgical formularies, being so much more extensive, may possibly have been modified or added to before they reached the form in which we now possess them; but there is not the slightest trace of any other liturgies having ever been in use in the Buddhist fraternity.

It is of course impossible to attempt to draw a line between the part which Gotama himself may have had in the settlement of the list of offences contained in the *Pātimokkha*, and the part that may have been taken by his disciples. Nor indeed, considering the limited character of our knowledge, is that a point of much importance. But it should perhaps be noticed in this connection that Buddhist tradition does ascribe to one among Gotama's disciples—to Upāli—an especial connection with the Vinaya. This tradition reaches back at least as far as the time when the existing recension of the Pāli *Piṭakas* was made, for we find it both in the *Sutta-* and in the *Vinaya-Piṭakas*.

Thus in the *Kullavagga* (VI, 13, 1) we find the passage—
 ‘At that time the Blessed One proclaimed the Vinaya in many a way to the Bhikkhus, exalted the Vinaya, exalted the learning of the Vinaya, exalted again and again the venerable Upâli. Then thought the Bhikkhus, “The Blessed One hath proclaimed the Vinaya in many a way, hath exalted the Vinaya, hath exalted the learning of the Vinaya, hath exalted again and again the venerable Upâli. Come now let us learn the Vinaya from the venerable Upâli.” And so many Bhikkhus, old and middle-aged and young, learnt the Vinaya from the venerable Upâli.’

And again in a Sutta of the *Aṅguttara Nikâya*¹, where those Bhikkhus are enumerated who, in any particular respect, are the first and foremost in the Brotherhood, Upâli is mentioned as the first among the custodians of the Vinaya (the Vinaya-dharâ). And further, as is well known, it is Upâli who, according to the tradition, plays, at the First Council, the same part of propounder with regard to the Vinaya Texts which Ānanda does with regard to the Dhamma Texts². There may well be some truth in this very ancient tradition that Upâli was specially conversant with the Rules of the Order; but it would be hazardous on that account to ascribe to Upâli a share, not only in the handing down of existing Rules, but in the composition of the *Pâtimokkha* itself³.

As regards the order in which the various offences are arranged in the *Pâtimokkha*, the principal division corresponds to the division of the Order into Brethren and Sisters: there is a *Bhikkhu-pâtimokkha* and a *Bhikkhunî-pâtimokkha*. In each of these two chief divisions the offences are divided into various classes, beginning with the heaviest—with those, that is, that result in the exclu-

¹ Phayre MS., vol. i. fol. kau.

² *Kullavagga* XII.

³ In the Ceylon Chroniclers (*Dīpavamsa*, *Bhānavāras* 4 and 5) Upâli even becomes the first in a series of *Vinaya-pāṃokkhā*, or ‘Chiefs of the Vinaya;’ but no such office is known to the older tradition; and had it existed it would certainly have been mentioned in connection with the dispute about the so-called Ten Points of the Vinaya at the Council of Vesālī.

sion of the offender from the Order. Inside each class the sequence of the clauses follows no invariable rule. Sometimes offences of a related character are placed together in groups¹, but sometimes those which would naturally come together are found scattered in quite different parts of the same class². It is perhaps worthy of notice that there sometimes seems, as in the two cases first mentioned in the last note, to be an effort to arrange the offences in groups (*vagga*) of ten : and in three cases we find regulations formulated with the utmost brevity (the offences being merely expressed by a locative case dependent upon *pāṭittiyaṃ*) at the commencement of such a *vagga*. It seems to us, at least in the present state of our knowledge, quite impossible to draw any conclusions from such peculiarities as to the comparative age of any different parts of the *Pātimokkha*. The irregularities in arrangement may very well be due to want of literary clearness in the compilers of the present Form of Confession, and it would be hazardous to attempt to trace in it any historical argument.

The various points in regard to the *Pātimokkha* dealt with in the foregoing paragraphs do not of themselves show that it was at all older than the rest of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* ; and indeed the work, as a separate work, is not considered among Buddhists to belong to the *Piṭakas* at all, and is therefore not included in the list of works of which the *Piṭakas* consist. But every single Rule or Clause in the *Pātimokkha* is in fact found word for word in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, the quotations being so complete that the *Pātimokkha* might be entirely put together again by piecing together extracts from the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. And it is not possible that the *Pātimokkha* originated merely by such a process of dovetailing ; for the quotations in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, though not actually called quotations, bear the unmistakable stamp of being taken from some pre-existing work. The cause which led to the *Pātimokkha*, and the

¹ For instance, regulations as to the conduct of Brethren towards Sisters come together in *Pāṭittiya* 21-30 ; those about meal-times in *Pāṭittiya* 31-40 ; about conduct in relation to armies in *Pāṭittiya* 48-50.

² For instance, *Pāṭittiya* 5, 6, and 43-45 ; and again, *Pāṭittiya* 20 and 62, &c.

Upasampadâ-kammavâṭa, being separately preserved at all, is the same as the cause which led to their exclusion from the lists of the Piṭaka texts—the fact, that is, of their being liturgical compositions.

We turn now to the consideration of the question how a series of further literary productions were gradually developed out of, or added to the Pâtimokkha¹.

Whoever reads through the Mahâvagga will at once be struck by one section of it which differs completely both in contents and in form from the rest of the work. This is the section in the Second Book, Chapter III, paragraphs 4–8.

This passage is preceded by the opening words of the Pâtimokkha; and in the passage itself those words are separately paraphrased or explained. But the explanation does not appear to be put into the mouth of the Buddha; it bears rather, without any historical or conversational form, the impersonal shape of a simple commentary: and it only differs from the later commentaries by peculiar solemn diffuseness and rhetorical tautology.

If we were to consider the Mahâvagga only, the sudden and unexplained appearance in this connection, and in this connection only, of an isolated passage of this kind, would have to remain an insoluble puzzle. But when we look further into the other parts of the Vinaya Piṭaka, an answer immediately suggests itself. In the portion of that Piṭaka which is better called the Sutta-vibhaṅga, but is divided in the MSS. into two divisions, under the somewhat misleading titles of Pârâgika and Pâḷittiya, we find, at regularly recurring intervals, passages of an exactly similar character, and without any doubt of the same origin, as the isolated passage in the Mahâvagga.

The Sutta-vibhaṅga is occupied with laying down and explaining all the Rules which are contained in the Pâtimokkha. Now, immediately after the text of each of these Rules, there is found a word for word commentary upon

¹ With the following paragraphs should be compared H. Oldenberg in the Introduction to his edition of the Pâli text of the Vinaya, vol. i. pp. xvi and following.

them—precisely as a word for word commentary follows, in the passage above cited in the Mahāvagga, upon the quoted words of the Introductory Formular of the Pātimokkha service. Here then lies the explanation. This Introductory Formular is the only passage contained in the Pātimokkha which is not found also in the Sutta-vibhaṅga. And with the explanation of the curiously isolated passage in the Mahāvagga we have also a new fact of very great importance. Not only does the Vinaya Piṭaka contain, word for word, the whole of the Pātimokkha, but it contains also, and again word for word, the whole of an ancient Commentary on the Pātimokkha.

This commentary no longer exists as a separate work, and it would indeed be strange if it did. It was not required in the simple liturgical services of Ordination and Confession in use in the Order: and if any one wished to refer to it, in order to refresh his memory as to the explanation of any passage in the Pātimokkha, he had only to repeat, or to get repeated over to him, the corresponding passage from the Sutta-vibhaṅga. There he would find the Old Commentary (as we shall hereafter call it) word for word, together with the additional commentary by which it had been supplemented in later times.

A question may then possibly occur to the reader whether we can be really sure that the Old Commentary has been preserved complete, or whether what we have is a fragment only. We think there can be but little doubt as to the right answer. The Pātimokkha, which the Old Commentary deals with word by word, has been separately preserved to us, and we know that no one phrase of it remains uncommented upon. And further it is clear from several passages that the words of the old commentator were considered so sacred or authoritative that they have been kept intact even in cases where they are in contradiction to the later parts of the Vinaya Piṭaka¹. It should however be noted that this Old Commentary is philological

¹ See, for instance, the comparison made by Oldenberg in the Introduction to his edition of the text, vol. i. p. xviii. The Old Commentary follows of course the passage there referred to in the Pātimokkha.

and exegetical throughout, containing nothing of a legendary or quasi-historical nature. It is just possible to suggest that it may have originally contained not only such an explanation of the meaning of each Rule, but an account also of the occasion on which the Rule was laid down. But it is difficult to see why greater sacredness should have been attached to one part of the work than to another; or to explain how it was that, if any part was changed, the contradictory passages above referred to were not also altered. Every probability therefore points to the conclusion that we have the complete work still before us, and not fragments of it only.

It seems to us to have been precisely the absence of any such historical account in the older Commentary which probably led to the formation of what was practically the new edition of the Pâtimokkha which now lies before us in the first part of the Vinaya Piṭaka.

In the earliest books of the Sutta Piṭaka, which contains the statement of Buddhist belief, we find—just as in the Gospels and in the Socratic dialogues—that that belief is not stated directly. The books profess to give, not simply the belief itself, but the belief as the Buddha uttered it, with an account of the time when, and the place at which, he uttered it. The Buddha's new method of salvation, his new doctrine of what salvation was, did not present itself to the consciousness of the early Buddhist community as an idea, a doctrine, standing alone, and merely on its own merits. In their minds it was indissolubly bound up with the memory of the revered and striking personality of him who had proclaimed it. So in the Sutta Piṭaka the actor and speaker is almost throughout the Buddha himself: (occasionally, but very seldom, one of his disciples.) Introductions—often indeed short and tending in later times to disappear—give a full account of where, and when, he spoke; what was the occasion which led to his uttering that particular speech; and to whom he uttered it. But, throughout, the principal thing is what the Buddha said.

It is only natural that this distinguishing mark of the

literature of the Buddhist Dhamma—much of which was no doubt in existence at a very early date—should have reacted upon the literature of the Buddhist Vinaya. The members of the Order were no longer contented to learn, and to understand the meaning of, the various Rules of the Pātimokkha. A desire sprang up to have, for each one of them also, a kind of historical basis; to know the story of how the Buddha himself came to lay down the Rule to his disciples. And it was only the Brother who was properly acquainted with all this who was accounted a real ‘Doctor of the Law.’

So it is said in the *Kullavagga* (IX, 5, 1):—‘If a Brother, Upāli, has not received gladly both the Pātimokkhas in their full extent, has not well divided them, well established them, well investigated them, both sutta by sutta, and in every detail; if when asked, “Where was this spoken by the Blessed One?” he fail to solve the question: then there will be some who will say to him, “But then, let the venerable one still devote himself to learning the Vinaya!” thus will they say¹.’

It is evident from this passage that, at the time when it was written, such a tradition regarding each Rule was in existence; and that the knowledge of these traditions was held in high esteem. It is therefore a reasonable conjecture that steps were taken to amalgamate these traditions with the Text and the Old Commentary in a complete work, which should also contain what we may call Notes on the Rules—that is, decisions on points of Law involved, though not expressed in so many words, in the Rules; discussions on what cases were really included and what were not, in particular regulations; enumeration of exceptions to the Rules; and so on.

Whether this conjecture be right or not, it is precisely such a work that we have now before us in that part of the Vinaya Piṭaka called the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, and divided

¹ No ke Upāli bhikkhuno ubhayāni Pātimokkhāni vitthārena svāgatāni honti suvibhattāni suppvattāni suviniṭṭhitāni suttato anuvyañṅanaso, idam pan’ āvuso kattha vuttam Bhagavatā ‘ti iti puttiko na sampāyati, tassa bhavanti vattāro: Iṅgha tāva āyasmā Vinayam pariyāpunassū ‘ti: iti ‘ssa bhavanti vattāro.

in the present MSS., as above pointed out, into two books called respectively—after the class of Rules with which they begin—*Pârâgika* and *Pâḷittiya*. And it is possible throughout, without the possibility of mistake, to distinguish between the three portions of which the present work is built up. The historical basis comes first, leading up to the extract from the *Pâtimokkha*, which is always placed in the Buddha's own mouth; then comes the Old Commentary, with its verbal explanations; and then, finally, the Notes giving the exceptions to, and the extensions of, the Rule in the *Pâtimokkha*.

The foregoing paragraphs show the way in which the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* grew up on the basis of the *Pâtimokkha*. The following books—the *Khandhakas*—give a detailed and connected account of the admission into the *Samgha*; of the ceremony of the *Uposatha*; of the annually recurring observances connected with the beginning and the end of the rainy season; of the principal disciplinary proceedings; and of miscellaneous details regarding the medicine, food, dwelling-places, and daily life of the members of the Order (*Bhikkhus*). As in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, so here also, the outward form is arranged in such a way that in the case of every regulation a history was given of the occasion upon which the Buddha was supposed to have made it. These histories again lead up, in most cases, to a liturgical formula by which the regulation was to be carried out.

While, however, in the case of the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* the liturgy on which it has been founded has been preserved in a separate shape, the formularies in the *Khandhakas* have not as yet, except in some instances, been found in existence apart from the *Khandhakas*. The principal exception is the *Upasampadâ-kammavâḷa* (The Words of the Act of Ordination), which recurs in its entirety in the First *Khandhaka* of the *Mahāvagga* (I, 76, 3 to I, 78, 5). It is impossible therefore as yet to trace the history of the gradual formation of the *Khandhakas* as we think it already possible to do in the case of the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*.

In the *Khandhakas* too, no doubt, the introductory

histories are the latest part. But while some of the formularies and regulations to which they lead up may well be very old, others are probably additions to, or modifications of, those older ones; and it is difficult to attempt to show, even with regard to the exceptions above mentioned, which are the older and which are the later. The misfortune that these forms are not all now separately extant¹ is probably simply due to the fact that the formularies separately preserved (including the Pâtimokkha) are the only ones which continued to be used in actual services among the members of the Order.

Such being the nature and contents, and such—so far as it can be traced—being the origin of the Sutta-vibhaṅga and of the Khandhakas respectively, it follows that in all probability they were composed, or put into their present shape, at about the same period in the development of early Buddhism—it is even possible that both works arose in immediate connection.

The kind of narrative setting with which, in both cases, the older material has been surrounded is alike in both. Here and there in both works are included real fragments of ancient legend or tradition—as, for instance, the account of the events from the attainment of Buddhahood down to the conversion of Sâriputta and Moggallâna (*Mahāvagga* I, 1–24), the story of Devadatta (*Kullavagga* VII), the story of the conversion and the sin of Sudinna (*Vibhaṅga*, First Pârâgika). But the greater number of these narratives are of the most meagre description, and have altogether the appearance of being mere inventions.

There is little doubt that this is what they, in fact, were. Actual remembrance of the Buddha, and of his time, could have sufficed only in the rarest instances to give a correct historical basis for the Rules or Ceremonies, which had to be explained. We find a precisely similar

¹ Mr. Dickson has given us an excellent text of the *Upasampadâ-kammavâṭṭâ*; and it were much to be wished that the rest of them should also be published. Mr. Clough has given a translation of six others in 'Miscellaneous Translations from Oriental Languages,' London, 1834; and the Liverpool Free Library has MSS. of others.

state of things leading, in the Introductions to the *Gâtaka Stories*, to what were unquestionably inventions: and it must be acknowledged that the compilers have not taken the slightest trouble to conceal the evidently unsubstantial character of most of these summary introductions. But it does not follow that they were invented at the time when the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas* were compiled. They may possibly have formed part of the traditional explanatory teaching of the schools.

As to the time when the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas* were compiled, we have important evidence in their silence regarding the well-known Ten Points.

The long-continued struggle on that question—as important for the history of Buddhism as the Arian controversy for that of Christianity—agitated the whole Buddhist world to its very centre; and the attempted settlement of it, at the Council of Vesālī, led to a most serious schism in the Buddhist Church. Now the ten expressions in which the question was summarised or catalogued¹ are (as was pointed out in the Introduction to the Pāli Text of the *Mahāvagga*) conspicuous by their absence from the *Vibhaṅga*, and from all, except the last, of the *Khandhakas*². The first mention of most of them, and the first use of any one of them as a distinctive war-cry, is found in those last books, which are evidently an appendix to the rest of the *Khandhakas*, and of an entirely different nature from the earlier ones; for they contain a regular historical account of the two Councils, that of Rāgagaha, and that of Vesālī³.

¹ *Siṅgiloṇa*, *dvaṅgula*, &c. (*Kullavagga* XII, 1, 10).

² That is, as war-cries; *gātarūparagata* occurs in the sense of the precious metals.

³ In the present division of the *Khandhakas* into two parts, called the Larger and Smaller Divisions (*Mahā-* and *Kulla-vagga*), there are ten *Khandhakas* in the first Division, and ten, apart from this appendix, in the second Division. Without the appended two last *Khandhakas* the so-called smaller Division is really considerably smaller than the larger Division; and there is therefore a good reason for the name which was given to it. With the two last *Khandhakas* the difference in length of the two Divisions as a whole is not sufficiently striking to account satisfactorily for the choice of their names; and the smaller

But the Ten Points in dispute were all matters of ecclesiastical law, they all related to observances of the brotherhood, they were in fact questions as to whether or not the ancient Rules should be relaxed or not in these ten respects. Is it possible that in a collection of works like the *Vibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas*, which seek to set forth, down to the minutest detail, and even with hair-splitting diffuseness, all that has any relation to the daily life of the Brethren, and the regulations of the Buddhist Order—is it possible that in such a collection, if, when it was compiled, the struggle on the Ten Points had already burst into flame, there should be no reference at all, even in interpolations, to any one of these ten disputes? That the difference of opinion on the Ten Points remains altogether unnoticed in those parts of the collection where, in the natural order of things, it would be obviously referred to, and that it is only mentioned in an appendix where the Council held on its account is described, shows clearly, in our opinion, that the *Vibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas* (save the two last) are older than the Council of Vesālī—and, of course, a fortiori that the *Pātimokkha* and the *Kammavâḥas* are so too.

The Council of Vesālī is said in the XIIth *Khandhaka* of the *Kullavagga* to have taken place a hundred years after the Buddha's death. This is no doubt a round number; and the exact year of the date of the Buddha's death is open to question. If it be placed, according to the Ceylon chronicles, at exactly 218 years before Asoka's coronation, it will fall in or about 483 B.C.

But the expression '218 years' can in no case be regarded as an absolutely reliable statement of actual fact, and the date of 483 B.C. must therefore be taken subject to a marginal allowance of some decades. And it appears to one of us, for various reasons which he has elsewhere stated at length, that the balance of probability leads to the conclusion that the date of the Buddha's Parinibbāna must be

Division actually contains two more *Khandhakas* than the larger. We lay no stress upon these facts, but it confirms the general argument to find little points of this kind tending in the same direction,

brought down to the period from 420–400 B. C.¹ We do not enter upon that question here, as the details are intricate, and the result uncertain ; and it is sufficient for our present purpose to be able to fix the Council of Vesâlî, even after making allowance for all possibilities, at within thirty years of 350 B. C.

We would only point out that there is really no ground for discontent with a result which can be fixed, after all, within a few decades. For what difference does that make in this case? If we had to deal with Grecian history, such a result might well be deemed unsatisfactory. There are differences, both personal and political, between Greece in 480, in 440, and in 400—differences well known to us. But whether we fix the date of an event in India in 480, or in 440, what does it, at present, matter? Who would be bold enough to say that the mention of India in 480 B. C. calls up to his mind a condition of things different from that suggested by the mention of India in 440 B. C., or even in 400 B. C.? We need not therefore take too much to heart the uncertainty of this chronological result ; though we may regret that our comfort is drawn from no better source than our want of knowledge.

The Vibhaṅga and the Twenty Khandhakas were at that time (circa 350 B. C.) already held in such high repute that no one ventured to alter them ; a sanctity of this kind is not acquired without the lapse of a considerable time : and we think it is not going too far to say, Firstly, that these books must have been in existence, as we now have them, within thirty years, earlier or later, of, at least, 360 or 370 B. C. ; Secondly, that the Old Commentary they have preserved must be considerably, perhaps fifty years, older ; and Thirdly, that the Kammavâḥas and the Pâtimokkha must be older still.

The reader will notice that in the foregoing discussion no mention has been made of the Fifth Book in the present

¹ See the dissertation on this subject in Rhys Davids's 'Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon ;' and, more shortly, the close of the Introduction to his 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli.'

division of the Vinaya Piṭaka—the Parivāra-pāṭha. The reason is that this work, an abstract of the other parts of the Vinaya, is in fact a very much later compilation, and probably the work of a Ceylonese Thera. In some stanzas, which are found at the end of the Parivāra-pāṭha, it is stated to have been composed by 'the highly wise, learned, and skilful Dīpa, after he had inquired here and there into the methods (literally, the way) followed by former teachers¹.'

We have every hope that the foregoing argument will commend itself to our fellow workers as being, in the main, well founded. We now propose to test it by applying it in explanation of several difficult terms and phrases found in the Vinaya Piṭaka, which seem to have been hitherto incorrectly interpreted.

It has been pointed out that, in the Pātimokkha, the offences are arranged in certain classes, called, with reference to the heinousness of the act committed, Pārājika, Saṅghādisesa, Pākittiya, Pāṭidesaniya, and Sekhiya. In other parts of the Vinaya, other offences are called Thullakkaya and Dukkata. On this nomenclature the Rev. S. Coles has founded a trenchant attack upon Buddhist morality. He says :

'Beside the Pārājikas there are lesser faults, the nature of which is determined by various causes, as will subsequently appear. These are Saṅghādisesa, Thullaccaya, and Dukkata faults, and can all be easily remedied, the two latter especially; as, after a fault of this kind has been committed, the culprit has only to confess to his Upajjhāya (ordaining priest) without much delay, and is then exempted from all evil consequences; but the Saṅghādisesa being more serious (about half a Pārājikā), a course of penance has to be submitted to, and confession without delay made to twenty-five superior Bhikkhus. The nature

¹ Pubbāṭariyamaggañ ka pukkhitvā ka tahim tahim
Dīpo nāma mahāpaṇṇo sutadharo viakkhano
Imam vitthārasamkhepam sagghāmaggena magghime
Kintayitvā likhāpesi sissakānam sukhāvaham.

and extent of these penances are not defined in the first book of the Vinaya Pitaka, but in others, to which reference will be made when these books are brought under consideration. Suffice it to say, that they can possibly have no deterring effect on crime, but rather form loop-holes through which most enormous and disgusting misdeeds may be committed, and yet the perpetrator may remain not only as a Buddhist, but as a Bhikkhu¹.

Mr. Coles then applies this argument to show that many offences against morality, being only called *Dukkaṭa* and not *Pârāgika*, must have been looked upon very leniently, not only by the Buddhists, but by Gotama himself; and that therefore his system of morality was not of the lofty kind it has usually been supposed to be, but was, in fact, a mere cloak and encouragement to wickedness and crime!

If Mr. Coles had looked at the *Piṭaka* he was discussing from a historical, instead of from a controversial, point of view, he would scarcely have advanced this argument. The use of the term *Dukkaṭa* does not arise from, nor is it evidence of, a weakness in moral feeling; but merely of a difference in point of time. It occurs only in what we have ventured above to call the Notes: that is to say, in the latest portion of the *Piṭaka*. When the author or authors of the final recension of the Vinaya had to speak of an offence not actually mentioned, though implied, in the text before them, they did not presume to call it by any of the names applied in the *Pātimokkha* itself to the classification of offences. They no more dared to add to the number of *Pârāgikās*, for instance, than a clergyman would now venture seriously to propose an addition to the Ten Commandments. They made use of two technical terms (both entirely new ones), namely, *Thullakkaya* and *Dukkaṭa* (literally, Serious Transgression and Bad-deed), using the former more sparingly, and for graver misdemeanours. No argument based on passages where the word *Dukkaṭa* occurs can therefore have any force as to the teaching of Gotama himself; and the Bhikkhus, who did use the

¹ Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society, 1867-1870, p. 155.

word, were restrained from using the older term *Pârâgika* by a feeling of reverence towards their sacred books—a feeling surely deserving, not of censure, but of sympathy.

Again, there are certain terms applied to various parts of the Vinaya itself on which the above historical analysis may throw some light. When Asoka, in the Edict of Bhabra, addressed to the Buddhist Order, exhorted them to take as their authority, among other works, the Vinaya-Samukase, or Abstract of the Vinaya, he may fairly be supposed to have referred to the *Pâtimokkha*, which that epithet would very appropriately describe. If it be asked why he did not then call it the *Pâtimokkha*, the explanation may be either that that word is more especially a term for the act to be performed, than for the liturgy which shows the way to perform it (though it was also undoubtedly used as a name of the liturgy), or else that the work was known under both designations.

We would just add, in passing, that, in the passage in question, the reading *samukase* (*samutkarsha*), instead of the formerly accepted *samâkase*, is quite clear in General Cunningham's lithograph¹; and the generally accepted view that the Edict was addressed to a council, and is therefore an authoritative confirmation of the Ceylon traditions regarding the Council of Patna, ought to be reconsidered. The Edict merely says: 'King Devânampiya of Mâgadha salutes the *Samgha*' (that is, the Order, or the Community, of *Bhikkhus*)². Without desiring to throw any doubt upon the reality of the Council of Patna, we are driven to the conclusion that such an expression as 'the *Samgha*' could not have been meant to describe a formal

¹ 'Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,' pl. xv.

² Burnouf translated 'à l'assemblée du Magadha,' and Wilson, 'to the venerable assembly of Mâgadha' (see 'Corpus,' &c., p. 131); but the reading is clearly Mâgadhe in the 'Corpus,' while the older facsimile in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (ix. 618) had the impossible form *Mâgdhem*. Even if we could read *Mâgadham samgham* (an expression for which we know no parallel), the above remarks would still hold good. Compare further Professor Kern in the 'Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten,' pp. 30-35.

council. Surely, if the Edict had been addressed to such a council, the fact would have been plainly intimated.

It is just possible that Vinaya-Samukase may refer to the Old Commentary as well as to the Pâtimokkha; but this is not probable, for there is no reason to believe that in Asoka's time the Old Commentary any longer existed apart from its setting in the Vibhaṅga. And Vinaya-Samukase cannot for the reasons above stated mean, as has been supposed, the Parivâra-pâṭha.

As regards the meaning of the word Pâtimokkha we have the explanation of the Old Commentator in that single passage of his work found, as above pointed out, in the Khandhakas¹. He there describes it as 'the origin, the front (mukha), the chief of the good Dhammas;' where the word Dhammâ means 'qualities,' and where the evident inference is that the commentator² derived Pâtimokkha from mukha. But, on the other hand, the tradition of the Northern Buddhists, in whose Sanskrit works the word is replaced by Prâtimoksha, points to a derivation from the root muḥ.

It seems scarcely open to doubt that we must, in accordance with this last interpretation, connect the word with muḥ, and not with mukha. 'Pratimukha' means in Sanskrit 'over against, standing close in front.' How is it possible to derive from that any meaning appropriate as a title for the liturgy of confession called Pâtimokkha? On the other hand, the derivation from muḥ is straightforward and simple. *Prati-muḥ* (âtmanep.) means 'to free oneself, to get rid of;' and it is precisely through the recitation of this formular, and the answering of the questions contained in it, that the conscience of the member of the Brotherhood

¹ Pâtimokkhan ti âdim etam mukham etam pamukham etam kusalanam dhammanam, tena vuttati pâtimokkhan ti. Mahāvagga II, 3, 4.

² We use the phrase 'Old Commentator' for convenience only. The commentary was, no doubt, handed down by tradition in the Buddhist schools; and there is no reason to believe that it was the work of any one mind.

was set free from the sense of the offence he had incurred¹. Pātimokkha or Prātimoksha means therefore 'Dis-burdening, Getting free.' The lengthening of the first vowel in the Pāli word is not without analogies which have been already adduced by Childers. It is certain that the word is older than the present shape of the Formulary now so called; for it is used several times in the Formulary itself, as well as in many of the oldest Suttas.

The Old Commentator makes the Pātimokkha 'the head of the good Dhammas.' There is a curious passage in the Pātimokkha where the Dhammas are said to be included in the Suttas:

'If a Bhikkhu at the half-monthly recitation of the Pātimokkha should say, "Now for the first time do I notice that this Dhamma, as one handed down in the Suttas, embraced in the Suttas, gets recited every half-month!" then' &c.²

It is plain here that neither Dhamma nor Sutta is used in the sense to which we are accustomed from the later books. The Dhammas recited half-monthly are those contained in the scheme of offences given in the Pātimokkha, and the Suttas must therefore mean the separate clauses of that Formulary.

The fact is that the use of the word Sutta is by no means confined in the oldest Pāli to the texts of what was afterwards the Sutta Piṭaka, nor is it exclusively used either in earlier or later times³ in opposition to Vinaya. Thus we find it used again, as we think, of the Rules of the Pātimokkha; and in contrast, as in the rule above quoted, to Dhamma, in Kullavagga IV, 14, 22, 23:

'This Bhikkhu, of such and such a name, is a preacher

¹ Compare Mahāvagga II, 3, 3.

² Yo pana bhikkhu anvaddhamāsam Pātimokkhe uddissamāne evam vadeyya; idān' eva kho aham gāṇāmi, ayam pi kira dhammo suttāgato suttapariyāpanno anvaddhamāsam uddeṣam āgakkhatīti, taṁ ke . . . (the 73rd Pākittiya, quoted in Kullavagga III, 34, 2).

³ Though more especially concerned here with the earlier use of the word Sutta, it may be well to remind our readers of the name Suttadharā applied in the Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī to secular lawyers (see Alwis, 'Introd.' &c., p. 100).

of the Dhamma; but the Suttas have not been handed down to him, nor the Sutta-Vibhaṅga.'

'This Bhikkhu, of such and such a name, is a preacher of the Dhamma, and the Suttas have been handed down to him, but not the Sutta-Vibhaṅga¹.'

So again in the constantly repeated phrase above referred to—

'If the two Pātimokkhas are (or are not, as the connection requires) thoroughly known to a Bhikkhu in their entirety with all their divisions and explanations, if he have (or have not) thoroughly mastered them Sutta by Sutta, and Detail by Detail; then' &c.²

—the word Sutta evidently refers to the clauses of the two Pātimokkhas; and we find also in the immediate context the mention of Dhamma or of Vinaya, or of both.

It is no doubt true that in one passage of the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta (IV, 8–11 = pp. 39, 40), Sutta is opposed to Vinaya in much the same way as Sutta Piṭaka was afterwards opposed to Vinaya Piṭaka; yet the contrast between these two ideas is usually expressed by the apposition of Dhamma to Vinaya³, and the passage in the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta stands, so far as we yet know, quite alone. Indeed in the oldest tradition the discourses or conversations now called Suttas seem not to have been called by that name, but are referred to as Suttanta.

So in the Mahāvagga III, 5, 9, 12 mention is made of devout men, or of devout women, who may have been accustomed to recite some well-known Suttanta⁴; and in the next Khandhaka (IV, 15, 4) we find Suttanta, Dhamma, and Vinaya all occurring in one context:

'It may happen, Brethren, that in some district on the day of Pavāraṇā the night may have become far spent

¹ Suttam tassa āgatam na Suttavibhaṅgam. On the latter term see below.

² Ubhayāni nu kho Pātimokkhāni vitthārena svāgatāni suvibhattāni suppaṭṭhāni suvinikkhitāni suttato anuvyaṅganaso (Mahāvagga I, 36, 14; I, 37, 14; Kullavagga IV, 14, 19; IX, 5, 1). Anuvyaṅgana may perhaps refer here to the Old Commentary.

³ Compare H. Oldenberg's Introduction to his edition of the Mahāvagga, pp. 7 and following.

⁴ Abhiññātam vā Suttantaṃ bhāṇati.

while the Brethren are in confusion—some reciting the Dhamma, those versed in the Suttantas intoning some Suttanta together, the custodians of the Vinaya discussing the Vinaya, and the preachers of the Dhamma discoursing about the Dhamma.'

The whole of these expressions recur in *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 4; and are found again, with others of a similar character, in *Kullavagga* VI, 6, 2. This last passage is in the Introduction to a fable which of course recurs, as a *Gâtaka*, in the *Gâtaka* collection, and with an introduction in almost the same words. We should therefore expect to find there also the epithet *suttantika* ('versed in the Suttantas'), if that expression had remained in use as late as the fifth century A.D.; but it is omitted, the *Suttantikas* having been then long since replaced by those entrusted, not with the whole, but with special portions only, of the Dhamma literature. The word *Suttanta* was however still in common use at the time when the presumably later books now contained in the *Pitakas* were composed; for it occurs in the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*¹, and in a constantly recurring verse in the *Buddhavaṃsa* in which it is opposed to *Vinaya*², and the word is still used in the MSS. as the title of the more important *Suttas*.

In the passage quoted above from the *Kullavagga* IV, 14, 22, 23 there is a term *Sutta-vibhaṅga* used as the name of some part of the Vinaya literature apparently distinct

¹ The *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, *Paññāsa Nipāta* (Phayre MS. vol. ii. fol. gâh):
Ye te Suttantā Tathāgatassa bhāvitā gambhīrā gambhīratthā lokuttarā suñ-
ñātapāṇisamyuttā tesu bhaṇṇamānesu na sūssissanti no sotam odahissanti na
aññāṭṭhā upatthāpessanti na ka te dhamme uggaḥetabbam pariyāpunitabbam
maññissanti; ye pana te suttantā kathitā kāveyyā kittakkharā kittabyaṅgaṇā
bahirakā sāvakabhāsītā tesu bhaṇṇamānesu sūssissanti sotam odahissanti; &c.

Ibid. fol. ṇaḥ: Ye te bhikkhū bahussutā āgatāgamā dhammadharā vinayadharā
mātikādhārā te na sakkakkaṃ suttantaṃ param vāḷenti, tesam akkayena khin-
namūlako suttanto hoti apaṇisaraṇo.

On the form compare the Sanskrit *drishṭānta*, *vrittānta*, and *siddhānta*.

² Suttantaṃ Vinayaṇ kâpi navaṅgam Satthasāsanaṃ
Sabbam pariyāpunitvāna sobhayi Gīnasāsanaṃ.

The phrase is used of various Buddhas in verses 317, 348, 594, 627, and 786 of the *Buddhavaṃsa*. This reference we owe to Dr. Morris.

from the Suttas of the Pâtimokkha. 'The Suttas have been handed down to him, but not the Suttavibhaṅga.'

The word recurs only in one other passage¹, and that is in the appended Khandhakas of the *Kullavagga*, in the account of the Council of Vesâlî². Seven passages are there quoted from the Pâtimokkha in condemnation of seven out of the Ten Points raised by the heretics; and in answer to the question, 'Where was it condemned?' and before the passages are quoted, the place where the passage was uttered is mentioned, and condemnation is stated to be 'in the Suttavibhaṅga.' Thus

Revata says, 'Is it right, Lord, to drink *galogi*?'

Sabbakâmî replies, 'What, Friend, is this *galogi*?'

Revata: 'Is it right, Lord, to drink strong drink which not being fermented, is not yet intoxicating?'

Sabbakâmî: 'No, my friend, it is not right.'

Revata: 'Where has it been condemned?'

Sabbakâmî: 'At Kosambî in the Suttavibhaṅga.'

Revata: 'What does he (who drinks *galogi*) commit?'

Sabbakâmî: 'He commits the Pākittiya offence of drinking strong drink and of drinking intoxicating liquors.'

This is a quotation of the Pākittiya Rule, No. 51; but the words quoted do not in fact condemn the drinking of toddy, and neither the Pâtimokkha nor the Old Commentary contains any reference to the place, Kosambî, where the words are here said to have been uttered.

It is only in the introduction afterwards appended (in what is now called the Vibhaṅga) to the two older works, that Kosambî is mentioned; and in the appendix following the Rule 51 in the Vibhaṅga there are no exceptions which would include *galogi*. But Kosambî is mentioned in the Introductory History. It is therefore most probable that the term Sutta-vibhaṅga refers to what is now called the Vibhaṅga; or, if not, at least to that body of traditional teaching (including the Pâtimokkha and the Old Commentary) out of which the present Vibhaṅga was composed.

¹ That is, of the Vinaya Piṭaka. We are not certain that it may not be found in the Sutta Piṭaka.

² *Kullavagga* XII, 2, 8.

It may be convenient to make some reference here to the question whether the literature above discussed was handed down by memory only, or by writing. We are justified in expecting to find, in texts dealing in such minute detail with the daily life of the members of the Buddhist Order, some distinct evidence—and it will be equally distinct whether it consists in actual statement, or in silence—as to writing, and the use of written books. And this expectation is not disappointed.

In the first place, there are several passages which confirm in an indisputable manner the existence of the art of writing at the time when the Vinaya texts were put into their present shape.

‘A certain man, who had committed a theft, ran away, and got ordained among the Bhikkhus. Now he was written up in the king’s palace with an injunction that he should be slain wheresoever he should be found¹.’—

‘But there occurred to the parents of Upāli this consideration: “If Upāli should learn writing², Upāli might thus after our decease live at ease, and not be troubled.”’

And in the Vibhaṅga we find an interesting explanation of the Third Pārāgika Rule, which lays down that whosoever wilfully kills a man, or brings about his death, must be expelled from the Order.

In the Notes on this Rule the Sutta-vibhaṅga discusses the case of some one causing the death of another by persuading him that suicide is glorious, or that it results in salvation. And in this connection the possibility is considered of these representations being made to the proposed victim, not by word of mouth, and not by a messenger, but by writing.

‘He engraves a writing to this effect: “Who so dies, he acquires wealth, or acquires fame, or goes to heaven.” By that writing he is guilty of a Dukkaṭa offence. The other sees the writing, and, determining to die, is filled

¹ *Aññatāro puriso korikam katvā palāyitvā bhikkhūsu pabbagito hoti. So ka rañño antepure likhito hoti yattha passitabbo tatha hantabbo ’ti* (Mahāvagga I, 43).

² *Saṭe kho Upāli lekham sikkheyya* (Mahāvagga I, 49, 1).

with painful feelings. (The writer is) guilty of a Thullakkaya offence. He does die. (The writer is) guilty of a Pârâgika offence¹.

And again, with respect to the injunction addressed to the Sisters of the Order not to devote themselves to worldly wisdom (*tirakkhâna-viggâ*), the Vibhaṅga makes an exception in favour of learning to write².

It is evident therefore that writing was in vogue in the time when the Notes on the Rules were put into their present form, that it was made use of for the publication of official announcements, and for the drawing up of written communications in private life; and that while the knowledge of the art was a possible source of livelihood, it was not confined to 'clerks,' but was acquired by ordinary persons, and even by women.

But it is a long step from the use of writing for such public or private notifications to the adoption of it for the purpose of recording an extensive and sacred literature: and our texts show—and show, as it seems to us, in an equally indisputable manner—that for this latter purpose writing, however well known, had not yet come into use.

Had the sacred texts been written down and read, books, manuscripts, and the whole activity therewith connected, must have necessarily played a very important part in the daily life of the members of the Buddhist Order. Now the texts of the Vinaya place clearly enough before our eyes the whole of the 'personal property,' so to speak, of the Buddhist Ârâmas and Vihâras. Every movable thing, down to the smallest and least important domestic utensils, is in some way or other referred to, and its use pointed out; while the use of other articles, not usually found in the Vihâras, is mentioned, and condemned. But nowhere do we find the least trace of any reference to manuscripts;

¹ *Lekham kkhindati yo evam marati so dhanam vâ labhati yasam vâ labhati saggam vâ gakkhatîti. Akkharakkharâya âpatti dukkaṭassa. Lekham passivâ marissâmiti dukkham vedanam uppâdeti. Âpatti thullakkayassa. Marati. Âpatti pâragikassa.*

² *Anâpatti lekham pariyâpunâti (Bhikkhunî-Pâtimokkha, Pâṭittiya 49).*

much less of inks, or pens, or styles, or leaves, or other writing materials.

And we do find, on the contrary, passages which show the difficulties which arose every time that the memorial tradition by word of mouth of any of the sacred texts was interrupted, or threatened to be interrupted.

So, for instance, we find the case discussed of no one Bhikkhu, among all the Brethren dwelling in some particular place, knowing the Pātimokkha. There was no other way out of the difficulty, save that of one of the Bhikkhus being sent out to some neighbouring fraternity, with the commission there to learn the Pātimokkha by heart, either in its full extent (that is, as we take it, all the rules being learnt in full) or at least in abstract¹.

And again, in a passage already quoted, we hear of the case of an Upāsaka, who knows some important Suttanta, and is afraid that the knowledge of it will fade away. So he sends to a fraternity of Bhikkhus, and invites the Brethren to come over to him; and in that case an exception is made to the Rule forbidding the Brethren to travel in the rainy season, provided only that they do not stay away from home longer than seven days².

We may quote in this connection a passage of the same tendency from the Aṅguttara Nikāya, in which, among the circumstances hurtful to the security and the propagation of the Buddhist faith, the possibility is mentioned of the well-instructed Bhikkhus neglecting to take pains to hand on to others the Suttantas which they know. Then, when they have passed away, 'the root of that Suttanta is cut off, and it finds no place of refuge³.'

It is very plain from these last passages that the Buddhist community in its earliest days did not think of the

¹ Mahāvagga II, 17, 5. 6. On this meaning of vitthārena and samkhitena see also Mahāvagga II, 15, 1. 2.

² Mahāvagga III, 5, 9.

³ Katukka-Nipāta (Phayre MS. vol. i. fol. nā); and repeated in the Paṇḍita-Nipāta (ibid. vol. ii. fol. nā): Ye te bhikkhū bahussutā āgatāgamā dhammadharā vinayadharā mātikāddharā te na sakkakkaṃ suttantaṃ param vārenti tesam akkayena khinnamūlako suttanto hoti apatisarano.

possibility of using writing as a means of guarding against such painful accidents. Can this have arisen from any belief that writing the books would have been an irreverent treatment of them? We cannot think that among such a community as that of the Buddhists—who were so advanced in their views that they deliberately adopted the language of the people, and even took no thought, within the ranks of their community, of caste—any such consideration would have prevailed. It seems much more probable that, at the date referred to, the art of writing had not been taken advantage of for the purposes of any kind of literature; but that its use was wholly confined to recording short messages or notes, or private letters, or advertisements of a public character—a result which may well have been due to the want of any practical material on which to engrave the letters that were nevertheless evidently known¹.

On the texts above quoted, and the inferences which may fairly be drawn from them, we would base two remarks. Firstly, that there can be no reasonable ground for doubting the correctness of the ancient tradition preserved in the well-known verse of the Ceylon Chroniclers, when, speaking of the time of *Vatta Gâmani*, who began to reign 88 B. C., they say,

‘The text of the Three Pitakas, and the Commentary too thereon,

The wise Bhikkhus of former time had handed down by word of mouth:

The then Bhikkhus, perceiving how all beings do decay,
Meeting together, wrote them in books, that the Dhamma might last long².’

But, secondly, though we must therefore believe that the

¹ Compare Burnell, ‘Elements of South Indian Palaeography,’ p. 10.

² *Dîpavamsa* XX, 20, 21; *Mahāvamsa*, p. 207. As the stanza is common to both works it is taken in all probability, word for word, from the Old Commentary in Sinhalese, the *Sīhala Itthakathā*, preserved in the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura. See H. Oldenberg’s Introduction to his edition of the *Dîpavamsa*.

Vinaya, before it was reduced to writing, was handed down for about three hundred years solely by memory, and that it lived only in the minds of the Vinayadharâ, the Bhikkhus 'who were versed in the Vinaya,' we do not think it is at all necessary, or even possible, to impugn the substantial accuracy of the texts handed down in a manner that seems, to moderns, so unsafe. The Text, as it lies before us, stands so well against all proofs, whether we compare its different parts one with another, or with the little that is yet known of its northern counterparts¹, that we are justified in regarding these Pâli books as in fact the authentic mirror of the old Mâgadhî text as fixed in the central schools of the most ancient Buddhist Church. That text, in the dialect of Magadha, may have been lost to us, once for all; and we can scarcely hope, unless some isolated sentences may hereafter be found preserved here and there in Inscriptions, that this loss will ever be, even partially, made good. But we may well be thankful that the faithful zeal and industry of these old monks has preserved for us a translation, in a dialect so nearly allied to the original, and in so perfect and trustworthy a state as the Pâli version of the Vinaya still undoubtedly presents.

We trust that the choice we have made from the literature of the Vinaya Piṭaka for insertion in this Collection of Translations from the Sacred Books of the East will be considered to need little justification. As the oldest and in many respects most important material of the Vinaya literature we have included a version of the Pâtimokkha; though confining ourselves to the Bhikkhu-Pâtimokkha,

¹ How little this is, is apparent from the fact that Burnouf, who had studied all those that were then accessible, did not even find the words *pârâgika* and *saṃghâdisesa* (Introduction, &c., p. 301). To the Tibetan texts Csoma Kőrösi has devoted a few pages ('Analysis of the Dulva' in Asiatic Researches, vol. xx. pp. 45 and foll.) Of the Chinese we have only the brief notices of M. Rémusat (Foe Koue Ki, pp. 104 and foll.) and of Mr. Beal (in H. Oldenberg's Introduction to the Vinaya, vol. i. pp. xlv, xlv). The last scholar also mentions several Vinaya works, of the contents of which however nothing further is known, in his Catalogue of Chinese Buddhist Works now in the India Office Library (pp. 67-71).

as our predecessors, Mr. Dickson and Professor Minayeſſ, have done before us. We could not consider, even after their labours, that a new translation of this difficult text would be superfluous. And of the younger literature we have confined ourselves to the Khandhakas, both because these books, in their variety, and in the fulness of their contents, are better calculated to afford a correct view of the conditions, and the life, of that oldest and most influential of the many monkish orders, the Buddhist *Samgha*; and also because the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* is little more than an expansion of the *Pātimokkha*, which we have already, for the reasons just stated, determined to include¹.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.
H. OLDENBERG.

November, 1880.

¹ For the *Upasampadā-kammavāḍa* see the passages recurring in the Khandhakas as pointed out above, p. xix.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON MAHĀVAGGA III, 2, 2 (*vassupanāyikā*).

As entering upon Vassa is called *vassam upagaḅḅhati* or *vassam upeti*, we believe that *upanāyikā*, the final member of the compound *vassupanāyikā* (entrance upon Vassa), must not be derived from *upa-ni*, but from *upa-i* (*upan-i*). Comp. *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* II, 3, 2, 2: *ahar-ahar vai Nado Naishidho Yamam rāgānam dakshināta upanayati* (*Sāyana*: *upagaḅḅhati*). The preposition *upan* contained in *upan-ayati* will be treated of by Professor JOH. SCHMIDT in the 26th volume of Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*.

РÂTIMOKKHA.

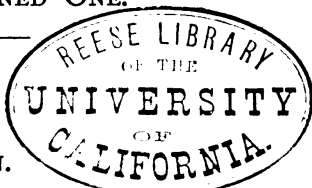
THE PÂTIMOKKHA.

THE WORDS OF DISBURDENMENT.

REVERENCE TO THE BLESSED ONE, THE HOLY ONE,
THE FULLY ENLIGHTENED ONE.

NIDÂNA¹.

INTRODUCTION.



May the Chapter ², reverend Sirs, hear mē!

To-day is the sacred day (of the full, or 'new, moon), the fifteenth day of the half-month ³. If it be convenient to the Chapter, let the Chapter hold Upo-satha, let it repeat the Pâtimokkha. How is it with respect to the necessary preliminaries to a meeting of the Order? Let the reverend brethren announce their purity ⁴, and I will rehearse the Pâtimokkha!

We all gladly give ear and do attend ⁵!

¹ The whole of this Introduction, with the ancient commentary upon it (referred to above, in the Introduction), recurs in the Mahāvagga II, 3, where further notes will be found. The previous chapter in Dickson entitled the *Pukkâhāvissaggana* is not part of the ancient text of the Pâtimokkha.

² *Samgho*: of course not the whole Order, but those members then present, spoken of collectively.

³ *Upasatha pannaraso*. See below, Mahāvagga, Book II, and especially chap. 14.

⁴ That is, their freedom from any of those disabilities which are declared below, Book II, to incapacitate a member of the Order from assembling at a formal meeting on the Uposatha day.

⁵ On *sabbe 'va santâ* compare *ubho 'va santâ* in the ninth Nissaggiya, and the Old Commentary loc. cit.

Whosoever have incurred a fault, let him declare it! If no fault have been incurred it is meet to keep silence!

Now, venerable Sirs, it is by your silence, that I shall know whether you are pure. As to each one question put there must be an answer, so, in such a meeting as this, each question is put¹ as many as three times. Then if any Bhikkhu, when it has been three times put, knowingly omit to declare a fault incurred, he is guilty of uttering a conscious lie. Venerable Sirs, the uttering of a deliberate lie has been declared by the Blessed One to be a condition hurtful (to spiritual progress)². Therefore a fault, if there be one, should be declared by that Bhikkhu who remembers it, and desires to be cleansed therefrom. For a fault, when declared, shall be light to him.

Venerable Sirs, the Introduction is now recited.

Thus do I question you, venerable Sirs, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A second time do I question you, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A third time do I question you, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore do they keep silence. Thus I understand.

Here endeth the recitation of the Introduction.

¹ The spelling of the Pâli word in the text should be *anus-sâvitam*, and so below, *anussâviyamâne*. By 'the text' we refer throughout to Mr. Dickson's very careful edition, all the necessary corrections in which—they are mostly only misprints—will be noticed in the following notes.

² See Mahâvagga II, 3, 7.

PÂRÂGIKÂ DHAMMÂ.

THE PÂRÂGIKA RULES¹.

Here these four Rules, concerning those acts which bring about Defeat², come into recitation.

1. Whatsoever Bhikkhu who has taken upon

¹ The whole of the following portion of the Pâtimokkha, together with the ancient commentary upon it, is contained in the first book of the Vibhaṅga, also called the Pârâgikam.

Dickson translates throughout Dhammâ by 'offences.' He is no doubt right in taking the word, not in its ordinary sense of condition or quality, but in a more strictly technical, legal, sense. 'Offences' is however not the right direction in which to limit the general sense. Dhammâ must here be 'Rules,' in accordance with the passages quoted in our Introduction, pp. xxviii-xxx.

² Childers (sub voce) follows Burnouf (Introduction, &c., p. 301) in deriving the word Pârâgika from AG with parâ prefixed, taking that compound in the sense of 'to expel.' Dickson's translation 'deadly sin' rests upon the same basis. The Buddhist commentators refer the word to the passive of GI with parâ prefixed, in the sense of 'to suffer defeat.' So the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ: Pârâgiko hotîti parâgito parâgayam âpanno. Now the root AG belongs to the Vedic dialect only, and is not met with in any Buddhist expressions, and even in the Vedas it does not occur with parâ prefixed. The Buddhist forms of speech have quite different and settled terms with which to convey the idea of expulsion. On the other hand, there was a considerable group of words in use in the Buddhist community with which pârâgika stands in close connection: parâgi, 'to suffer defeat;' parâgita, 'defeated;' parâgaya, 'defeat.' We cannot therefore but think that the native commentators are right in associating pârâgika also with this group, and that the word really means 'involving defeat.' This may mean specifically defeat in the struggle with Mâra the Evil One; but more probably defeat in the struggle against evil generally, defeat in the effort to accomplish the object for which the Bhikkhu entered the Order, in the effort to reach the 'supreme goal' of Arahatsip.

himself the Bhikkhus' system of self-training and rule of life, and has not thereafter withdrawn from the training, or declared his weakness, shall have carnal knowledge of any one, down even to an animal, he has fallen into defeat, he is no longer in communion¹.

✓ 2. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall take, from village or from wood, anything not given—what men call 'theft'²—in such manner of taking as kings would seize the thief for, and slay, or bind, or banish him, saying, 'Thou art a thief, thou art stupid, thou art a fool, thou art dishonest,'—the Bhikkhu who in that manner takes the thing not given, he, too, has fallen into defeat, he is no longer in communion.

✓ 3. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall knowingly deprive of life a human being, or shall seek out an assassin against a human being, or shall utter the praises of death, or incite another to self-destruction, saying, 'Ho! my friend! what good do you get from this sinful, wretched life? death is better to thee than life!'—if, so thinking, and with such an aim, he, by various argument, utter the praises of death or incite another to self-destruction—he, too, is fallen into defeat, he is no longer in communion³.

¹ 'Declared his weakness' refers to the permission (on the ground that it was better to leave the Order than to burn) for a Bhikkhu to acknowledge himself unfit for the discipline, and throw off the robe. 'Withdrawn from the training' is the formal expression for thus throwing off the Robes. See below, *Mahāvagga* II, 22, 3.

On *sikkhâsâgîvam*, which is by no means only 'Rules of the Order,' see the *Vibhaṅga* (Pâr. I, 8, 1).

² The *Vibhaṅga* (Pâr. II, 3) takes *theyya-samkhâtam* as meaning 'with dishonest intent.'

³ The deviations here from Mr. Dickson's version will, we hope, justify themselves. There is no commentary on *hâraka*, though

- ✓ 4. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, without being clearly conscious of extraordinary qualities, shall give out regarding himself that insight into the knowledge of the noble ones has been accomplished, saying, 'Thus do I know,' 'Thus do I perceive:' and at some subsequent time whether on being pressed, or without being pressed, he, feeling guilty, shall be desirous of being cleansed from his fault, and shall say, 'Brethren! when I knew not, I said that I knew; when I saw not, I said that I saw—telling a fruitless falsehood;' then, unless he so spake through undue confidence he, too, has fallen into defeat, he is no longer in communion¹.

Venerable Sirs, the four Conditions of Defeat have been recited, of which when a Bhikkhu has fallen into one or other, he is no longer allowed to be in co-residence with the Bhikkhus. As before, so afterwards, he is defeated, he is not in communion².

the Vibhaṅga (Pâr. III, 3, 1) explains the different kinds of Satta. Pâpaka must be 'sinful,' not merely 'poor;' the suggestion is 'by destroying your life you will escape from the possibility of sinning.'

¹ The extraordinary qualities (literally, 'superhuman qualities') are defined to be the Vimokkhas, Samâdhis, the Samâpattis, the *Ñâna*-dassana, the having experienced the Noble Path, and having realised the Fruit thereof; that is to say, Arahatsip and the highest forms of spiritual emotion and intelligence which can accompany Arahatsip. They are in fact, therefore, superhuman only in the sense of extraordinary; as it is precisely human beings, and only human beings, who were supposed to be able to acquire these qualities.

Uddhaṭṭha, 'Self-righteousness,' is also the last but one of the ten *Samyoganas*, or 'Fetters,' which the Arahats has to break.

² The sentences which follow in the text, but are not here translated, and in which it is declared that all the following portions of the Pâtimokkha have already been heard, do not occur in the Vibhaṅga. They are not part of the Pâtimokkha; but only the

In respect of them I ask the venerable ones,
'Are you pure in this matter?'

A second time I ask, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A third time I ask, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore do they keep silence. Thus I understand.

Here endeth the recitation of the Pârâgikas.

form to be used, when the Pâtimokkha cannot be recited in full, and all the remaining Rules are to be omitted. According to Mahāvagga II, 15, 1, 4 this abridged recital may be used in certain cases of danger.

On Yathâ pure tatha paṭikkhâ there is no explanation in the Old Commentary. The phrase probably means that the Bhikkhu is irrevocably defeated. He must remain for ever in the condition (of permanent exclusion from the Order) into which he has brought himself.

SAMGHÂDISESÂ DHAMMÂ.

RULES WHICH REQUIRE, AS WELL IN THEIR EARLIER AS IN THEIR LATER STAGES, FORMAL MEETINGS OF THE ORDER ¹.

Here, venerable Sirs, the thirteen matters, which, as well in their earlier as in their later stages, require formal meetings of the Order, come into recitation.

1. The emission of semen by design, except by a person sleeping, is a *Samghâdisesa*.

✓ 2. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, being degraded ², shall, with perverted ³ mind, come into bodily contact with a woman, by taking hold of her hand, or by taking hold of her hair, or by touching any part of her body—that is a *Samghâdisesa*.

✓ 3. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, being degraded, shall, with perverted mind, address a woman with wicked words, exciting to passion as those of a young man to a maid—that is a *Samghâdisesa* ⁴.

¹ The expression is curious, but the authorities given by Childers (sub voce) are decisive as to its meaning. Whereas the *Pârâgika* offences were dealt with in one meeting of the Order, these thirteen offences gave rise to the various *Samghakammâs* (formal resolutions or proceedings at meetings of the Order), which are explained in detail in the third *Khandhaka* of the *Kullavagga*.

The text of, and the ancient commentary on this portion of the *Pâtimokkha* will be found in the *Vibhaṅga* in the Book on the *Samghâdisesas*.

² *Otinno*, literally, 'having gone down,' which the old commentator in the *Vibhaṅga* explains as 'lustfully, or with a mind bound by desire.' Our word 'degraded' has often a very similar connotation.

³ *Viparizātana*, literally, 'changed;,' here 'changed for the worse.' Compare *Mahâ-sudassana Sutta* II, 39, and the Old Comment at Minayeff, p. 64.

⁴ Compare the second *Aniyata*.

4. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, being degraded, shall, with perverted mind, magnify, in the hearing of a woman, ministration to himself¹ (by saying), 'This, Sister, would be the noblest of ministrations, that to so righteous and exalted a religious person as myself you should ministerate by that act,' (meaning) sexual intercourse—that is a *Samghâdisesa*.

5. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall act as a go-between for a woman to a man, or for a man to a woman, or for a wife, or for a paramour, or even for a harlot—that is a *Samghâdisesa*.

6. A Bhikkhu who, begging (the materials) together, is having a hut put up for his own use, to belong to no one (else), must have it made of due measurement. And herein this is the measurement—in length twelve spans according to the accepted span², in breadth seven spans (measured) inside.

¹ *Attakâmapârihâriyâ*, perhaps 'to his lusts;' but we follow the old commentator.

² *Sugata-vidatthiyâ*. Dickson translates 'of the span of Buddha,' *Sugata* being one of the many epithets applied to the Buddha in poetry, or poetical prose. Mr. James D'Alwis in the Ceylon Asiatic Society's Journal for 1874 has a long article to show that this cannot be the correct meaning of the word '*Sugata*' in this connection; and we think he is right, though his discussion as to what it does mean (evidently more than a simple span) seems to lead to no certain conclusion. The older Ceylon commentators take the expression as being equal to one and a half carpenter's cubits, a 'carpenter's cubit' (*Simhalese Wadu-riyana*) being two ordinary cubits, so that 'the Buddha's span' (as they translate it) would be four feet and a half! But the Bhikkhus of the present day in Ceylon take it to be equal to the length of the supposed foot-print of the Buddha on Adam's Peak; that is, four ordinary cubits, or six feet. See Dickson's note; and compare *Nissaggiya* 15, and *Pâṭittiya* 87-92.

There is no comment on the phrase in the Old Commentary,

The Bhikkhus must be brought to the place to approve the site; and those Bhikkhus shall approve a site free from danger¹, and with an open space around it². If a Bhikkhu shall, at his own request, have a hut put up on a dangerous site, without the open space around it, or shall not bring the Bhikkhus to approve the site, or shall exceed the (due) measure—that is a *Samghâdisesa*.

7. A Bhikkhu who is having a large³ residence made for his own use, and to belong (also) to others, shall bring the Bhikkhus to the place to approve the site; and those Bhikkhus shall approve a site free from danger, and with an open space around it. If a Bhikkhu shall have a large residence made on a dangerous site, without the open space around it, or shall not bring the Bhikkhus to the place to approve the site—that is a *Samghâdisesa*.

8. Whatsoever Bhikkhu⁴, in harshness, malice, or anger, shall harass (another) Bhikkhu by a groundless (charge of having committed) a *Pârâgika* offence, thinking to himself, 'Perchance I may (thus) get him to fall from this religious life⁵'—and then at some later time, either when he is pressed, or without his being pressed, the case turns out to be groundless,

which is especially curious if the word *Sugata* meant 'the Buddha's,' that is to say, the Buddha's span, when that work was composed.

¹ That is, either to living creatures (birds, ants, and so on) by clearing the site; or to the future resident after it is built. See the old commentator's note on *Sârambha* at Minayeff, p. 71.

² 'Sufficient for a cart drawn by a yoke of oxen to pass round it,' according to the old commentator.

³ *Mahallaka*. Compare *Kullavagga* VI, 11, 1.

⁴ In the text read, of course, Bhikkhu, not Bhikkhû.

⁵ I. e. to throw off the robes, to leave the Order.

and the Bhikkhu confesses his malice¹—that is a *Samghâdisesa*.

9. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, in harshness, malice, or anger, shall harass another Bhikkhu by a groundless charge of having committed a *Pârâgika* offence, supporting himself by some point or other of no importance in a case that really rests on something of a different kind; thinking to himself, 'Perchance I may thus get him to fall from this religious life'—and then at some later time, either when he is pressed, or without his being pressed, the case turns out to rest on something of a different kind, and that Bhikkhu confesses his malice—that is a *Samghâdisesa*².

10. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall go about to cause division in a community³ that is at union, or shall persist in calling attention to some matter calculated to cause division, that Bhikkhu should thus be addressed by the Bhikkhus: 'Sir, go not about to cause division in a community that is at union;' or, 'Persist not in calling attention to a matter calculated to cause division;' 'Be, Sir, at one with the community, for the community, being at unity, in harmony, without dispute, dwells pleasantly under

¹ *Dosam* was probably meant here to refer to the *doso* at the beginning of the rule.

² For instance, the Bhikkhu has seen that A, who is a *Khattiya*, has committed some offence. He says either that he has seen a *Khattiya* commit that offence, and thus harasses an innocent person; or he says that A has committed a *Pârâgika* offence, whereas the offence is of a lesser nature.

For *kâveyyan* in the text read *kâveyyan*.

³ *Samgha*; that is, the company of the Brethren dwelling in one place, or in one district.

one authority¹. If that Bhikkhu, when he has thus been spoken to by the Bhikkhus, should persist as before, then let that Bhikkhu be (formally) admonished about it by the Bhikkhus as a body², even to the third time, to the intent that he abandon that course. If, while being so admonished up to the third time, he abandon that course, it is well: if he abandon it not—that is a *Samghâdisesa*.

11. Now if other Bhikkhus, one, or two, or three, become adherents of that Bhikkhu, and raise their voices on his side; if they should say thus: 'Say not, Sirs, anything against that Bhikkhu! That Bhikkhu both speaks according to the Dhamma, and he speaks according to the Vinaya; it is our wish, too, and desire, that he adopts, and gives expression to; and he speaks, knowing that what he says appears to us also to be right:'—then let those Bhikkhus be addressed by the Bhikkhus thus: 'Say not so, Sirs! That Bhikkhu speaks not according to the Dhamma, neither does he speak according to the Vinaya. Let not, Sirs, the causing of division in the community be pleasing to you! Be, Sirs, at one with the community! for the community, being at unity, in harmony, without dispute, dwells pleasantly under one discipline.' If those Bhikkhus, when they have thus been spoken to by the Bhikkhus, should persist as before, those Bhikkhus should be

¹ Ekuddeso; that is, the authority of the rules recited in the *Pâtimokkha*.

² *Samanubhâsitabbo*. We think 'admonish' is not too strong a rendering of this term; and not inconsistent with the equality of the fraternity, as the admonition comes from the united body. The preposition *sam* need not imply a *Samghakamma*, which appears to have been necessary only after the *Samghâdisesa* offence had been completed. We occasionally render the word by 'adjure.'

(formally) adjured by the Bhikkhus, as a body, even to the third time, to the end that they abandon that course. If, while being so adjured, up to the third time, they abandon that course, it is well: if they abandon it not—that is a *Samghâ-disesa*.

✓ 12. Should a Bhikkhu refuse to listen to what is said to him¹; and when spoken to by the Bhikkhus, in accordance with the Dhamma², touching the precepts handed down in the body of recited law³, will allow nothing to be said to him (objecting), ‘Say nothing to me, Sirs, either good or bad: and I will say nothing, either good or bad, to you. Be good enough, Sirs, to refrain from speaking to me!’—then let that Bhikkhu be addressed by the Bhikkhus thus: ‘Do not, Sir, make yourself a person who cannot be spoken to: make yourself rather, Sir, a person to whom we can speak. Speak to the Bhikkhus, Sir, in accordance with the Dhamma; and the Bhikkhus, Sir, will speak in accordance with the Dhamma to you. For thus has the church⁴ of the Blessed One grown large; that is to say, by mutual converse, and by mutual help⁵.’ If that Bhikkhu, when he has thus been spoken to by the Bhikkhus, should persist as before, then let that Bhikkhu be

¹ *Dubbaḷo* is not ‘unruly,’ as Dickson has, following Childers, who gives ‘abusive, unruly, violent.’ It means rather ‘difficult to reason with, averse to instruction.’ Compare *Gâtaka* I, 151, 152.

² *Sahadhammikaṃ*, which is here adverbial; and where the Dhamma refers to the Rules, as is pointed out in the Introduction.

³ *Uddesa-pariyâpannesu*; *uddesa* being here practically the same as *Pâtimokkha*.

⁴ *Parisâ*, ‘the retinue, the followers, the adherents,’ referring here to the *Samgha* only.

⁵ In the text read *vuḥḥâpanena*.

(formally) adjured by the Bhikkhus as a body, even to the third time, to the end that he abandon that course. If, while being so adjured, up to the third time, he abandon that course, it is well : if he abandon it not—that is a Samghâdisesa.

✓ 13. Should a Bhikkhu dwell near a certain village or town, leading a life hurtful to the laity, and devoted to evil, (so that) his evil deeds are seen and heard, and the families led astray by him are seen and heard, let that Bhikkhu be spoken to by the Bhikkhus thus : ‘Your life, Sir, is hurtful to the laity, and evil ; your evil deeds, Sir, are seen and heard ; and families are seen and heard to be led astray by you. Be so good, Sir, as to depart from this residence ; you have dwelt here, Sir, long enough.’ If, when that Bhikkhu is thus addressed by the Bhikkhus he should answer the Bhikkhus thus : ‘The Bhikkhus are walking in longing, the Bhikkhus are walking in malice, the Bhikkhus are walking in delusion, the Bhikkhus are walking in fear ; and, for a fault of a like nature, they send some away, and some they send not away¹ :’—then that Bhikkhu should be spoken to by the Bhikkhus thus : ‘Say not so, Sir ! The Bhikkhus walk not in longing, the Bhikkhus walk not in malice, the Bhikkhus walk not in delusion, the Bhikkhus walk not in fear ; and they send not some away, for a fault of a like nature, while they send others not away. Your life, Sir, is hurtful to the laity, and evil ; your evil deeds, Sir, are seen and heard, and families are seen and heard, Sir, to be led astray by you. Be so good, Sir, as to depart from this residence ; you have dwelt

¹ On the use of Pabbâgeti in this sense comp. the 2nd Pâr.

here, Sir, long enough.' If that Bhikkhu, when thus spoken to by the Bhikkhus should persist as before, that Bhikkhu should be (formally) adjured by the Bhikkhus as a body, even to the third time, to the end that he abandon that course. If, while being so adjured, up to the third time, he abandon that course, it is well: if he abandon it not—that is a *Samghâdisesa*.

Venerable Sirs, the thirteen matters which require, as well in their earlier as in their later stages, formal meetings of the Order, have been recited; nine which become offences at once, and four which are not completed until the third admonition.

If a Bhikkhu have committed either one or other of these¹, for as many days as he knowingly conceals his sin, for so many days must that Bhikkhu, even against his will, remain in probation². When the probation is over, that Bhikkhu must, for six further days, undergo the *Mānatta* discipline³ (Penance). When the Penance has been removed, that Bhikkhu must be reinstated in some place where the community of the Bhikkhus forms a body of twenty. If a community of Bhikkhus forming a body of less than twenty, even by one, should reinstate that Bhikkhu, he is not reinstated, and that community is blameworthy. This is the proper course in that case.

¹ Literally, 'of which.' In the text there should be no full stop after *yāvattatīyakā*.

² On the regulations respecting *Parivāsa* (Probation), see *Kullavagga* II, 1-3.

³ On the regulations respecting *Mānatta* (Penance), see *Kullavagga* II, 6-8.

In respect of them I ask the venerable ones,
'Are you pure in this matter?'

A second time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are
you pure in this matter?'

A third time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are
you pure in this matter?'

The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore
do they keep silence. Thus I understand.

Here endeth the recitation of the Samghâdisesas.

ANİYATÂ DHAMMÂ¹.

RULES REGARDING UNDETERMINED MATTERS.

Here, venerable Sirs, the two Rules regarding undetermined matters come into recitation.

- ✓ 1. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall take a seat with a woman, one man with one woman, in secret, on a secluded seat, suitable² (for sexual intercourse); and if a believing woman, trustworthy of speech, who has seen (them so), shall lay it to his charge under one or other of three Rules, either under the Pârâgika³, or under the Samghâdisesa⁴, or under the Pâḷittiya⁵ Rules:—let then that Bhikkhu, if he acknowledge that he has so sat, be dealt with (according to the circumstances reported) for a Pârâgika, or for a Samghâdisesa, or for a Pâḷittiya; or let that Bhikkhu be dealt with under that one of those three Rules under which the believing woman, trustworthy in speech, shall lay it to his charge.

This rule relates to a matter undetermined.

2. And furthermore, even if the seat be not secluded, and not convenient (for sexual intercourse), but be convenient for addressing a woman with wicked words⁶, then whatsoever Bhikkhu shall take

¹ The whole of the following portion of the Pâtimokkha, together with the Old Commentary on it, recurs in the Vibhaṅga, Book III.

² *Alamkammaniye*, an expression found only in this passage. The Vibhaṅga interprets it as above (Aniyata I, 2, 1).

³ The 1st Pârâgika.

⁴ The 2nd Samghâdisesa.

⁵ Pâḷittiya 44, 45; and compare also 7, 27.

⁶ Compare the 3rd Samghâdisesa, and probably the 4th is also referred to.

a seat with a woman, one man with one woman, in secret, on such a seat, and a believing woman, trustworthy in speech, who has seen (them so), shall lay it to his charge under one or other of two Rules, either under the *Samghâdisesa*, or under the *Pâkittiya* Rule—let then that Bhikkhu, if he acknowledge that he has so sat, be dealt with (according to the circumstances reported) for a *Samghâdisesa*, or for a *Pâkittiya*; or let that Bhikkhu be dealt with under that one of those two Rules under which the believing woman, trustworthy in speech, shall lay it to his charge.

This rule relates to a matter undetermined.

Venerable Sirs, the two Rules regarding uncertain matters have been recited.

In respect of them I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A second time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A third time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore do they keep silence. Thus I understand.

Here endeth the recitation of the *Aniyatas*.

NISSAGGIYÂ PÂKITTIYÂ DHAMMÂ.

PÂKITTIYA RULES INVOLVING FORFEITURE.

Here, venerable Sirs, the thirty Pâkittiya Rules involving forfeiture come into recitation.

1. When the robes have been settled, when the *Kaṭhina* has been taken up by the Bhikkhu, an extra robe may be kept up to the end of a period of ten days. To him who goes beyond that there is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture¹.

¹ The following Rules, most of which have long ago fallen into abeyance, depend in great measure upon communistic customs of the ancient Fraternity, which are now somewhat difficult to understand. The following explanation of this rule, and more especially of the first few words of it, is therefore submitted with diffidence. At the end of the Vassa period (see below, Mahāvagga, Books III and VII) the *Samgha*, or community of brethren in any place, was accustomed to give over to some one of the Bhikkhus such store of robes (*Kaṭhina-dussa*) as it possessed; and it should here be observed that no Bhikkhu had a separate personal ownership over his robes, though nominally given to him for his own use, and really his own subject to the rules, they were, technically speaking, the property of the whole *Samgha* (that is, here, of the Order as a whole, not of the community residing together at that place). The Bhikkhu above referred to then spread the store of robes out to dry (*suriye attharati*); and afterwards satisfied out of it the wants of any brother whose robes, through the dampness of the season or other causes, had become spoiled. Meanwhile, each of the Bhikkhus had, of course, to wear something—it being one of the points most frequently insisted upon that a Bhikkhu should be decently clad, in direct contradiction to certain then popular views as to the sanctity of nakedness—but, during the interval, some of the rules about the robes were temporarily relaxed.

Now the Mahāvagga (VII, 1, 7) gives eight reasons by which the *Kaṭhina* license would be extinguished for any one particular Bhikkhu alone—as it would be for the community at that place

2. When the robes have been settled, after the taking up of the *Kaṭhina* by the Bhikkhu, if a Bhikkhu be without his three robes, even for a single night, unless with the permission of the Bhikkhus—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture¹.

by the formal 'taking up of the store of robes' (*Kaṭhinuddhâra* or *Kaṭhinassa ubbhâra*);—and with it that Bhikkhu's claim to a share in the common store. These eight reasons are merely eight ways in which that particular Bhikkhu's wants are already amply supplied; and the necessity, in his case, for a relaxation of the rules no longer exists.

One of these reasons is that his set of robes is settled or done for (*ġivaram niṭṭhitam*); which, according to the old commentator on our rule here, means that his set has been made, or spoiled, or destroyed, or burnt, or that his hope of receiving one from the laity has been disappointed (*niṭṭhitaġivarasmin ti ġivaram katam vâ hoti natṭham vâ vinaṭṭham vâ daddham vâ ġivarâsâ vâ upaġġhinnâ*, according to which the Scholion in Dickson's note must be corrected). In each of these cases his wants are already supplied by the set of robes he has retained for wear during the process of drying: only the case of those Bhikkhus remains to be settled who have not had new robes made, and whose old ones were still good enough to wear during that process.

After the *Kaṭhinuddhâra*, either particular or general, no Bhikkhu can retain for his own use an *atireka-ġivara*, a spare robe. He must give it up to any brother who has need of it.

As to the 'ten days,' the Sutta Vibhaṅga has the following story. Ânanda, after the *Kaṭhinuddhâra*, has a spare robe. He wants to give it to Sâriputta; but the latter is in Sâketa, and is not expected back till the ninth or tenth day. So the Buddha, to meet such cases, establishes the rule that the spare robe may be kept up to the tenth day.

The words 'a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture,' repeated at the end of each of the Nissaggiyas, are intended to mean that that offence involves, firstly, all that a Pâkittiya involves; and secondly, forfeiture.

¹ To this Rule there is the following story in the Sutta Vibhaṅga. Certain Bhikkhus left their robes in charge of the other Bhikkhus,

3. When the robes have been settled, when the *Katthina* has been taken up by the Bhikkhu, if a set of robes should be offered to a Bhikkhu out of season, it may be accepted by that Bhikkhu, should he so wish. But when he has accepted it, it must be made up at once; and if it be not sufficient for him, it may be kept up to the end of a month by that Bhikkhu should he have any hope that the deficiency may be supplied. If he keep it beyond that time, even if there be hope of (the deficiency) being supplied—that is a Pāṭittiya offence requiring forfeiture.

4. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall have his soiled robe¹ washed, or dyed, or beaten by a Bhikkhunī (sister)² who is not related to him—that is a Pāṭittiya offence involving forfeiture³.

5. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall receive a robe from the hands of a Bhikkhunī not related to him, except in exchange—that is a Pāṭittiya offence involving forfeiture.

6. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall ask a householder, or a householder's wife⁴, not being related to him,

and went on a journey. The robes, being laid by for a long time, became spoilt. The Buddha thereupon forbade a Bhikkhu, under the circumstances stated in this Rule, to separate himself from his robes (*ti-kivara*).

As regards the permission we have the story that a sick Bhikkhu was invited home that his friends might nurse him. He answers, 'The Blessed One has forbidden us to separate ourselves from our robes. I am sick, and unable to travel in my robes.' Then the Blessed One allows a sick brother to obtain leave to dispense with the Rule.

¹ Literally, 'an old robe,' which the Vibhaṅga (*Nissaggiya* IV, 2, 1) explains as one that has been once worn.

² And so, frequently, below.

³ Compare the 17th *Nissaggiya*.

⁴ Householder is here *gahapati*; that is, *pater familias*. See Rh. D.'s note on *Mahā-sudassana Sutta* I, 41.

for a robe, except at the right season—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

Here the right season means when the Bhikkhu has been robbed of his robe, or when his robe has been destroyed. This is the right season in this connection.

7. If the householder, or the householder's wife, should offer him a choice¹ from (the materials for) many robes, that Bhikkhu may have robes made out of it up to the (due portion of) inner and outer robes. If he has robes made beyond this limit—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

8. In case the value in barter of a set of robes has been laid by, for a particular Bhikkhu, by a householder who is not a relative of his, or a householder's lady, with the intention 'I will get a set of robes in exchange for this robe-fund, and so provide a dress for such and such a Bhikkhu : '—in that case,

¹ One MS. of the Vibhaṅga reads *abbihaṭṭum*; but another reads *abbihaṭṭhum*, as does Minayeff; while the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ makes it equal to *abbiharitum*. The right reading is probably *abbihaṭṭhum*. In any case, the unusual form and grammatical construction throw some doubt on the exact meaning of the phrase. The Samanta-Pâsâdikâ, which explains it philologically as just mentioned, goes on in the next words to explain it syntactically as *abbiharitvâ*, which it refers to the subject of *pavâreyya*, and states could be done either actually, or by words. Dickson's rendering, 'arrange to supply him,' does not accurately convey the force of *pavâreyya*; but the right rendering may be 'should offer to bring forth for him (whatever he chose) from (amongst the material for) many robes.' The only possible alternative is 'should make him an offer to take whatever he chose from amongst the material for many robes.' Compare the 34th Pâkittiya.

Santar-uttara-paramam is meant, according to the Vibhaṅga, to imply 'to the extent of one inner, and one outer robe;' but we preserve the ambiguity of the text.

if that Bhikkhu, before the offer has been made to him, go and give directions as to the make of the robe, saying, 'It would be well, Sir, to get in exchange such and such a sort of robe with that robe-fund to clothe me with;' desiring something fine—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture¹.

9. In case two persons, householders or householders' ladies, have each laid by for a particular Bhikkhu the value in barter of a set of robes, with the intention, 'We will each get a set of robes in exchange for this robe-fund, and so provide a dress for such and such a Bhikkhu:'—in that case, if that Bhikkhu, before the offer has been made to him, go and give directions as to the make of the robe, saying, 'It would be well, Sirs, to get in exchange, with the value in barter you have each laid by, such and such a sort of robe to clothe me with, the two becoming one:' desiring something fine—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

10. In case a Râga, or a Khattiya, or a Brâhman, or a Gahapati should send by messenger, for a particular Bhikkhu, the value in barter of a set of robes, saying, 'Get a set of robes in exchange for this robe-fund, and provide a dress for such and such a Bhikkhu!' if then that messenger should go to that Bhikkhu and say, 'I have brought, Sir, this robe-fund for your reverence. May your reverence

¹ Both Dickson and Childers have gone too far in rendering *ketâpetvâ* by 'purchase.' The *Samanta-Pâsâdikâ* (Minayeff, 78) explains it by *parivattetvâ*. So Rh. D., 'Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon,' p. 6.

In the text read *Ketâpanam* (compare *Kakkâyana*, p. 322 of Senart's edition); and it should not be rendered 'money;' see Rh. D., loc. cit. The 'Robe-fund' consisted of things for barter.

In the text the *vâ* after *aññâtakassa* should be omitted.

accept the robe-fund! let then that monk answer that messenger thus: 'We do not, my friend, accept the value in barter for a set of robes; but we may accept a set of robes, at the right time, and of the suitable kind.' If then that messenger shall answer that Bhikkhu thus: 'Has then your reverence a person who attends (to such matters for you)?' then, Bhikkhus¹, let the Bhikkhu, to whom the robes are to belong, point out, as his agent, the man who keeps the ârâma in order², or some believer, saying, 'This man, my friend, is the Bhikkhus' agent.' If then that messenger, when he has made an appointment with that agent, shall come to that Bhikkhu, and say, 'I have made an appointment, Sir, with that agent whom your reverence pointed out. Let your reverence come, and he will clothe you with the set of robes betimes!' then, Bhikkhus¹, let that Bhikkhu, to whom the set of robes is to belong, go to the agent and warn him and remind him two or three times, saying, 'Sir, I have need of a set of robes!' If, while so warning and reminding³ two or three times, he should succeed in obtaining

¹ This word of address is most noteworthy as standing quite isolated in the Pâtimokkha. It must be meant as an address by the Buddha himself to the Brethren; for, if it were the address of the Bhikkhu reciting the Pâtimokkha, the expression used would necessarily be âyasmanto, as in the closing words of each chapter, or other words to that effect. That it should have been left in is a striking proof of the faithfulness with which the Pâtimokkha has been preserved. Is it a survival of some form of words older even than the Pâtimokkha? or is it merely an ancient blunder?

² The ârâma is, literally, the grove or pleasure-ground in which the monks' residence stood; but it had probably before this already come to include the residence, or vihâra, itself.

³ In the text read *kodayamâno*, *sârayamâno*; the medial participle with active sense, as often.

the robes, it is well. Should he not succeed in obtaining them, let him up to the fourth, fifth, or sixth time go and stand silently on that matter¹. If, while so standing silently on that matter up to the fourth, fifth, or sixth time, he should succeed in obtaining the set of robes, it is well. Should he not succeed in obtaining them (so), and then, exerting himself beyond that point succeed in obtaining them—that is a Pâṭittiya offence involving forfeiture. (But) if he should not succeed in obtaining them, let him either go himself, or send a messenger (to the place) whence the robe-fund was brought to him, and say, ‘The robe-fund which your reverences sent for a Bhikkhu, that has in no wise advantaged that Bhikkhu. Take heed, your reverences, of your own, that your own go not to ruin!’ This is the proper course in that case².

Here ends the first section,
the ‘Robe-section.’

11. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall have a rug or mat made with silk in it—that is a Pâṭittiya offence involving forfeiture³.

¹ In the text read *khakkhattuparamam*. This silent standing is the only mode of asking for food permitted to a Bhikkhu.

² Both here, and in the Conclusion of the *Samghâdisesa*, and further below in the 22nd Nissaggiya, where the same phrase occurs, Mr. Dickson takes it to mean, ‘This is the way to Nirvâna.’ We are unable to see any foundation for such a rendering.

³ The following rules were for use in a tropical climate, and refer not to bed coverings, but to materials spread over a hard seat or couch. The word translated ‘rug or mat’ is a more general term, meaning ‘a thing spread;’ but there is no corres-

12. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall have a rug or mat made of pure black wool of goats' hair¹—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

13. In case a Bhikkhu is having a new rug made, two parts should be taken of pure black wool of goats' hair, the third part of white wool, and the fourth of the colour of oxen (reddish brown). If a Bhikkhu should have a new rug made without taking two parts of pure black wool, the third of white, and the fourth of tawny—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture².

14. When a Bhikkhu has had a new rug made, he should use it for six years. If he should have another new rug made within the six years, whether he has got rid, or has not got rid of the former one, unless with the permission of the Bhikkhus³—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

15. When a Bhikkhu is having a new rug made to sit upon, a piece of the breadth of the accepted span⁴ must be taken from all round the old one in

ponding word in English, as 'coverlet' or 'counterpane' would imply a different state of things.

¹ The Sutta Vibhaṅga says that *kâ/aka* is of two kinds, either *gâtiyâ kâ/aka* or *ragana-kâ/aka*; that is, that the wool is either naturally black, or dyed of that colour. *Elaka* is a goat, not a sheep.

² This is deliberately chosen as an ugly mixture, which would lessen the commercial value of the rug, by making it unfashionable.

³ Regarding this permission the Vibhaṅga gives the following story. A sick monk was asked by his relatives to come home, that they might nurse him. He answered that he was too ill to carry his rug, could not get on without one, and could not have a new one made within six years. Then the Blessed One established this exception to the general Rule.

⁴ See the note on the 6th *Samghâdisesa*.

order to disfigure it. If a Bhikkhu should have a new seat-rug made without taking a span's width from all round the old one—that is a Pāṭittiya offence involving forfeiture.

16. In case a Bhikkhu should get some goats' wool whilst he is on a journey¹, let him accept it, if he likes; and when he has accepted it, he may carry it in his own hand, if there are no porters, for the distance of three leagues². Should he carry it further than that, even if there are no porters—that is a Pāṭittiya offence involving forfeiture.

17. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall get goats' wool washed, or dyed, or combed out by a Bhikkhunī who is not related to him—that is a Pāṭittiya offence involving forfeiture³.

18. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall receive gold or silver, or get some one to receive it for him, or allow it to be kept in deposit for him⁴—that is a Pāṭittiya offence involving forfeiture.

¹ Addhāna-magga-paṭipanno; which the Kaṅkhā Vitaranī (Minayeff, p. 80) explains as being on a long road, called addhāna (high-road). But one may be on a high-road without going a long journey.

² Yoganas; a yogana being a trifle under eight miles. See Rh. D., 'Ancient Coins and Measures' &c., pp. 16, 17.

³ Compare the 4th Nissaggiya.

⁴ Upanikkhittam vā sādīyeyya; which cannot possibly mean 'if he thinks to appropriate money entrusted to him,' as Mr. Dickson translates. See Rh. D., 'Ancient Coins' &c., p. 7.

The method of procedure on a breach of this rule, or of the next, is thus described in the Vibhaṅga. The guilty Bhikkhu has to give up the gold or silver to the community (Saṃgha, not here, as elsewhere in sentences concerning forfeiture, 'or to a gāṇa or to a puggala'). Then when an ârāmika or an upāsaka comes, it is to be given to him, to buy ghee or oil with it for the Saṃgha; and whatever is bought is the common property of all the Saṃgha, save the guilty Bhikkhu. Should the layman object to undertake the

19. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall engage in any one of the various transactions in which silver is used—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

20. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall engage in any one of the various kinds of buying and selling—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

End of the second section,
the 'Silk-section.'

21. A spare bowl may be kept up to the limit of ten days. To him who exceeds that there is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

22. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall get another new bowl in exchange for an (old) one broken in less than five places—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

That bowl must be forfeited by that Bhikkhu to the company of Bhikkhus; and whichever in that company of Bhikkhus shall be the worst bowl, that shall be given to that Bhikkhu with the words, 'This, Bhikkhu, is thy bowl; it must be kept until it breaks.' This is the right course in that case.

23. Now those medicines which may be used by the sick Bhikkhus—to wit, ghee, butter, oil, honey, molasses—when they have received them, they may enjoy them, storing them up to the seventh day. To him who exceeds that there is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

spending of the gold or silver, he is to be asked to throw it away. Or, if this cannot be managed, then, as a last resource, some Bhikkhu is to be formally appointed 'Bullion-remover' (*Rûpiya-kkhadaka*), and he is to go and throw it away somewhere, 'animitam katvâ,' (without making any mark at the place!)

24. When he sees that a month of the hot days has yet to run, let a Bhikkhu provide himself with the materials for robes for the rainy season : when he sees that half a month of the hot days has yet to run, let him make them, and wear them. Should he provide himself with the materials for robes for the rainy season when more than a month of the hot days has yet to run ; or should he make them, and wear them, when more than half a month of the hot days has yet to run—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

25. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when he has himself given a set of robes to another Bhikkhu, shall thereafter, being angry or displeased with him, take them away, or get them taken away—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

26. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall himself ask for yarn, and have it woven up by weavers into cloth for a set of robes—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

27. In case a householder, who is not related to him, or a householder's lady, shall have the cloth for a set of robes woven for a particular Bhikkhu by weavers ; in that case, if that Bhikkhu, before the offer has been made to him, shall go to the weavers, and give directions as to the make of the robe, saying, 'This robe-cloth, my friends, is being woven for me. Make it long and broad, and make it thick, and well woven, and evenly woven¹, and with even lines, and well carded. If you do so, ourselves will

¹ Suppavâyitam, literally, 'well woven forth.' We follow the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ in its explanation of this word, but with considerable hesitation. Compare the relation between Sanskrit ota and prota ; and between English 'web' and 'woof.'

make it up to you, friends, in some way or other!' If that Bhikkhu¹, having thus spoken, should make it up² to them in any way, even by the contents of a begging bowl—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

28. In case a robe should fall to the lot of a Bhikkhu, as a special gift³, ten days before the Kattika-temâsa³ full moon, that Bhikkhu may take it, considering it as a special gift: and when he has it, he may keep it up till the robe time³.

¹ In the text read *Evañ ka so bhikkhu*.

² Anupadaggeyya is a double potential. *Daggâma* would be equal to Sanskrit *dadyâma*; and to that a second potential termination has been added.

³ The expression in the Pâli is literally 'should a special robe come to a Bhikkhu,' &c.; where 'special robe' is *akkēka-kîvaram*, explained in the *Samanta-Pâsâdikâ* (Minayeff, 83) as equal to *akkâyika-kîvaram*. The *Vibhaṅga* says, 'If a man wants to join the army or to emigrate, or if a man has fallen sick, or a woman is with child, or an unbeliever has come to believe, or a believer is edified (*pasâdo uppanno hoti*); then, if such a one send a messenger to the Bhikkhus, saying, "Let their reverences come hither, I will give a gift for the rainy season" (*vassâvâsikam*; perhaps, "such a gift as the laity are wont to give to the Bhikkhus who have spent the vassa among them")—that is an *akkēka-kîvaram*' (Minayeff, 82, 83). *Akkaya* is an immediate, threatening, danger: compare the expression 'donatio mortis causâ.' 'Special robe' is, no doubt, an inadequate rendering; but we have chosen it in reference to the special circumstances under which the donation is made, and in default of a better translation. Compare the 85th Pâkittiya.

The Kattika-temâsi-punnamâ is, according to the *Vibhaṅga* (Minayeff, p. 82), the close of the Pavâranâ, the ceremony at the end of Vassa (see below, Book IV).

The robe time is the time when the robes were settled. The *Vibhaṅga* says, 'Robe time is, if the robes have not been laid out to dry (see the note to the first rule in this division of the Pâtimokkha), the last month of the rains; if they have, it is five months.'

Should he keep it beyond that—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

29. When vassa is completed up to the full moon in Kattika¹ in case a Bhikkhu, who is dwelling in a place belonging to the class of those forest dwellings which are held to be insecure and dangerous, should desire to do so, he may leave one or other of his three robes in a hut inside a village, and if there is any ground for that Bhikkhu being separated from that robe, he may be separated from it up to the sixth night. Should he separate himself from it more than that, except by permission from the Bhikkhus—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

30. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall cause to be diverted to himself any benefit already dedicated to the Samgha—that is a Pâkittiya offence involving forfeiture.

Here ends the third section,
the 'Bowl-section.'

Venerable Sirs, the thirty Pâkittiya Rules involving forfeiture have been recited.

In respect of them I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

¹ This is a different date from that mentioned in the last rule, and one month later. The Vibhaṅga explains the date here as Kattika-kâtumâsinî, whereas the date in Rule 28 is temâsinî, and is called by the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ (Minayeff, p. 82) paṭhamakattika-puṇṇamâ.

The same distinction is evident, from Mahāvagga IV, 14, 7-11, between Pavāraṇā and the Kâtumâsinî. But how both these full moons came to be called Kattika is not clear.

A second time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A third time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore do they keep silence. Thus I understand.

Here ends the recitation of the Nissaggiyas.

PÂKITTİYÂ DHAMMÂ.

THE PÂKITTĪYA¹ RULES.

Now here, venerable Sirs, the ninety-two Pâkittiya Rules (Rules regarding matters requiring expiation) come into recitation.

1. There is Pâkittiya in a deliberate lie.
2. There is Pâkittiya in abusive language.
3. There is Pâkittiya in slander of a Bhikkhu.
4. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall cause one not received into the higher grade (of the Order²) to recite the Dhamma clause by clause³—that is a Pâkittiya.
5. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall, for more than two or three nights, lie down (to sleep) in the same place with one not received into the higher grade (of the Order)—that is a Pâkittiya.
6. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall lie down (to sleep) in the same place with a woman—that is a Pâkittiya⁴.
7. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall preach the Dhamma, in more than five or six words, to a woman,

¹ That is, 'requiring repentance.' Compare the Sanskrit terms *Prâyasakittika* and *Prâyasakittîya*.

² Literally, 'one who has not received the upasampadâ.'

³ *Anupasampannam padaso dhammam vâḷeyya*. This rule is directed against a wrong method of teaching the Dhamma to a *Sâmaṇera*. See the extracts from the Old Commentary, and from the *Samanta-Pâsâdikâ*, given by Minayeff on p. 84. Read however in the second line *osâpentî* for *âsâpentî*; and then go on *anvakkharam nâma, rūpam anikkān ti vukkamāno rupan ti opâpeti: anuvyañḡaganam nâma, rūpam anikkān ti vukkamāno vedanā anikkā ti saddam nikkhâreti, &c.*

⁴ For the text read *mâtugâmena*.

without a man arrived at years of discretion¹ (being present)—that is a Pāṭittiya.

8. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall tell one not received into the higher grade (of the Order) that the (speaker or any other Bhikkhu) has extraordinary spiritual gifts, even when such is the case²—that is a Pāṭittiya.

9. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall tell one not received into the higher grade (of the Order) of a Bhikkhu having fallen into any grave offence—that is a Pāṭittiya.

10. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall dig the ground or have it dug³—that is a Pāṭittiya.

Here ends the first section,
the 'Falsehood-section.'

11. There is Pāṭittiya in destroying any vegetable.

12. There is Pāṭittiya in prevarication, or in worrying (the assembled Bhikkhus; for instance, by refusing to answer⁴).

13. There is Pāṭittiya in stirring up ill-will against, in speaking disrespectfully of (any Bhikkhu deputed to any official duty⁵).

¹ Viññu. The Vibhaṅga says, 'a man able to understand what is well said, and what is wrongly said; what is wicked, and what is not wicked.' Compare the use of viññutā at Gâtaka I, 231.

² To do so when it was not the case, would be a Pārâgika. See the 4th Pārâgika, and our note there on the meaning of uttarimanussa-dhammam. The 'even' here means that the truth of the averment makes no excuse for it.

³ Because doing so might bring some living thing into danger.

⁴ Vihesake; which must be understood as being done in a formal meeting of the Saṃgha during an official enquiry.

⁵ The words in parentheses are supplied from the explanations in the Vibhaṅga.

14. Whatsoever Bhikkhu who has put out, or got another to put out to air, a bedstead, or a chair, or a mat, or a stool¹, the common property of the *Samgha*; and when going away shall not put it back, or have it put back, but shall depart without saying anything to anybody—that is a *Pâkittiya*.

15. Whatsoever Bhikkhu has put out, or got another to put out, a bedstead in a dwelling-place common to a *Samgha*; and when going away shall not put it back, or have it put back, but shall depart without saying anything to anybody—that is a *Pâkittiya*.

16. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, in a dwelling-place common to a *Samgha*, shall lie down where he knows that he is encroaching on (the space occupied by) a Bhikkhu who arrived before him, thinking, 'If he become inconvenienced he may go away'—if he does it for that object, and for no other²—that is a *Pâkittiya*.

17. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, being angry or displeased with another Bhikkhu, shall drive him out, or get him driven out of a dwelling-place common to a *Samgha*—that is a *Pâkittiya*.

18. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall hurriedly sit down, or lie down, in the upper story of a dwelling-place common to a *Samgha*³, on a bedstead or chair with removable legs—that is a *Pâkittiya*.

¹ *Kokkham*, the meaning of which is not quite clear. The *Vibhaṅga* says there are four kinds, made of bark, of usra roots, of *muṅga* grass, and of bulrushes. It is apparently therefore of wickerwork.

² That is, according to the *Vibhaṅga*, the rule does not apply to an invalid, or to one suffering from the heat, or the cold; and so on.

³ Because if he does so, he might unwittingly upset the furniture,

19. In case a Bhikkhu is having a large dwelling-place put up, he may have the work rectified, in a place where straw is scarce, round the doors, and where the bolts are put in, and the openings for light are set, and till the roof has been twice or thrice covered in¹. Should he go beyond that, even in such a place—that is a Pāḷittiya.

20. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall sprinkle water with living creatures in it, or shall cause such to be sprinkled on grass or on clay—that is a Pāḷittiya.

Here ends the second section,
the 'Bhūtagāma-section.'

Imp 21. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, not thereto deputed, shall exhort the Bhikkhuni's²—that is a Pāḷittiya.

or fall himself, to the injury of some one who was rightfully on the ground floor.

¹ In the text read *dvittikkhadanassa: itte pi*. This rule, directed against too great luxury in the matter of a perfectly finished dwelling, is somewhat obscure, owing to our want of information as to the mode in which such dwellings should be put up. It refers probably to a hut, albeit a large one, of wattle and daub (*kudda*: comp. Rh. D.'s note on the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta V, 41). The Samanta-Pāsādikā divides dvāra-kosa into dvāra-okāsa, and quotes various estimates from the old Sinhalese commentaries as to the proper extent of this space (see Minayeff, p. 87).

² Ovadeyya; that is, shall preach to them the eight Garu-dhammā. On these see the passages mentioned in the Index appended to the text of the Kullavagga; and on the ovāda see Kullavagga X, 9, 2, and following. The mode of procedure is laid down in the Vibhaṅga as follows: 'The Bhikkhu asks the Bhikkhuni's, "Are you all present, sisters, and do none raise objections (that is, are you samaggā)?" If they say, "That is so, Sir!" he asks, "Are the eight Garu-dhammā being kept up?" If they say, "They are, Sir!" he is to say, "That, sisters, is the exhortation!" and so deliver it to them. If they say, "They are

22. If a Bhikkhu, even when thereto deputed, exhort the Bhikkhunî's after the sun has set—that is a Pâḷittiya.

23. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall go to the dwelling-place of Bhikkhunî's, and there exhort the Bhikkhunî's¹, except on the (right) occasion—that is a Pâḷittiya.

Herein this is the right occasion : (to wit), when a Bhikkhunî is ill. This is the right occasion in this passage.

24. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall speak thus : ' The Bhikkhus exhort the Bhikkhunî's for the sake of gain ²!'—that is a Pâḷittiya.

25. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall give a robe to a Bhikkhunî who is not related to him, except in exchange—that is a Pâḷittiya.

26. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall make up a robe, or have it made up, for a Bhikkhunî who is not related to him—that is a Pâḷittiya.

27. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, by appointment, shall travel along a high road in company with a Bhikkhunî, even to go as far as the village, except on the right occasion—that is a Pâḷittiya.

not, Sir!" he should go all through them, saying, "A sister who has been received into the higher grade even one hundred years, &c. (and so on to the end of the Garu-dhammâ)."

'If he preach any other Dhamma to those who say, "We, Sir, are all present, and none raise objections!" he is guilty of a Dukkaṭa. If he preach the eight Garu-dhammâ to those who say, "No, Sir, that is not so!" (vagg' amh' ayyâ ti, where vagga is vyagra, the opposite of samagga), he is guilty of a Dukkaṭa. If he preach another Dhamma, when the eight Garu-dhammâ have not committed to their charge, he is guilty of a Dukkaṭa.'

¹ Compare Kullavagga X, 6, 1.

² Âmisa-hetu; that is, in order that the sisters may be induced to supply the preachers with food, medicine, &c.

Herein this is the right occasion : (to wit), when the road is so insecure and dangerous that travellers on it have to carry arms. This is the right occasion in this passage.

28. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, by appointment, shall go on board the same boat, whether going up stream or down stream, in company with a Bhikkhunī, except for the purpose of crossing over to the other side—that is a Pāṭittiya.

29. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, knowing it to be so, shall eat food procured by the intervention of a Bhikkhunī, unless the laity (who give the food) had already undertaken (to give it to him)¹—that is a Pāṭittiya.

30. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall take a seat, one man with one woman, in company with a Bhikkhunī, in a secret place²—that is a Pāṭittiya.

Here ends the third section,
the 'Bhikkhunovāda-section.'

31. A Bhikkhu who is not sick may take one meal at a public rest-house³. Should he take more than that—that is a Pāṭittiya.

¹ The introductory story in the Vibhaṅga is of a Bhikkhu born in Rāgagaha, who went to a relative's house, and a meal was there being prepared for him by his relatives. A kulupikā bhikkhunī then arrives, and says, 'My friends, give the gentleman a meal !' Then the Bhikkhu was in doubt whether he ought not to refuse it as being Bhikkhunī-paripāṭitam.

² Compare the Aniyatā Dhammā.

³ Eko āvasatha-piṇḍo bhuṅgitabbo. An āvasatha is one of those 'chaultries,' or public resting-places, which good Buddhists were wont to put up in the villages or at cross roads. At some of

32. There is Pâkittiya in going in a body to receive a meal¹, except on the right occasion.

Herein the right occasion is this: (to wit), when there is sickness, when robes are being given, when robes are being made, when on a journey (on foot), when on board a boat, when (the influx of Bhikkhus) is great², when a general invitation is given to Samanas³. This is right occasion in this passage.

33. There is Pâkittiya in taking food in turn⁴, except on the right occasion.

Herein the right occasion is this: (to wit), when there is sickness, when robes are being given, when

these a constant supply of rice was provided for travellers. See the Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta I, 10; II, 5 (pp. 10, 16); Gâtaka, No. 31 ('Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 280-285); Mahâ-sudassana Sutta I, 63; Dhammapada Commentary apud Fausböll, 185. The Samanta-Pâsâdikâ on this rule (Minayeff, p. 88) says that âvasatha-piṇḍo is a meal in such an âvasatha.

¹ On this rule compare Kullavagga VII, 3, 13. 'In a body' means four or more Bhikkhus going together to the same house.

² Mahâ-samayo. The Vibhaṅga relates how, when vassa was over, the Bhikkhus repaired in great numbers to visit the Buddha. On such occasions it was difficult or impossible for them all, if they adhered to the strict rule, to obtain their meals.

³ Samana-bhatta-samayo. See the Vibhaṅga, and the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ, quoted by Minayeff, pp. 88, 89. 'Samanas,' of course, includes others besides Buddhists.

⁴ Parampara-bhogane; that is, in picking and choosing with regard to food, or in regard to different invitations. The Bhikkhus were to eat straight on whatever was given, and to accept invitations in the order in which they were received. But a sick Bhikkhu might choose one morsel rather than another; and Bhikkhus in health might accept an invitation to a house where robes are going to be given, or made, rather than to a house where only a meal was offered. The last exception was simply to guard against the stock of robes falling short (Bhikkhû . . . nâdhivâsenti: kîvaram parittam uppagati, says the Vibhaṅga).

robes are being made. This is right occasion in this passage.

34. In case people should offer a Bhikkhu, who has gone to some house, to take as much as he chose of their sweetmeats and cakes, that Bhikkhu, should he so wish, may accept two or three bowls full¹. If he should accept more than that—that is a Pākittiya.

When he has accepted two or three bowls full¹, he must take them away, and divide them up among the Bhikkhus. That is the proper course in this case.

35. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when he has once finished his meal, though still invited (to continue eating²), shall eat or partake of³ food that has not been left over⁴, whether hard or soft⁵—that is a Pākittiya.

¹ In the text read dvittipattapurā.

The word for sweetmeats, pūva, includes all those sweetmeats which it was then (as it is now) the custom to send as presents from one house to another at weddings, funerals, and such occasions.

‘Cakes’ (mantha) refers to those rice-cakes, &c., which were usually prepared as provision for a journey. Compare *Gātaka* I, 80.

‘Should offer to take as much as he chose’ is the phrase referred to above in our note on the 7th Nissaggiya. The *Vibhaṅga* says here, *Abhihaṭṭam pavāreyyā ’ti yāvatakam ikkhasi tāvatakam ganhāhīti*.

² Pavārito. The *Vibhaṅga* says, *Pavārito nāma āsanam paññāyati bhogaṇam paññāyati hatthapāse ’hito abhiharati paṭikkhepo paññāyati*, which means, we think, ‘A seat for him is there, food is there, (the host) standing near him still makes invitation, but there takes place a refusal (of the proffered food).’

³ Khādeyya vā bhuñgeyya vā.

⁴ The ‘not left over’ refers only to the case of a sick Bhikkhu. A Bhikkhu in health, when he has once finished his meal, ought not to eat what he has left.

⁵ Khādaniyam vā bhoganiyam vā. The former term is used of hard food, such as biscuits, cakes, meats, fruits, &c.; the latter

36. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall offer a Bhikkhu who has finished his meal, though still invited to continue eating, his choice of food, whether hard or soft, that has not been left over, saying, 'Come, now, Bhikkhu; take and eat!' deliberately desiring to stir up longing (in that Bhikkhu); then if that Bhikkhu eats¹—that is a Pāṭittiya.

37. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall take or eat any food, whether hard or soft, at the wrong time²—that is a Pāṭittiya.

38. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall eat food, whether hard or soft, that has been put by—that is a Pāṭittiya.

39. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when he is not sick, shall request, for his own use, and shall partake of delicacies—to wit, ghee, butter, oil, honey, molasses, fish, flesh, milk, curds³—that is a Pāṭittiya.

40. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall place, as food, within the door of his mouth, anything not given to him, save only water and a tooth-cleaner⁴—that is a Pāṭittiya.

Here ends the fourth section,
the 'Bhogana-section.'

41. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall, with his own

term of soft foods, such as boiled rice, curries, &c. The two words for eating correspond to these two ideas.

¹ Bhuttasmiṃ pāṭittiya; that is, the offence is completed when the eating has taken place; but the offer alone is not a Pāṭittiya. So the Vibhaṅga.

² After sun-turn.

³ In the text read tāni; madhu phāṇitaṃ.

⁴ Dantapona; doubtless the same, perhaps an older expression for, the danta kaṭṭha referred to in Kullavagga V, 31. It is a piece of fragrant root (cinnamon, betel, &c.) about eight inches long.

hand, give food, whether hard or soft, to an *Aṭelaka* or to a *Paribbāgaka* or to a *Paribbāgikā*¹—that is a *Pāṭittiya*.

42. Whatsoever *Bhikkhu* shall address a *Bhikkhu* thus: 'Come, brother; let us go, for a meal, to the village, or the town!' and then, whether after he has got an alms for him, or without having got an alms for him, shall send him away, saying, 'Go away, brother! Talking with you, or sitting with you, is not pleasant to me. Talking, or sitting each one by himself, is more pleasant to me!'—if he does this for this cause, and for no other²—that is a *Pāṭittiya*.

43. Whatsoever *Bhikkhu* shall force his way into a house where a meal is going on³, and take a seat there—that is a *Pāṭittiya*.

¹ These are the various non-Buddhist religious teachers or devotees, most of whom rejected the Vedas. The *Paribbāgakas* were mostly, though not always, wandering logicians, willing to maintain theses against all the world. *Paribbāgikā* is merely the feminine of the last. *Aṭelaka*, which naturally has no feminine, were the naked ascetics.

The sect now called *Gains* are divided into two classes, *Svetambaras* and *Digambaras*, the latter of which eat naked. They are known to be the successors of the school called *Niganthas* in the Pāli *Piṭakas*; and it is not certain whether the *Niganthas* are included in the *Aṭelakas*. It is probable that the *Brāhman* ascetics, the *Vānaprasthas*, were not included under the term *Paribbāgakas*; but our information on the exact meaning of these terms is, as yet, very imperfect.

² That is merely to get rid of him, in order to gain any purpose of his own. The *Vibhaṅga* gives as examples that the *Bhikkhu* sees some valuable things, and wants to get them; or sees some woman, and wants to speak to her.

³ *Sabbhogane kule*; the meaning of which is not quite clear. The Old Commentary says, 'A *sabbhogana kula* is one where

44. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall take a seat, in secret, with a woman, in a concealed place¹—that is a Pâkittiya.

45. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall take a seat, in secret, with a woman, one man with one woman—that is a Pâkittiya.

46. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, who has been invited (to a house), and has been (thus already) provided with a meal, shall, without having previously spoken about it to a Bhikkhu, if there is one there, go on his (begging) rounds among the families, either before meal-time or after meal-time², except on the right occasion—that is a Pâkittiya.

there is a husband and a wife; and they both, husband and wife, are not gone forth from, are not devoid of lust' (Minayeff, p. 89, under P.; but for *anatikkantâ* read *anikkhantâ*). Then the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ, doubtless to justify this suggested implication, makes *sabhoganam* equal to *saha ubhohi ganehi* (!); or, in the alternative, to *sabhogam*, since 'the wife is the bhoga of a man still given to passion, and the husband the bhoga of a wife.' The use of *Bhogana* in any such sense is extremely forced, and was perhaps only suggested by the following rules; but it is just possible we should translate, 'a household still given to pleasure' (compare *Kullavagga* VIII, 5, 1), or 'fond of good food' (compare *Milinda Pañha* 76).

On *anupakhagga* compare the 16th Pâkittiya.

¹ Compare the 30th Pâkittiya, and the two *Aniyatâ Dhammâ*.

² The *Vibhaṅga* has the following stories in regard to these two particulars. A family devoted to Upananda invited him and another Bhikkhu. Before meal-time he went to attend on other families (*purebhattam kulâni payirupâsati*). The people delayed giving his meal to the other Bhikkhu till Upananda should arrive. He came late; and the other Bhikkhu was thereby discomforted.

The family devoted to Upananda sent him food for his use; saying it was to be given to the *Samgha*, with special reference to him. He had gone for an alms to the village. The messengers delivered the food and the message, and asked where Upananda was.

Herein the right occasion is this: (to wit), a time of giving of robes, a time of making of robes. That is right occasion in this passage.

47. A Bhikkhu who is not sick may accept a (standing) invitation with regard to the requisites¹ for four months. If he accept it for a period longer than that—unless there be a second invitation, or a perpetual invitation—that is a Pākittiya.

48. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall go to see an army drawn up in battle-array, except for a cause thereto sufficient—that is a Pākittiya.

49. And if there be any reason for that Bhikkhu's going to the army, that Bhikkhu may remain there for two or three nights. If he remain longer than that—that is a Pākittiya.

50. And if while remaining there for two or three nights he should go to the battle-array, or to the numbering of the forces, or to the drawing up of the forces, or to a review²—that is a Pākittiya.

End of the fifth section,
the 'Aṭṭelaka-section.'

The Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One. He directed the present to be accepted, and laid by till Upananda should return. After Upananda returned, he nevertheless went out again to attend on other families, and the food so sent went bad.

The Bhikkhu is to tell a resident Bhikkhu before, on account of this rule, giving up his usual rounds, in order that he may still go if a sick Bhikkhu wants medicine.

The exceptions are, as above, to prevent the stock of robes falling short.

¹ These are usually four—clothing, food, residence, and medicine. This rule refers more especially to medicine, as appears from the explanation in the Vibhaṅga.

² On this rule compare the third section of the *Magghima-Sīla*,

51. There is Pāṭittiya in the drinking of fermented liquors, or strong drinks¹.

52. There is Pāṭittiya in poking (another person) with the finger.

53. There is Pāṭittiya in sporting in the water².

54. There is Pāṭittiya in disrespect³.

55. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall frighten a Bhikkhu⁴—that is a Pāṭittiya.

56. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, who is not sick, shall, desiring to warm himself⁵, kindle a fire, or have a fire kindled, without cause sufficient thereto—that is a Pāṭittiya.

57. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall bathe at intervals of less than half a month, except on the proper occasion—that is a Pāṭittiya.

Herein this is proper occasion : (to wit), the two and a half months during which there is hot weather, and during which there is fever ; namely, the last month and a half of the heats, and the first month

and the third section of the Mahâ-Sila (translated in Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli,' pp. 192, 198). We follow the Vibhaṅga in the interpretation of the various terms.

¹ The Old Commentary (quoted by Minayeff, p. 90) distinguishes between surâ and meraya by the former being derived from flour, water, &c., and the latter from flowers, fruits, &c.

² Throwing water over one another, and chasing one another, were common amusements at the public and private bathing-places. Our MSS. read throughout hâsa-dhamme.

³ Anâdariye. That is, according to the Vibhaṅga, paying no heed, when one's attention is drawn by an upasampanna to the fact that this or that action is against the rule laid down (paññatam). But compare also Kullavagga VIII, 8, 1.

⁴ In the text read bhimsâpeyya.

⁵ H. O.'s MS. reads visibbanâpekho. At Mahâvagga I, 20, 15, visibbesum occurs in the sense of 'they warmed themselves.' Trenckner at p. 47 of the Milinda Pañha reads aggim galetvâ visivetvâ; and at p. 102, samsibbitavisibbitattâ sâkhânam.

of the rains¹: when sick; when there is work; when on a journey; when there has been wind and rain. This is right occasion in this connection.

58. A Bhikkhu who receives a new robe must choose one or other mode of disfigurement out of the three modes of disfigurement; either (making part of it) dark blue, or (marking part of it with) mud, or (making part of it) black. If a Bhikkhu should make use of a new robe without choosing one or other mode of disfigurement out of the three modes of disfigurement²—that is a Pāṭittiya.

59. Whatsoever Bhikkhu who has made over³ his robe to a Bhikkhu, or to a Bhikkhunī, or to a probationer, or to a Sāmaṇera, or to a Sāmaṇerī, shall continue to make use of it as a thing not (formally) given—that is a Pāṭittiya.

¹ The Vibhaṅga refers the first of these periods to the hot weather, and the second to the fever weather.

² In the text insert a full stop after *kā/asāmaṃ vā*. The object of this rule, according to the Vibhaṅga, is to enable a Bhikkhu to trace his robe should it get lost by being mixed up with others. Compare the 15th Nissaggiya.

³ The Vibhaṅga says, ‘There are two ways of appointment (in making over, *vikappanā*), promising in the presence, and promising in the absence (of the person to whom the appointment is made). Promise in the presence is by the words, “I make over this robe to you, or to such and such a one (then present)!” Promising in the absence is by the words, “I give this robe to you for you to appoint (to some one else).” Then the person spoken to should say, “Who is your friend, or intimate acquaintance?” “Such a one, or such a one.” Then the other should say, “I give this to them. This is their property. Wear it, or part with it, or do with it as you like!”’

These last are the formal words used on presenting a robe; and by their use the property in the robe is transferred. After that the original owner, in spite of the formal words, may not, according to our rule, continue to use the robe.

On *paṭikkuddhāraṃ* see Childers, sub voce *paṭikkuddhāro*.

60. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall hide, or cause another to hide, a Bhikkhu's bowl, or his robe, or the mat on which he sits, or his needle-case¹, or his girdle, even though in fun—that is a Pâkittiya.

End of the sixth section,
the 'Surâpâna-section.'

61. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall deliberately deprive any living thing of life—that is a Pâkittiya.

62. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall, knowingly, drink water with living things in it—that is a Pâkittiya.

63. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall stir up for decision again a matter which he knows to have been settled according to the Dhamma²—that is a Pâkittiya.

64. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, who knows of it, shall conceal a serious offence³ committed by a Bhikkhu—that is a Pâkittiya.

65. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall admit a person under twenty years of age to the higher grade in the Order, knowing him (or her) to be so—(while) the person is not admitted to the higher grade, and the other Bhikkhus (who assist) are blameworthy—this is in him⁴ a Pâkittiya.

66. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall, by appointment, journey along the same route with a caravan of

¹ In the text read *sûkigharam*.

² Compare the 79th Pâkittiya, and *Kullavagga* IV, 14 *passim*.

³ That is, a Pârâgika, or a Samghâdisesa.

⁴ The *upagghâya* is guilty of a Pâkittiya; the *âkariya*, and the *gana*, of a *Dukkaṭṭa*, says the *Vibhaṅga*.

robbers, knowing it to be such, even as far as the next village¹—that is a Pāḷittiya.

67. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall, by appointment, journey along the same route with a woman², even as far as the next village—that is a Pāḷittiya.

68. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall speak thus: ‘In this wise do I understand that the Dhamma has been proclaimed by the Blessed One: that to him who cultivates those Qualities which have been called “dangerous” by the Blessed One, there is not sufficient danger (to prevent his acquiring spiritual gifts)³;’ then that Bhikkhu should be addressed by the Bhikkhus thus: ‘Say not so, brother! bear not false witness against the Blessed One! For neither is it seemly to bring a false accusation against the Blessed One, nor could the Blessed One speak so. By many a figure⁴, brother, have the Dangerous Qualities been declared by the Blessed One to be full of danger⁵, and also to be sufficient to prevent him who cultivates them (from attaining spiritual gifts)³.’ If that Bhikkhu, when he has thus been spoken to by the Bhikkhus, should persist as before, then let that Bhikkhu be (formally) admonished about it by the Bhikkhus as a body, even to the third time, to the intent that he abandon that course.

¹ Compare the 27th Pāḷittiya. A caravan that sets out with intent to steal or rob on the way is meant.

² Compare the 27th and 28th Pāḷittiyas.

³ These are specified in detail in Mahāvagga II, 3, 7.

⁴ Pariyāya; fulness, extent, of illustration and explanation. Not merely manner, or method, of statement. Much of this pariyāya will be found in the various similes used in the *Kullavagga* loc. cit.

⁵ In the text here, and in the corresponding clause of No. 70, read *anekapariyāyena āvuso antarāyikā dhammā antarāyikā vuttā bhagavatā*, as in *Kullavagga* I, 32.

If, while being so admonished, up to the third time, he abandon that course, it is well. If he abandon it not—that is a Pâḷittiya¹.

69. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, knowing him to be so, shall eat in company with, or dwell together with², or sleep in one place with a Bhikkhu who talks thus (as in 68), and has not been dealt with according to the law³, and has not laid aside his delusion—that is a Pâḷittiya.

70. If a Sâmaṇera⁴ even should say thus: 'In this wise do I understand that the Dhamma has been proclaimed by the Blessed One: that to him who cultivates those Qualities which have been called "dangerous" by the Blessed One there is not sufficient danger (to prevent his attaining to spiritual gifts);' then that Sâmaṇera should be addressed by the Bhikkhus thus: 'Say not so, good Sâmaṇera! Bear not false witness against the Blessed One. For neither is it seemly to bring a false accusation against the Blessed One, nor could the Blessed One speak so. By many a figure, good Sâmaṇera, have the

¹ This rule is directed against the delusion that sin, to a very holy man, loses its danger and its sinfulness. Compare the 4th *Samghâdisesa*; and, on the method of procedure here laid down, the 10th to the 13th *Samghâdisesas*. At *Kullavagga* I, 32 lust is declared to be an *antarâyiko dhammo*; and falsehood another at *Mahāvagga* II, 3, 3. The *Samanta-Pâsâdikâ* (quoted by Mina-yeff, p. 92) gives five divisions of these 'dangerous qualities.'

² This the *Vibhaṅga* explains as holding *Upasatha*, or *Pavâranâ*, or a *Samghakamma* with him.

³ *Ukkhitto anosârîto*, says the *Vibhaṅga*. Compare *Mahāvagga* IX, 4, 10, 11.

⁴ *Samanuddeso*; which is explained by the Old Commentary as equal to *Sâmaṇera*. Why, in the *Pâtimokkha*, now one and now the other expression should be used, is not clear. In the later texts *Sâmaṇera* is the usual form, but *samanuddeso* is found also in a few passages.

Dangerous Qualities been declared by the Blessed One to be full of danger, and also to be sufficient to prevent him who cultivates them (from attaining to spiritual gifts).’ And if that Sāmaṇera, when so addressed by the Bhikkhus, shall persist in that course, that Sāmaṇera should be addressed by the Bhikkhus thus: ‘From this day forth, good Sāmaṇera, neither can that Blessed One be referred to¹ by you as your Teacher, nor can the privilege, which the other Sāmaṇeras enjoy, of sleeping in the same place with the Bhikkhus for two or three nights², any longer be yours! Depart! away with you³!’

Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall encourage⁴, or support⁵, or eat with, or sleep in the same place with, a Sāmaṇera thus expelled—that is a Pāṭittiya.

End of the seventh section,
the ‘Sappāṇaka’-section.’

¹ Apadisitabbo. Compare the four Mahāpadesā in the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta IV, 7-11.

² Compare the 5th Pāṭittiya.

³ In the text read *kara pi re*; that is, *kara api re*, instead of *kara pare*. On vinassa compare Mahāvagga I, 61, 1.

⁴ Upalāpeyya. Compare Mahāvagga I, 59, and Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta I, 5, and the passages quoted in Rh. D.’s version of the latter passage. The Old Commentary says, ‘Flatters him (talks him over, *tassa upalāpeti*) by saying, “I will give you a bowl, or a robe, or hear you repeat, or answer your questions.”’

⁵ Upaṭṭhāpeyya. The Old Commentary says, ‘by providing him with chunam, or clay, or a tooth-cleanser, or water to wash his face with.’ No doubt *upaṭṭhāpeti* is used in the sense of showing such personal attentions to another, as the *upaṭṭhāka* did to the Buddha; and such services would very rightly come under this rule. Yet here, as often, the comment is rather a scholastic exegesis of the sentence, than a philologically exact explanation of the word.

⁶ This title is taken from the second, not, as in all the other cases, from the first rule in the section.

71. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when admonished by the Bhikkhus in respect of some precept in accordance with the Dhamma, shall speak thus: 'I cannot submit myself to that precept, brother, until I shall have enquired touching it of another Bhikkhu, an experienced master of the Vinaya'—that is a Pāṭittiya.

A Bhikkhu desirous of training, Bhikkhus¹, should learn, and enquire, and settle in his own mind. This is the right rule in this connection.

72. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when the Pātimokkha is being recited, shall speak thus: 'What comes of these minor² precepts being here recited, save only that they tend to misgiving, and worry, and perplexity!'—there is Pāṭittiya in thus throwing contempt on the precepts³.

73. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when at the half month the Pātimokkhā is being recited, should say thus: 'Now for the first time do I notice that this rule, they say, is handed down in the Suttas, is embraced in the Suttas!'—then, if the other Bhikkhus shall know concerning that Bhikkhu thus: 'This Bhikkhu has taken his place at the recitation of the Pātimokkha once, or twice, not to say oftener⁴'—that Bhikkhu is not only not made free on account of his ignorance⁵, but he is to be dealt with according to the Dhamma for the offence into which he has fallen, and furthermore he is to be charged with foolishness (in the words), 'This is loss to thee,

¹ On this strange allocution see the note to the 10th Nissaggiya.

² Khuddānukhuddakehi. Compare the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta VI, 3, and the passages quoted there in Rh. D.'s note.

³ In the text read vivānnake.

⁴ In the text read ko pana vādo bhiyyo.

⁵ In the text read aññānakena.

brother, this is an evil to thee, in that when the Pātimokkha is being recited you fail to take it to your heart, and attend to it with care.' There is Pāḷittiya in such foolish conduct.

74. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, being angry or displeased with another Bhikkhu, shall give a blow—that is a Pāḷittiya.

75. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, being angry or displeased with another Bhikkhu, shall make use of any threatening gesture¹—that is a Pāḷittiya.

76. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall harass a Bhikkhu with a (charge of) *Samghâdisesa* without ground—that is a Pāḷittiya.

77. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall intentionally suggest difficulties of conscience to a Bhikkhu, with the idea of causing him uneasiness, even for a moment; if he does it to that end alone—that is a Pāḷittiya.

78. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall stand by overhearing when Bhikkhus are quarrelling, or making a disturbance, or engaged in a dispute, hoping to hear what they shall utter; if he does it to that end alone—that is a Pāḷittiya.

79. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when he has declared his consent to formal proceedings conducted according to the Dhamma, shall thereafter grumble (about those proceedings)²—that is a Pāḷittiya.

¹ *Talasattikam uggireyya*. The Old Commentary says, *Kāyam vâ kāyapaṭibaddham vâ antamaso uppapattam pi ukkâreti*. Compare *âvudhâni uggiritvâ* at *Gâtaka I, 150*.

² If he should raise any formal objections so as to re-open the question, that would fall under the 63rd Pāḷittiya. On 'declaring one's consent' in this and the following rule, see below, *Mahāvagga II, 23*. The whole rule, as well as on No. 63, is repeatedly referred to in *Kullavagga IV, 14*.

80. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when the *Samgha* is engaged in conducting a (formal) enquiry, shall rise from his seat, and go away, without having declared his consent—that is a *Pâkittiya*.

81. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when, in a regularly constituted *Samgha*¹, he has given away a robe, shall thereafter grumble about it, saying, 'The Bhikkhus appropriate the property of the *Samgha* according to friendship'—that is a *Pâkittiya*.

82. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall divert to the use of any individual property dedicated to the *Samgha*, knowing it to be so—that is a *Pâkittiya*.

Here ends the eighth section,
the 'Sahadhammika-section.'

83. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall cross the threshold of an anointed Khattiya king, when the king has not gone forth, and the queen has not withdrawn, without first having had himself announced²—that is a *Pâkittiya*.

¹ *Samaggena samghena*. See the note to the 21st *Pâkittiya*.

² *Indakhîla*, the word translated 'threshold,' is explained in the Old Commentary by *sayani-ghara*, 'sleeping chamber;' but this is rather a didactic gloss on the rule. Compare the note above on the 43rd *Pâkittiya*. The phrase 'when the queen has not gone in' is somewhat doubtful. H. O.'s MS. of the *Vibhaṅga* reads (as Minayeff does) *aniggata-ratanake*, instead of Dickson's *anîhata-ratanake*. The former is the better reading; *nîhata* is impossible, it must be either *nihata* or *nîhata*. But *ratanaka*, though the queen is one of the seven Ratanas of a king, is not found elsewhere used absolutely for a queen: the use of *râgake*, too, immediately after *rañño*, instead of *raññe* or *râgini*, is curious. A possible alternative rendering would be 'when the court has not departed, and the regalia not laid aside:' but we prefer on

84. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall pick up, or cause another to pick up, except in a grove or in a dwelling-place, a jewel, or anything deemed a jewel¹—that is a Pāṭittiya.

Should a Bhikkhu have picked up, either in a grove or in a dwelling-place, a jewel, or anything deemed a jewel, it is to be laid aside, that he to whom it may belong may take it away. This is the right course in such a case.

85. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall, out of hours², enter a village, without having informed a Bhikkhu if one is present³, except on account of business of a special nature⁴ thereto sufficient—that is a Pāṭittiya.

86. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall have a needle-case made of bone, or ivory, or horn, it shall be broken up—and that is a Pāṭittiya.

87. When a Bhikkhu is having a new bedstead or chair made, it should be made with legs eight inches in height, according to the accepted inch⁵, exclusive of the lowermost piece of the bed frame⁶. To him who exceeds that limit there is a Pāṭittiya,

the whole the Old Commentator's explanation of *rāgaka* and *ratanaka*.

¹ *Ratanasammatam*; that is, a thing made of one of those substances ranked with gems, such as jade, coral, &c.

² *Vikāle*; that is, says the Old Commentary, from sun-turn in one day till sun-rise in the next.

³ *Santam bhikkhum*. If one is not present, he may go without. The Old Commentary gives no such definition of being present, as Mr. Dickson has supplied.

⁴ *Akkāyika*. Compare the note on the 28th Nissaggiya.

⁵ *Sugataṅgulena*. See the note on the 6th *Samghādisesa*.

⁶ *A/ani*. There is no explanation of this term, either in the Old Commentary, or in the *Samanta-Pāsādikā*.

and (the legs of the piece of furniture) shall be cut down (to the proper size).

88. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall have a bedstead or a chair made, stuffed with cotton¹, the stuffing shall be torn out—and that is a Pâkittiya.

89. When a Bhikkhu is having a rug or mat to sit upon made, it must be made of the right measure. Herein this is the measure: in length two spans, according to the accepted span; in breadth one span; the border one span. To him who exceeds that limit there is a Pâkittiya, and (the article) shall be cut down (to the proper size).

90. When a Bhikkhu is having an itch-cloth² made, it must be made of the right measure. Herein this is the measure: in length four spans, according to the accepted span; in width two spans. To him who exceeds that limit there is a Pâkittiya, and (the cloth) shall be cut (down to the proper size).

91. When a Bhikkhu is having a garment made for the rainy season, it must be made of the right measure. Herein this is the right measure: in length six spans, according to the accepted span; in breadth two spans and a half. To him who exceeds that limit there is a Pâkittiya, and (the garment) shall be cut (down to the proper size).

92. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall have a robe made of the dimensions of a Sugata's robe³, or larger—

¹ *Tûlam*; which the Old Commentary expands into three kinds—*tûlam* from a tree, *tûlam* from a creeper, and *tûlam* from a young fowl.

² When a Bhikkhu had a boil, or running sore, or any such disease, the use of an itch-cloth (so called from the first in the list of skin complaints there mentioned) is laid down in Mahāvagga VIII, 17.

³ On the doubtful meaning of Sugata, see the note above on

that is a Pākittiya, and (the robe) shall be cut down to the proper size.

Herein this is the measure of the Sugata robe of a Sugata: in length nine spans, according to the accepted span; in breadth six spans. This is the measure of the Sugata robe of a Sugata.

End of the ninth section,
the 'Ratana-section.'

Venerable Sirs, the ninety-two rules regarding matters requiring expiation have been recited.

In respect of them I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A second time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A third time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore do they keep silence. Thus I understand.

Here endeth the recitation of the Pākittiyas.

the 28th Nissaggiya. There is no reason whatever to believe that Gotama's robe was larger, in proportion, than those worn by the other members of his order. He exchanged robes with Mahā Kassapa. Of the two sets of robes brought by Pukkusa, one was given to Ānanda, and one was reserved for the Buddha himself; and no one can read the account in the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta without feeling that both are supposed to be of the same size.

PÂTIDESANIYÂ DHAMMÂ.

RULES REGARDING MATTERS WHICH OUGHT TO BE
CONFESSED.

Here, venerable Sirs, the four rules regarding matters which ought to be confessed come into recitation.

1. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, when a Bhikkhunî not related to him has entered within the houses¹, shall, with his own hand, accept at her hands food, either hard or soft, and eat or enjoy it—that is a matter which ought to be confessed by that Bhikkhu, saying, ‘I have fallen, Brethren, into a blameworthy offence, unbecoming, which ought to be confessed; and I confess it!’

2. Now Bhikkhus, when they have been invited to laymen’s houses, eat. If the Bhikkhunî stay there giving directions, saying, ‘Here give curry, give rice here!’ the Bhikkhunî ought to be rebuked by those Bhikkhus, saying, ‘Stand aside, Sister, as long as the Bhikkhus are eating!’ If it should not occur to a single Bhikkhu to rebuke the Bhikkhunî, saying, ‘Stand aside, Sister, as long as the Bhikkhus are eating!’—that is a matter that ought to be confessed by those Bhikkhus, saying, ‘We have fallen, Brethren, into a blameworthy offence, unbecoming, which ought to be confessed; and we confess it!’

3. Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall accept, with his

¹ *Antaragharam pavittihâ*; that is, during her alms-visit to the village. Compare the 3rd *Sekhiya*; *Mahāvagga* I, 23, 3; and *Kullavagga* VIII, 5, 2.

own hand, food, either hard or soft, in such households as have been (by a formal *sammuti*) declared to be households, under discipline¹, without having been previously invited, and without being sick, and eat it or enjoy it—that is a matter that ought to be confessed by that Bhikkhu, saying, ‘I have fallen, Brethren, into a blameworthy offence, unbecoming, which ought to be confessed; and I confess it!’

4. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, while he is dwelling in a place belonging to the class of those forest dwellings which are held to be insecure and dangerous², shall accept, with his own hand, at his home, food, either hard or soft, without having previously given notice (of the danger incurred by people that enter that forest), unless he is sick, and shall eat it or enjoy it—that is a matter that ought to be confessed by that Bhikkhu, saying, ‘I have fallen, Brethren, into a blameworthy offence, unbecoming, which ought to be confessed; and I confess it!’

Here end the Pâtidesaniyas.

Venerable Sirs, the four rules regarding matters which require confession have been recited.

In respect of them I ask the venerable ones, ‘Are you pure in this matter?’

¹ *Sekha-sammatâni kulâni*; which the *Vibhaṅga* explains as a household grown rich in faith, but poor in goods; where whatever they get is given away to the Order, though the family may be some days in want of it. Compare what is said of *Anâthapindika* in the Introduction to the 40th *Gâtaka* (*Gâtaka* I, 228); though his lot had not reached the very lowest limit.

² Compare the 29th *Nissaggiya*.

A second time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A third time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore do they keep silence. Thus I understand.

Here endeth the recitation of the Pâṭidesaniyas.

SEKHIYÂ DHAMMÂ.

RULES REGARDING MATTERS CONNECTED WITH
DISCIPLINE.

Here, venerable Sirs, the rules regarding matters connected with discipline come into recitation.

1. 'I will put on my under garment all around me¹.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

2. 'I will put on my robe all around me.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

3. 'Properly clad will I go amidst the houses².' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

4. 'Properly clad will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

5. '(With my body) under proper control³ will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

6. '(With my body) under proper control will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

7. 'With downcast eye⁴ will I go amidst the

¹ *Parimandalam*: 'so as to cover the navel-*mandala*, and the knee-*mandala*,' says the Old Commentary. Compare Childers sub voce *Timandalam*; and *Kullavagga* VIII, 5, 2.

² *Antaraghare*. The *antaragharam* is the space in a village between the huts; not exactly the same, and yet in the following rules practically the same, as the village (*gâma*).

³ Not, for instance, with dirty hands or feet, according to the *Vibhaṅga*.

⁴ The practical rule is for a *Bhikkhu* to look at a spot in the ground about a plough's length in front of him.

houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

8. 'With downcast eye will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

9. 'With robes not pulled up¹ will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

10. 'With robes not pulled up will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

End of the first section.

11. 'Not with loud laughter will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

12. 'Not with loud laughter will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

13. 'Making but a little sound will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

14. 'Making but a little sound will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

15. 'Without swaying my body about will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

16. 'Without swaying my body about will I take

¹ Or perhaps 'thrown off.' He is to be fully dressed as laid down in the 1st and 2nd Sekhiyas.

my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

17. 'Without swaying my arms about will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

18. 'Without swaying my arms about will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

19. 'Without swaying my head about will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

20. 'Without swaying my head about will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

End of the second section.

21. 'With my arms not akimbo¹ will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

22. 'With my arms not akimbo will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

23. 'With my head uncovered² will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

24. 'With my head uncovered will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

¹ Nakkhambhakato: 'putting the hands on the hips,' says the Old Commentary.

² Na ogun/hito: which the Old Commentary applies to the head.

25. 'Without walking on my heels or my toes¹ will I go amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

26. 'Without lolling² will I take my seat amidst the houses.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

27. 'With mind alert³ will I receive an alms.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

28. 'Paying attention to my bowl will I receive an alms.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

29. 'With equal curry⁴ will I receive an alms.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

30. 'Equally full⁵ will I receive an alms.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

End of the third section.

31. 'With mind alert will I eat the alms placed in my bowl.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

32. 'Paying attention to my bowl will I eat the

¹ Na ukku/ikâya; an unusual sense of the word; but it is so explained here by the Old Commentary.

² Na pallatthikâya. 'Without making a rest with his hands, or with a cloth,' according to the Old Commentary. Compare the Tipallattha-miga Gâtaka, and No. 65 below.

³ Sakkakkam. Satim upa//hâpetvâ, says the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ. See also No. 31.

⁴ Samasûpakam. 'When the curry is in quantity one-fourth of the rice' explains the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ. See No. 34.

⁵ Samatittikam. 'Equally full, equally heaped up (samabhâritam)' explains the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ. Compare the several passages quoted in Rh. D.'s note on Tevigga Sutta I, 24.

alms placed in my bowl.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

33. 'Begging straight on from house to house¹ will I eat the alms placed in my bowl.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

34. 'With equal curry will I eat the alms placed in my bowl.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

35. 'Without pressing down from the top² will I eat the alms placed in my bowl.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

36. 'Neither the curry nor the condiment will I cover up with the rice, desiring to make it nicer³.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

37. 'Neither curry nor rice will I ask for, for my own particular use, unless I am sick.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

38. 'Not with envious thoughts will I look at others' bowls.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

39. 'Not into too large balls will I make (up my food).' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

40. 'Into round mouthfuls will I make up my food.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

End of the fourth section.

¹ Sapadânam. See Childers sub voce. The Vibhaṅga says, *Khabbaggiyâ bhikkhû taham taham omadditvâ pindapâtam bhuṅganti*. The Samanta-Pâsâdikâ says, *Sapadânan ti tattha tattha odhim akatvâ anupâpâsîyâ*.

² Na thûpato omadditvâ; on which the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ has 'matthakato vemagghato ti.' He is not to pick and choose what morsel he takes.

³ Compare the 8th Nissaggiya. In the text read upâdâya.

41. 'Not till the ball is brought close will I open the door of my mouth.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

42. 'Not the whole hand, when eating, will I put into my mouth.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

43. 'When the food is in my mouth will I not talk.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

44. 'Without tossing the food into my mouth will I eat¹.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

45. 'Without nibbling at the balls of food will I eat.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

46. 'Without stuffing my cheeks out will I eat².' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

47. 'Without shaking my hands about³ will I eat.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

48. 'Without scattering the lumps of boiled rice will I eat.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

49. 'Without putting out my tongue will I eat.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

50. 'Without smacking my lips⁴ will I eat.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

End of the fifth section.

¹ *Pindukkhepakan ti pindam ukkhipitvâ ukkhipitvâ*, says the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ.

² *Avagandakâraṇaṇa ti makkato viya gande katvâ*, says the Samanta-Pâsâdikâ (Minayeff, p. 93).

³ That is, to disengage particles of the rice, to shake them off on to the ground.

⁴ Literally, without making the sound '*Kapu-kapu*.'

51. 'Without making a hissing sound will I eat¹.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

52. 'Without licking my fingers will I eat.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

53. 'Without licking my bowl will I eat.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

54. 'Without licking my lips will I eat.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

55. 'Not with a hand soiled with food will I take hold of the water-jar.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

56. 'The rinsings of the bowl mixed with lumps of boiled rice will I not throw into the inner court².' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

57. 'Not to a person with a sunshade in his hand, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

58. 'Not to a person with a staff in his hand, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

59. 'Not to a person with a sword in his hand, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

60. 'Not to a person with a weapon in his hand, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

End of the sixth section.

61. 'Not to a person wearing slippers, unless he

¹ Literally, without making the sound 'Suru-suru.'

² Antaraghare, which here means the space, or small open square in the middle of the house.

is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

62. 'Not to a person wearing sandals, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

63. 'Not to a person seated in a cart, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

64. 'Not to a person lying on a couch, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

65. 'Not to a person lolling, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

66. 'Not to a person with a turban on his head, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

67. 'Not to a person with his head covered, unless he is sick, will I preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

68. 'Not to a person seated on a seat, unless he is sick, will I, seated on the earth, preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

69. 'Not to a person seated on a high seat, unless he is sick, will I, seated on a low seat, preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

70. 'Not to a person sitting, unless he is sick, will I, standing, preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

End of the seventh section.

71. 'Not to a person walking in front of me, unless he is sick, will I, walking behind, preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

72. 'Not to a person walking on a path, unless he is sick, will I, walking by the side of the path, preach the Dhamma.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

73. 'Not standing will I ease myself, unless I am sick.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

74. 'Not on growing grass will I ease myself, or spit.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

75. 'Not into water will I ease myself, or spit.' This is a discipline which ought to be observed.

Venerable Sirs, the rules regarding matters of discipline have been recited.

In respect of them I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A second time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A third time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore do they keep silence. Thus I understand.

Here endeth the recitation of the Sekhiyas.

THE ADHIKARANA-SAMATHÂ DHAMMÂ.

THE RULES REGARDING THE SETTLEMENT OF CASES.

Here, venerable Sirs, the seven rules regarding the settlement of cases come into recitation.

For the decision and settlement of cases as they from time to time arise, the Proceeding in presence¹ must be performed, or the Proceeding for the consciously innocent², or the Proceeding in the case of those who are no longer out of their mind³, or the Proceeding on confession of guilt⁴, or the Proceeding by majority of the chapter⁵, or the Proceeding for the obstinate⁶, or the Proceeding by covering over as with grass⁷.

Venerable Sirs, the seven rules regarding the settlement of cases have been recited.

In respect of them I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A second time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

A third time I ask the venerable ones, 'Are you pure in this matter?'

¹ Sammukhâ-vinaya. See *Kullavagga* IV, 14, 16, and following.

² Sati-vinaya. See *Kullavagga* IV, 14, 27.

³ Amûlha-vinaya. See *Kullavagga* IV, 5, and following, and IV, 14, 28.

⁴ Paññâya. See *Kullavagga* IV, 7, 8.

⁵ Yebhuyyasikâ. See *Kullavagga* IV, 9, and IV, 14, 24.

⁶ Tassapâpiyyasikâ. See *Kullavagga* IV, 11.

⁷ Tinavatthâraka. See *Kullavagga* IV, 13.

The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore do they keep silence. Thus I understand.

Here endeth the recitation of the
Adhikarana-samathas.

Venerable Sirs! Recited is the Introduction.
 Recited are the four Pârâgika Rules.
 Recited are the thirteen Samghâdisesa Rules.
 Recited are the two Aniyata Rules.
 Recited are the thirty Nissaggiya-Pâkittiya Rules.
 Recited are the ninety-two Pâkittiya Rules.
 Recited are the four Pâtidesaniya Rules.
 Recited are the Sekhiya Rules.
 Recited are the seven Adhikarana-samatha Rules.

So much (of the words) of the Blessed One, handed down in the Suttas, embraced in the Suttas, comes into recitation every half month. It behoveth all to train themselves according thereto in concord, in pleasantness, without dispute!

Here endeth the recitation of the Pâtimokkha
for the use of the Bhikkhus.

MAHÂVAGGA.

THE MAHĀVAGGA.

REVERENCE TO THE BLESSED ONE, THE HOLY ONE,
THE FULLY ENLIGHTENED ONE.

FIRST KHANDHAKA.

(THE ADMISSION TO THE ORDER OF BHIKKHUS.)

1¹.

I. At that time the blessed Buddha dwelt at

¹ To this book is prefixed, as introduction, an account of the first events after Gotama's attaining Buddhahood, down to the conversion of his two chief disciples, Sâriputta and Moggallâna (chaps. 1-24). Among the elements of historical or legendary character with which, in the Vinaya Piṭaka, the discussion of the monastic discipline is interwoven, this account occupies by far the first place, both in extent and in importance. For it contains the oldest version accessible to us now and, most probably, for ever, of what the Buddhist fraternity deemed to be the history of their Master's life in its most important period.

The connection in which this legendary narration stands with the main subject of the first Khandhaka is not difficult to account for. The regulations regarding the admission to the fraternity, which are discussed in this Khandhaka, could not but present themselves to the redactors of the Piṭaka as being the very basis of their religious discipline and monastic life. It was possible to fancy the existence of the Saṃgha without the Pâtimokkha rules, or without the regulations about the Pavâraṇâ festival, but it was impossible to realise the idea of a Saṃgha without rules showing who was to be regarded as a duly admitted member of the fraternity, and who was not. It is quite natural, therefore, that the stories or legends concerning the ordination of Bhikkhus were put in connection with the record of the very first events of the history of the Saṃgha.

Nor is it difficult to account for the theory formulated by the

Uruvelâ, on the bank of the river Nerañgarâ¹, at the foot of the Bodhi tree (tree of wisdom), just after he had become Sambuddha. And the blessed Buddha sat cross-legged at the foot of the Bodhi tree uninterruptedly during seven days, enjoying the bliss of emancipation².

historians of the Buddhist ecclesiastical law, of different successive forms in which the ordination of Bhikkhus had been performed. In the beginning, of course, there was nobody but the Buddha himself who could ordain Bhikkhus; to him those who desired to be received, expressed their wish, and he conferred on them the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations by the formula: 'Ehi bhikkhu,' &c. (see I, 6, 32, 34, &c.) It was a very natural conception that afterwards, as the *Samgha* grew larger, the Buddha should have transferred the power of admitting new members to the Bhikkhus themselves, and should have instituted that form of ordination which the redactors of the *Piṭaka* found valid at their own time.

The transition, however, from the supposed oldest form of ordination (the so-called ehi-bhikkhu-upasampadâ) to that latter form is in the *Vinaya* legends not represented as immediate. There is described an intermediate stage between the two, the ordination by the three *sarāṇagamanas*, or by the candidate's three times repeated declaration of his taking refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the *Samgha* (see *Mahāvagga* I, 12). The reason which has led the redactors of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* to this construction, was most probably the important part which in the upasampadâ service of the later time devolved upon the preceptor (*upagghāya*) of the candidate. As only learned Bhikkhus, who had completed the tenth year after their own upasampadâ, could perform the function of *upagghāya* at the upasampadâ ordination of other Bhikkhus (*Mahāvagga* I, 31, 8), it was natural that the redactors of the *Vinaya* found it impossible to ascribe this form of upasampadâ service to the first times of Buddha's teaching. For these times, therefore, they recorded another form, the upasampadâ by the three *sarāṇagamanas*, the introduction of which they assigned, very naturally, to the time soon after the conversion of Yasa's friends, by which event the number of Bhikkhus had been augmented at once from seven to sixty-one.

¹ The Lilayan or Phalgu river in Behar; see General Cunningham's map, *Archaeological Reports*, vol. i. plate iii.

² After having reached the sambodhi and before preaching to

2. Then the Blessed One (at the end of these seven days) during the first watch of the night fixed his mind upon the Chain of Causation¹, in direct and in reverse order: 'From Ignorance² spring the sam-

the world the truth he has acquired, the Buddha remains, according to the tradition, during some weeks at Uruvelâ, 'enjoying the bliss of emancipation.' The Mahâvagga, which contains these legends in their oldest forms, assigns to this stay a period of four times seven days; the later tradition is unanimous in extending it to seven times seven days (Buddhaghosa in the commentary on the Mahâvagga; *Gâtaka Atthav.* vol. i. p. 77 seq.; *Dîpavamsa* I, 29, 30; *Lalita Vistara*, p. 488 seq.; Beal, *Romantic Legend*, p. 236 seq., &c.)

¹ The Chain of Causation, or the doctrine of the twelve *nidânas* (causes of existence), contains, as has often been observed, in a more developed form an answer to the same problem to which the second and third of the four Noble Truths (*ariyasakkâ*) also try to give a solution, viz. the problem of the origin and destruction of suffering. The Noble Truths simply reduce the origin of suffering to Thirst, or Desire (*Taṇhâ*), in its threefold form, thirst for pleasure, thirst for existence, thirst for prosperity (see I, 6, 20). In the system of the twelve *nidânas* Thirst also has found its place among the causes of suffering, but it is not considered as the immediate cause. A concatenation of other categories is inserted between *taṇhâ* and its ultimate effect; and on the other hand, the investigation of causes is carried on further beyond *taṇhâ*. The question is here asked, What does *taṇhâ* come from? and thus the series of causes and effects is led back to *aviggâ* (Ignorance), as its deepest root. We may add that the redactors of the *Piṭakas*, who of course could not but observe this parallelity between the second and third *ariyasakkâs* and the system of the twelve *nidânas*, go so far, in one instance (*Ânguttara-Nikâya*, *Tika-Nipâta*, fol. *ke* of the Phayre MS.), as to directly replace, in giving the text of the four *ariyasakkâs*, the second and third of them by the twelve *nidânas*, in direct and reverse order respectively. Professor Childers has furnished a valuable note on the *nidânas*; see Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays* (second edition), II, 453 seq.

² In the *Sammâdiṭṭhisuttanta* (*Magghima-Nikâya*, fol. *khû* of Turnour's MS.) we find the following explanation of what Ignorance is: 'Not to know Suffering, not to know the Cause of suffering,

khâras¹, from the *samkhâras* springs Consciousness, from Consciousness spring Name-and-Form, from Name-and-Form spring the six Provinces (of the

not to know the Cessation of suffering, not to know the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering, this is called Ignorance.' The same is repeated in the explanation of the *nidâna* formula, which is given in the *Vibhaṅga* (*Abhidhamma-Piṭaka*, *Paṭikkasamuppâdaviḥaṅga*, fol. 41 of the Phayre MS.), and we must accept it, therefore, as the authentic expression of Buddhistical belief. It is obvious, however, that this explanation leaves room for another question. Ignorance, we are told, is the source of all evil and of all suffering, and the subject ignored is stated to be the four Truths. But who is the subject that ignores them? All attributes (as the *viññâṇa*, &c.), that constitute sentient beings and enable them to know or to ignore, are said to be first produced by Ignorance, and we should conclude, therefore, that they cannot exist before Ignorance has begun to act. Or are we to understand that it is the Ignorance incurred by a sentient being in a preceding existence, that causes the *samkhâras* and Consciousness, the connecting links between the different existences; to act and to bring about the birth of a new being?

As is well known, this Ignorance (*Avidyâ*) plays a great part also in the Brahmanical philosophy of the *Upanishads*; and the Buddhist belief is, no doubt, founded to a considerable extent on older theories. But we cannot venture in a note to touch upon one of the most difficult and interesting questions which await the research of Indianists.

¹ It is very frequently stated that there are three *samkhâras* or productions: *kâyasamkhâra*, *vaċċisamkhâra*, and *kittasamkhâra*, or, productions of body, of speech, and of thought (see, for instance, the *Sammâdhisuttanta*, *Magghima-Nikâya*, fol. 41 of Turnour's MS.) The *kâyasamkhâra* consists, according to the *Samkhâra-Yamaka* (*Abhidhamma-Piṭaka*), in inhalation and expiration (*assâsapassâsâ*); the *vaċċisamkhâra* in attention and investigation (*vitakkaviċârâ*); the *kittasamkhâra* in ideas, sensations, and all attributes of mind except attention and investigation (*saññâ ka vedanâ ka itthapetvâ vitakkaviċâre sabbe pi kittasampayuttakâ dhammâ*). The *Vibhaṅga* (*Abhidhamma-Piṭaka*, *Paṭikkasamuppâdaviḥaṅga*, l. 1.) gives, when discussing the *samkhâras*, six categories instead of the three: 'Now which are

six senses¹), from the six Provinces springs Contact, from Contact springs Sensation, from Sensation springs Thirst (or Desire), from Thirst springs Attachment, from Attachment springs Existence, from Existence springs Birth, from Birth spring Old Age and Death, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection, and despair. Such is the origination of this whole mass of suffering. Again, by the destruction of Ignorance, which consists in the complete absence of lust, the *samkhâras* are destroyed, by the destruction of the *samkhâras* Consciousness is destroyed, by the destruction of Consciousness Name-and-Form are destroyed, by the destruction of Name-and-Form the six Provinces are destroyed, by the destruction of the six Provinces Contact is destroyed, by the destruction of Contact Sensation is destroyed, by the destruction of Sensation Thirst is destroyed, by the destruction of Thirst Attachment is destroyed, by the destruction of Attachment Existence is destroyed, by the destruction of Existence Birth is destroyed, by the destruction of Birth Old Age and Death, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection, and despair are

the *samkhâras* that are produced by Ignorance? *Samkhâras* (or, productions) that lead to righteousness, *samkhâras* that lead to sinfulness, *samkhâras* that lead to immovability, productions of body, of speech, and of thought.' The Pâli words are: 'Tattha katame aviggâpakkâyâ samkhârâ? puññâbhisamkhâro apuññâbhisamkhâro ânañgâbhisamkhâro kâyasamkhâro vaṭṭisamkhâro kitta-samkhâro.' The list of fifty-five categories belonging to the *samkhâra-khandha*, which Sp. Hardy gives in his Manual (p. 404 seq.; comp. also Rh. D., 'Buddhism,' p. 91 seq., and 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli,' p. 242), is not founded, as far as we know, on the authority of the Piṭakas themselves, but on later compendia and commentaries.

¹ I. e. eye, ear, nose, tongue, body (or the faculty of touch), and mind.

destroyed. Such is the cessation of this whole mass of suffering.'

3. Knowing this the Blessed One then on that occasion pronounced this solemn utterance: 'When the real nature of things becomes clear to the ardent, meditating Brāhmaṇa, then all his doubts fade away, since he realises what is that nature and what its cause.'

4. Then the Blessed One during the middle watch of the night fixed his mind upon the Chain of Causation, in direct and reverse order: 'From Ignorance spring the *saṃkhâras*, &c. Such is the origination of this whole mass of suffering, &c. Such is the cessation of this whole mass of suffering.'

5. Knowing this the Blessed One then on that occasion pronounced this solemn utterance: 'When the real nature of things becomes clear to the ardent, meditating Brāhmaṇa, then all his doubts fade away, since he has understood the cessation of causation.'

6. Then the Blessed One during the third watch of the night fixed his mind, &c.

7. Knowing this the Blessed One then on that occasion pronounced this solemn utterance: 'When the real nature of things becomes clear to the ardent, meditating Brāhmaṇa, he stands, dispelling the hosts of Mâra, like the sun that illuminates the sky.'

Here ends the account of what passed
under the Bodhi tree.

2.

1. Then the Blessed One, at the end of those seven days, arose from that state of meditation, and went from the foot of the Bodhi tree to the Agapâla banyan tree (banyan tree of the goat-herds¹). And when he had reached it, he sat cross-legged at the foot of the Agapâla banyan tree uninterruptedly during seven days, enjoying the bliss of emancipation.

2. Now a certain Brâhmana, who was of a haughty disposition², went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, he exchanged greeting with the Blessed One; having exchanged with him greeting and complaisant words, he stationed himself near him; then standing near him that Brâhmana thus spoke to the Blessed One: 'By what, Gotama, does one become a Brâhmana, and what are the characteristics that make a man a Brâhmana?'

3. And the Blessed One, having heard that, on this occasion pronounced this solemn utterance: 'That Brâhmana who has removed (from himself) all sinfulness, who is free from haughtiness, free from impurity, self-restrained, who is an accomplished master of knowledge (or, of the Veda), who has fulfilled the duties of holiness, such a Brâhmana may

¹ Buddhaghosa: 'The goat-herds used to go to the shadow of that banyan tree and to sit there; therefore it was called the banyan tree of the goat-herds.' The northern Buddhists say that this tree had been planted by a shepherd boy, during the Bodhisatta's six years' penance, in order to shelter him; see Beal, *Rom. Legend*, pp. 192, 238, and the *Mahāvastu*.

² 'Huhun̄kagâtiko.' Buddhaghosa: 'Because he was *diṭṭha-maṅgalika*, he became filled with haughtiness and wrath, and went about uttering the sound "huhum."'' *Diṭṭhamāṅgalika* (having seen something auspicious?) is obscure to us.

justly call himself a Brāhmaṇa, whose behaviour is uneven to nothing in the world.'

Here ends the account of what passed
under the Agapāla tree.

3.

1. Then the Blessed One, at the end of those seven days, arose from that state of meditation, and went from the foot of the Agapāla banyan tree to the Muḥalinda tree. And when he had reached it, he sat cross-legged at the foot of the Muḥalinda tree uninterruptedly during seven days, enjoying the bliss of emancipation.

2. At that time a great cloud appeared out of season, rainy weather which lasted seven days, cold weather, storms, and darkness. And the Nāga (or Serpent) king Muḥalinda came out from his abode, and seven times encircled the body of the Blessed One with his windings, and kept extending his large hood over the Blessed One's head, thinking to himself: 'May no coldness (touch) the Blessed One! May no heat (touch) the Blessed One! May no vexation by gadflies and gnats, by storms and sunheat and reptiles (touch) the Blessed One!'

3. And at the end of those seven days, when the Nāga king Muḥalinda saw the open, cloudless sky, he loosened his windings from the body of the Blessed One, made his own appearance disappear, created the appearance of a youth, and stationed himself in front of the Blessed One, raising his clasped hands, and paying reverence to the Blessed One.

4. And the Blessed One, perceiving that, on this occasion, pronounced this solemn utterance: 'Happy is the solitude of him who is full of joy, who has learnt the Truth, who sees (the Truth). Happy is freedom from malice in this world, (self-)restraint towards all beings that have life. Happy is freedom from lust in this world, getting beyond all desires; the putting away of that pride which comes from the thought "I am!" This truly is the highest happiness!'

Here ends the account of what passed
under the Muḥalinda tree.

4.

1. Then the Blessed One, at the end of those seven days, arose from that state of meditation, and went from the foot of the Muḥalinda tree to the Râgâyatana (tree¹); when he had reached it, he sat cross-legged at the foot of the Râgâyatana tree uninterruptedly during seven days, enjoying the bliss of emancipation.

2. At that time Tapussa and Bhallika, two merchants, came travelling on the road from Ukkala (Orissa) to that place. Then a deity who had been (in a former life) a blood-relation of the merchants Tapussa and Bhallika, thus spoke to the merchants

¹ Buddhaghosa says that Râgâyatana (lit. a royal apartment) was the name of a tree. It is the same tree which in the *Lalita Vistara* (p. 493, ed. Calcutta) is called *Târâyana*, and in the *Dīpavamsa* (II, 50) *Khîrapâla*. The place where the two merchants met Buddha, is thus described in the *Mahāvastu*: *kshîrikâvanashande bahudevatake kētiye*.

Tapussa and Bhallika : 'Here, my noble friends, at the foot of the Râgâyatana tree, is staying the Blessed One, who has just become Sambuddha. Go and show your reverence to him, the Blessed One, by (offering him) rice-cakes and lumps of honey. Long will this be to you for a good and for a blessing.'

3. And the merchants Tapussa and Bhallika took rice-cakes and lumps of honey, and went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, they stationed themselves near him; standing near him, the merchants Tapussa and Bhallika thus addressed the Blessed One : 'May, O Lord, the Blessed One accept from us these rice-cakes and lumps of honey, that that may long be to us for a good and for a blessing!'

4. Then the Blessed One thought : 'The Tathâgatas¹ do not accept (food) with their hands. Now

¹ The term Tathâgata is, in the Buddhistical literature, exclusively applied to Sammâsambuddhas, and it is more especially used in the Piṭakas when the Buddha is represented as speaking of himself in the third person as 'the Tathâgata.' The meaning 'sentient being,' which is given to the word in the Abhidhânappadîpikâ, and in Childers's Dictionary, is not confirmed, as far as we know, by any passage of the Piṭakas. This translation of the word is very possibly based merely on a misunderstanding of the phrase often repeated in the Sutta Piṭaka : *hoti tathâgato param maraṇâ*, which means, of course, 'does a Buddha exist after death?' In the Gâina books we sometimes find the term *tatthagaya* (*tatragata*), 'he who has attained that world, i.e. emancipation,' applied to the Gînas as opposed to other beings who are called *ihagaya* (*idhagata*), 'living in this world.' See, for instance, the *Gînakaritra*, § 16. Considering the close relation in which most of the dogmatical terms of the Gâinas stand to those of the Baudddhas, it is difficult to believe that *tathâgata* and *tatthagaya*

with what shall I accept the rice-cakes and lumps of honey?' Then the four Mahârâga gods¹, understanding by the power of their minds the reflection which had arisen in the mind of the Blessed One, offered to the Blessed One from the four quarters (of the horizon) four bowls made of stone (saying), 'May, O Lord, the Blessed One accept herewith the rice-cakes and the lumps of honey!' The Blessed One accepted those new stone bowls; and therein he received the rice-cakes and honey lumps, and those, when he had received, he ate.

5. And Tapussa and Bhallika, the merchants, when they saw that the Blessed One had cleansed² his bowl and his hands, bowed down in reverence

should not originally have conveyed very similar ideas. We think that on the long way from the original Mâgadhi to the Pâli and Sanskrit, the term *tatthagata* or *tatthâgata* (*tatra* + *âgata*), 'he who has arrived there, i.e. at emancipation,' may very easily have undergone the change into *tathâgata*, which would have made it unintelligible, were we not able to compare its unaltered form as preserved by the *Gainas*.

¹ The four guardian gods of the quarters of the world; see Hardy's Manual, p. 24. Their Pâli names, as given in the *Abhidhânappadîpikâ*, vv. 31, 32, the *Dîpavamsa* XVI, 12, &c., were, *Dhatarattha*, *Virûhaka*, *Virûpakkha*, and *Vessavana* or *Kuvera*.

² *Onîtapattapâni*, which is said very frequently of a person who has finished his meal, is translated by Childers, 'whose hand is removed from the bowl' (comp. also Trenckner, *Pali Miscellany*, p. 66). We do not think this explanation right, though it agrees with, or probably is based on, a note of Buddhaghosa ('*pattato ka apanîtapânim*'). *Onîta*, i.e. *avanîta*, is not *apanîta*, and the end of the dinner was marked, not by the Bhikkhu's removing his hand from the bowl, but by his washing the bowl (see *Kullavagga* VIII, 4, 6), and, of course, his hands. In Sanskrit the meaning of *ava-nî* is, to pour (water) upon something; see the Petersburg Dictionary. We have translated, therefore, *onîtapattapâni* accordingly.

at the feet of the Blessed One and thus addressed the Blessed One: 'We take our refuge, Lord, in the Blessed One and in the Dhamma; may the Blessed One receive us as disciples who, from this day forth while our life lasts, have taken their refuge (in him).' These were the first in the world to become lay-disciples (of the Buddha) by the formula which contained (only) the dyad¹.

Here ends the account of what passed
under the Râgâyatana tree.

5.

1. Then the Blessed One, at the end of those seven days, arose from that state of meditation, and went from the foot of the Râgâyatana tree to the Agapâla banyan tree. And when he had reached it, the Blessed One stayed there at the foot of the Agapâla banyan tree.

2. Then in the mind of the Blessed One, who was alone, and had retired into solitude, the following thought arose: 'I have penetrated this doctrine which is profound, difficult to perceive and to understand, which brings quietude of heart, which is exalted, which is unattainable by reasoning, abstruse, intelligible (only) to the wise. This people, on the other hand, is given to desire, intent upon desire, delighting in desire. To this people, therefore, who

¹ Because there was no *Samgha* at that time, their declaration of taking refuge, by which they became *upâsakas*, could refer only to the dyad (the Buddha and the Dhamma), instead of to the triad of the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the *Samgha*.

are given to desire, intent upon desire, delighting in desire, the law of causality and the chain of causation will be a matter difficult to understand; most difficult for them to understand will be also the extinction of all *samkhâras*, the getting rid of all the substrata (of existence¹), the destruction of desire, the absence of passion, quietude of heart, *Nirvâna*! Now if I proclaim the doctrine, and other men are not able to understand my preaching, there would result but weariness and annoyance to me.'

3. And then the following . . . ² stanzas, unheard before, occurred to the Blessed One: 'With great pains have I acquired it. Enough! why should I now proclaim it? This doctrine will not be easy to understand to beings that are lost in lust and hatred.

'Given to lust, surrounded with thick darkness, they will not see what is repugnant (to their minds), abstruse, profound, difficult to perceive, and subtle.'

4. When the Blessed One pondered over this matter, his mind became inclined to remain in quiet, and not to preach the doctrine. Then *Brahmâ*

¹ The upadhis (substrata of existence) are specified in the commentary on the *Sutta-Nipâta*, ap. *Dhammapada*, p. 433: 'sabbûpadhinam parikkhayâ 'ti sabbesam khandhakâmagunakilesâbhisamkhârabhedânâ upadhinam parikkhinattâ.' Probably *abhisamkhâra* is not co-ordinate with the other members of the compound, but is determined by them, comp. *pabbagâbhisamkhâra*, *iddhâbhisamkhâra*, *gamikâbhisamkhâra*. The upadhis, therefore, according to this passage, consist: firstly, in the actions of mind that are directed towards the *khandhas* (i. e. that have the effect of propagating and augmenting the dominion of the *khandhas*); secondly, in the actions tending to the fivefold pleasures of sense; and thirdly, in those connected with *kilesa* (evil passion).

² *Buddhaghosa* explains *anakkhâriya* by *anuaakkhâriya*, which is alike unintelligible to us. The *Lalita Vistara* (p. 515, ed. Calcutta) has *abhikshnam* ('repeatedly').

Sahampati¹, understanding by the power of his mind the reflection which had arisen in the mind of the Blessed One, thought: 'Alas! the world perishes! Alas! the world is destroyed! if the mind of the Tathâgata, of the holy, of the absolute Sambuddha inclines itself to remain in quiet, and not to preach the doctrine.'

5. Then Brahmâ Sahampati disappeared from Brahma's world, and appeared before the Blessed One (as quickly) as a strong man might stretch his bent arm out, or draw back his out-stretched arm.

6. And Brahmâ Sahampati adjusted his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, and putting his right knee on the ground, raised his joined hands towards the Blessed One, and said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, may the Blessed One preach the doctrine! may the perfect One preach the doctrine! there are beings whose mental eyes are darkened by scarcely any dust; but if they do not hear the doctrine, they cannot attain salvation. These will understand the doctrine.'

7. Thus spoke Brahmâ Sahampati; and when he had thus spoken, he further said: 'The Dhamma hitherto manifested in the country of Magadha has been impure, thought out by contaminated men. But do thou now open the door of the Immortal²; let them hear the doctrine discovered by the spotless One!

'As a man standing on a rock, on mountain's

¹ It is difficult to believe that the Pâli name of Brahmâ Sahampati, the ruler of the Brahma worlds (see Spence Hardy's Manual, pp. 43, 56), is not connected with the Brahman svayambhû of the Brahmanical literature. Perhaps the Sanskrit equivalent of sahapati might be svayampati.

² Amata, an epithet of Arahatsip, which may perhaps mean simply ambrosia. See Rh. D., Buddhism, pp. 60, 111, 184.

top, might overlook the people all around, thus, O wise One, ascending to the highest palace of Truth, look down, all-seeing One, upon the people lost in suffering, overcome by birth and decay,—thou, who hast freed thyself from suffering!

‘Arise, O hero; O victorious One! Wander through the world, O leader of the pilgrim band, who thyself art free from debt. May the Blessed One preach the doctrine; there will be people who can understand it!’

8. When he had spoken thus, the Blessed One said to Brahmâ Sahampati: ‘The following thought, Brahmâ, has occurred to me: “I have penetrated this doctrine, . . . (&c., down to end of § 2).” And also, Brahmâ, the following . . . ¹ stanzas have presented themselves to my mind, which had not been heard (by me) before: “With great pains, . . . (&c., down to end of § 3).” When I pondered over this matter, Brahmâ, my mind became inclined to remain in quiet, and not to preach the doctrine.’

9. And a second time Brahmâ Sahampati said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, may the Blessed One preach the doctrine, . . . (&c., as in §§ 6, 7).’ And for the second time the Blessed One said to Brahmâ Sahampati: ‘The following thought . . . (&c., as before).’

10. And a third time Brahmâ Sahampati said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, may the Blessed One preach the doctrine, . . . (&c., as before).’

Then the Blessed One, when he had heard Brahmâ’s solicitation, looked, full of compassion towards sentient beings, over the world, with his (all-perceiving) eye of a Buddha. And the Blessed One, looking over the world with his eye of a Buddha,

¹ See § 3 with our note for this omitted word.

saw beings whose mental eyes were darkened by scarcely any dust, and beings whose eyes were covered by much dust, beings sharp of sense and blunt of sense, of good disposition and of bad disposition, easy to instruct and difficult to instruct, some of them seeing the dangers of future life and of sin.

11. As, in a pond of blue lotuses, or water-roses, or white lotuses, some blue lotuses, or water-roses, or white lotuses, born in the water, grown up in the water, do not emerge over the water, but thrive hidden under the water; and other blue lotuses, or water-roses, or white lotuses, born in the water, grown up in the water, reach to the surface of the water; and other blue lotuses, or water-roses, or white lotuses, born in the water, grown up in the water, stand emerging out of the water, and the water does not touch them,—

12. Thus the Blessed One, looking over the world with his eye of a Buddha, saw beings whose mental eyes were darkened, . . . (&c., the text repeats § 10); and when he had thus seen them, he addressed Brahmâ Sahampati in the following stanza: ‘Wide opened is the door of the Immortal to all who have ears to hear; let them send forth faith to meet it. The Dhamma sweet and good I spake not, Brahmâ, despairing of the weary task, to men.’

13. Then Brahmâ Sahampati understood: ‘The Blessed One grants my request that He should preach the doctrine.’ And he bowed down before the Blessed One, and passed round him with his right side towards him; and then he straightway disappeared.

Here ends the story of Brahmâ’s request.

6.

1. Now the Blessed One thought : 'To whom shall I preach the doctrine first? Who will understand this doctrine easily?' And the Blessed One thought: 'There is Â/âra Kâlâma¹; he is clever, wise, and learned; long since have the eye of his mind been darkened by scarcely any dust. What if I were to preach the doctrine first to Â/âra Kâlâma? He will easily understand this doctrine.'

2. Then an invisible deity said to the Blessed One: 'Â/âra Kâlâma has died, Lord, seven days ago.' And knowledge sprang up in the Blessed One's mind that Â/âra Kâlâma had died seven days ago. And the Blessed One thought: 'Highly noble was Â/âra Kâlâma. If he had heard my doctrine, he would easily have understood it.'

3. Then the Blessed One thought: 'To whom shall I preach the doctrine first? Who will understand this doctrine easily?' And the Blessed One thought: 'There is Uddaka Râmaputta¹; he is clever, wise, and learned; long since have the eye of his mind been darkened by scarcely any dust. What if I were to preach the doctrine first to Uddaka Râmaputta? He will easily understand this doctrine.'

4. Then an invisible deity said to the Blessed One: 'Uddaka Râmaputta has died, Lord, yesterday evening.' And knowledge arose in the Blessed One's mind that Uddaka Râmaputta had died the previous evening. And the Blessed One thought:

¹ Â/âra Kâlâma and Uddaka Râmaputta were the two teachers to whom Gotama had attached himself first after his pabbaggâ. See Fausbøll's *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 66; Rh. D., Buddhism, p. 34.

‘Highly noble was Uddaka Râmaputta. If he had heard my doctrine, he would easily have understood it.’

5. Then the Blessed One thought: ‘To whom shall I preach the doctrine first? Who will understand this doctrine easily?’ And the Blessed One thought: ‘The five Bhikkhus¹ have done many services to me²; they attended on me during the time of my exertions (to attain sanctification by undergoing austerities). What if I were to preach the doctrine first to the five Bhikkhus?’

6. Now the Blessed One thought: ‘Where do the five Bhikkhus dwell now?’ And the Blessed One saw by the power of his divine, clear vision, surpassing that of men, that the five Bhikkhus were living at Benares, in the deer park Isipatana³. And the Blessed One, after having remained at Uruvelâ as long as he thought fit, went forth to Benares.

7. Now Upaka, a man belonging to the Âgîvaka sect (i. e. the sect of naked ascetics), saw the Blessed One travelling on the road, between Gayâ and the Bodhi tree; and when he saw him, he said to the Blessed One: ‘Your countenance, friend, is serene; your complexion is pure and bright. In whose

¹ See about the five companions of Buddha’s self-mortification, in the time before the sambodhi, the *Gâtaka*, vol. i. p. 67; Hardy, *Manual*, p. 165; Rh. D., *Buddhism*, p. 35. The names of the five Bhikkhus were, *Kondañña*, Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahânâma, Assagi.

² Perhaps instead of kho ‘me (=kho ime) we should read kho me.

³ ‘The Mrigadâwa, or Deer Park, is represented by a fine wood, which still covers an area of about half a mile, and extends from the great tower of Dhamek on the north, to the Chaukundi mound on the south.’ Cunningham, *Arch. Reports*, I, p. 107.

name, friend, have you retired from the world? Who is your teacher? Whose doctrine do you profess?’

8. When Upaka the Âgġvaka had spoken thus, the Blessed One addressed him in the following stanzas: ‘I have overcome all foes; I am all-wise; I am free from stains in every way; I have left everything; and have obtained emancipation by the destruction of desire. Having myself gained knowledge, whom should I call my master? I have no teacher; no one is equal to me; in the world of men and of gods no being is like me. I am the holy One in this world, I am the highest teacher, I alone am the absolute Sambuddha; I have gained coolness (by the extinction of all passion) and have obtained Nirvāṇa. To found the Kingdom of Truth I go to the city of the Kāśīs (Benares); I will beat the drum of the Immortal in the darkness of this world.’

9. (Upaka replied): ‘You profess then, friend, to be the holy, absolute Gina¹.’

(Buddha said): ‘Like me are all Ginas who have reached extinction of the Âsavas²; I have overcome (gītā me) all states of sinfulness; therefore, Upaka, am I the Gina.’

When he had spoken thus, Upaka the Âgġvaka replied: ‘It may be so, friend;’ shook his head, took another road, and went away.

10. And the Blessed One, wandering from place to place, came to Benares, to the deer park Isipatana, to the place where the five Bhikkhus were. And

¹ Gina, or the victorious One, is one of the many appellations common to the founders of the Bauddha and Gaina sects.

² Sensuality, individuality, delusion, and ignorance (Kāma, Bhava, Diṭṭhi, and Aviggā).

the five Bhikkhus saw the Blessed One coming from afar; when they saw him, they concerted with each other, saying, 'Friends, there comes the samāna Gotama, who lives in abundance, who has given up his exertions, and who has turned to an abundant life. Let us not salute him; nor rise from our seats when he approaches; nor take his bowl and his robe from his hands. But let us put there a seat; if he likes, let him sit down.'

11. But when the Blessed One gradually approached near unto those five Bhikkhus, the five Bhikkhus kept not their agreement. They went forth to meet the Blessed One; one took his bowl and his robe, another prepared a seat, a third one brought water for the washing of the feet, a foot-stool, and a towel¹. Then the Blessed One sat down on the seat they had prepared; and when he was seated, the Blessed One washed his feet. Now they addressed the Blessed One by his name, and with the appellation 'Friend.'

12. When they spoke to him thus, the Blessed One said to the five Bhikkhus: 'Do not address, O Bhikkhus, the Tathāgata by his name, and with the appellation "Friend." The Tathāgata, O Bhikkhus, is the holy, absolute Sambuddha. Give ear, O Bhikkhus! The immortal (Amata) has been won (by me); I will teach you; to you I preach the doctrine. If you walk in the way I show you, you will, ere long, have penetrated to the truth, having yourselves known it and seen it face to face; and you

¹ Buddhaghosa, in a note on *Kullavagga* II, 1, 1, says that *pādapiḥḥa* is a stool to put the washed foot on, *pāḍakathalika* (or *pāḍakathalikā?*), a stool to put the unwashed foot on, or a cloth to rub the feet with (*pāḍaghaṃsana*).

will live in the possession of that highest goal of the holy life, for the sake of which noble youths fully give up the world and go forth into the houseless state.'

13. When he had spoken thus, the five monks said to the Blessed One: 'By those observances, friend Gotama, by those practices, by those austerities, you have not been able to obtain power surpassing that of men, nor the superiority of full and holy knowledge and insight. How will you now, living in abundance, having given up your exertions, having turned to an abundant life, be able to obtain power surpassing that of men, and the superiority of full and holy knowledge and insight?'

14. When they had spoken thus, the Blessed One said to the five Bhikkhus: 'The Tathâgata, O Bhikkhus, does not live in abundance, he has not given up exertion, he has not turned to an abundant life. The Tathâgata, O Bhikkhus, is the holy, absolute Sambuddha. Give ear, O Bhikkhus; the immortal has been won (by me); I will teach you, to you I will preach the doctrine. If you walk in the way I show you, you will, ere long, have penetrated to the truth, having yourselves known it and seen it face to face; and you will live in the possession of that highest goal of the holy life, for the sake of which noble youths fully give up the world and go forth into the houseless state.'

15. And the five Bhikkhus said to the Blessed One a second time (as above). And the Blessed One said to the five Bhikkhus a second time (as above). And the five Bhikkhus said to the Blessed One a third time (as above).

16. When they had spoken thus, the Blessed One

said to the five Bhikkhus: 'Do you admit, O Bhikkhus, that I have never spoken to you in this way before this day?'

'You have never spoken so, Lord.'

'The Tathâgata, O Bhikkhus, is the holy, absolute Sambuddha. Give ear, O Bhikkhus, &c. (as above).'

And the Blessed One was able to convince the five Bhikkhus; and the five Bhikkhus again¹ listened willingly to the Blessed One; they gave ear, and fixed their mind on the knowledge (which the Buddha imparted to them).

17. And the Blessed One thus addressed the five Bhikkhus²: 'There are two extremes, O Bhikkhus, which he who has given up the world, ought to avoid. What are these two extremes? A life given to pleasures, devoted to pleasures and lusts: this is degrading, sensual, vulgar, ignoble, and profitless; and a life given to mortifications: this is painful, ignoble, and profitless. By avoiding these two extremes, O Bhikkhus, the Tathâgata has gained the knowledge of the Middle Path which leads to insight, which leads to wisdom, which conduces to calm, to knowledge, to the Sambodhi, to Nirvâna.

18. 'Which, O Bhikkhus, is this Middle Path the knowledge of which the Tathâgata has gained, which leads to insight, which leads to wisdom, which con-

¹ As they had done before when they underwent austerities together with the Bodhisatta at Uruvelâ.

² Of the literature that exists referring to the discourse which follows now (the *Dhammakkappavattana Sutta*), it will suffice to quote M. Feer's *Études Bouddhiques*, I, p. 189 seq., and Rh. D., 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli,' pp. 137-155, and in the *Fortnightly Review* for December 1879.

duces to calm, to knowledge, to the Sambodhi, to Nirvâna? It is the holy eightfold Path, namely, Right Belief, Right Aspiration, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Means of Livelihood, Right Endeavour, Right Memory, Right Meditation. This, O Bhikkhus, is the Middle Path the knowledge of which the Tathâgata has gained, which leads to insight, which leads to wisdom, which conduces to calm, to knowledge, to the Sambodhi, to Nirvâna.

19. 'This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of Suffering: Birth is suffering; decay is suffering; illness is suffering; death is suffering. Presence of objects we hate, is suffering; Separation from objects we love, is suffering; not to obtain what we desire, is suffering. Briefly, the fivefold clinging to existence¹ is suffering.

20. 'This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of the Cause of suffering: Thirst, that leads to re-birth, accompanied by pleasure and lust, finding its delight here and there. (This thirst is threefold), namely, thirst for pleasure, thirst for existence, thirst for prosperity.

21. 'This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of the Cessation of suffering: (it ceases with) the complete cessation of this thirst,—a cessation which consists in the absence of every passion,—with the abandoning of this thirst, with the doing away with it, with the deliverance from it, with the destruction of desire.

22. 'This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering:

¹ Clinging to the five elements of existence, rūpa, vedanâ, saññâ, saṃkhârâ, viññâna. See § 38 seq.

that holy eightfold Path, that is to say, Right Belief, Right Aspiration, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Means of Livelihood, Right Endeavour, Right Memory, Right Meditation.

23. "This is the Noble Truth of Suffering;"—thus, O Bhikkhus, of this doctrine, which formerly had not been heard of, have I obtained insight, knowledge, understanding, wisdom, intuition. "This Noble Truth of Suffering must be understood," thus, O Bhikkhus, of this doctrine, (&c., down to intuition). "This Noble Truth of Suffering I have understood," thus, O Bhikkhus, of this doctrine, (&c., down to intuition).

24. "This is the Noble Truth of the Cause of suffering," thus, O Bhikkhus, (&c.) "This Noble Truth of the Cause of suffering must be abandoned¹ has been abandoned by me," thus, O Bhikkhus, (&c.)

25. "This is the Noble Truth of the Cessation of suffering," thus, O Bhikkhus, (&c.) "This Noble Truth of the Cessation of suffering must be seen face to face has been seen by me face to face," thus, O Bhikkhus, (&c.)

26. "This is the Noble Truth of the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering," thus, O Bhikkhus, (&c.) "This Noble Truth of the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering, must be realised has been realised by me," thus, O Bhikkhus, (&c.)

27. 'As long, O Bhikkhus, as I did not possess with perfect purity this true knowledge and insight into these four Noble Truths, with its three modifi-

¹ I. e. the thirst (*taṇhā*), which is declared in this Noble Truth to be the cause of suffering, must be abandoned.

cations and its twelve constituent parts¹; so long, O Bhikkhus, I knew that I had not yet obtained the highest, absolute Sambodhi in the world of men and gods, in Māra's and Brahma's world, among all beings, Samānas and Brāhmaṇas, gods and men.

28. 'But since I possessed, O Bhikkhus, with perfect purity this true knowledge and insight into these four Noble Truths, with its three modifications and its twelve constituent parts, then I knew, O Bhikkhus, that I had obtained the highest, universal Sambodhi in the world of men and gods, (&c., as in § 27).

29. 'And this knowledge and insight arose in my mind: "The emancipation of my mind cannot be lost; this is my last birth; hence I shall not be born again!"'

Thus the Blessed One spoke. The five Bhikkhus were delighted, and they rejoiced at the words of the Blessed One. And when this exposition was propounded, the venerable *Kondañña* obtained the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth (that is to say, the following knowledge): 'Whatsoever is subject to the condition of origination, is subject also to the condition of cessation.'

30. And as the Blessed One had founded the Kingdom of Truth (by propounding the four Noble Truths), the earth-inhabiting devas shouted: 'Truly the Blessed One has founded at Benares, in the deer park Isipatana, the highest kingdom of Truth, which may be opposed neither by a Samāna nor by a Brāhmaṇa, neither by a deva, nor by Māra, nor by Brahma, nor by any being in the world.'

¹ The three modifications and twelve constituent parts are those specified in §§ 23-26.

Hearing the shout of the earth-inhabiting devas, the *kâtumahârâgika* devas (gods belonging to the world of the four divine mahârâgas) shouted, (&c., as above). Hearing the shout of the *kâtumahârâgika* devas, the *tâvatimsa* devas¹, the *yâma* devas, the *tusita* devas, the *nimmânarati* devas, the *paranimmita-vasavatti* devas, the *brahmakâyika* devas shouted: 'Truly the Blessed One,' (&c., as above).

31. Thus in that moment, in that instant, in that second the shout reached the Brahma world; and this whole system of ten thousand worlds quaked, was shaken, and trembled; and an infinite, mighty light was seen through the world, which surpassed the light that can be produced by the divine power of the devas.

And the Blessed One pronounced this solemn utterance: 'Truly *Kondañña* has perceived it ("a ñ-ñâsi"), truly *Kondañña* has perceived it!' Hence the venerable *Kondañña* received the name *Aññâtakondañña* (*Kondañña* who has perceived the doctrine).

32. And the venerable *Aññâtakondañña*, having seen the Truth, having mastered the Truth, having understood the Truth, having penetrated the Truth, having overcome uncertainty, having dispelled all doubts, having gained full knowledge, dependent on nobody else for knowledge of the doctrine of the Teacher, thus spoke to the Blessed One: 'Lord, let

¹ The thirty-three devas of the Vedic mythology. This enumeration gives the gods who reside in the different worlds, beginning from the lowest (the *bhumma* devâ, who inhabit the earth), and gradually ascending to the higher *devalokas*. See Hardy, Manual, p. 25.

me receive the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations from the Blessed One.'

'Come, O Bhikkhu,' said the Blessed One, 'well taught is the doctrine; lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering.' Thus this venerable person received the upasampadâ ordination.

33. And the Blessed One administered to the other Bhikkhus exhortation and instruction by discourses relating to the Dhamma. And the venerable Vappa, and the venerable Bhaddiya, when they received from the Blessed One such exhortation and instruction by discourses relating to the Dhamma, obtained the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth (that is to say, the following knowledge): 'Whatsoever is subject to the condition of origination is subject also to the condition of cessation.'

34. And having seen the Truth, having mastered the Truth, . . . (&c., as in § 32), they thus spoke to the Blessed One: 'Lord, let us receive the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations from the Blessed One.'

'Come, O Bhikkhus,' said the Blessed One, 'well taught is the doctrine; lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering.' Thus these venerable persons received the upasampadâ ordination.

35. And the Blessed One, living on what the Bhikkhus brought him, administered to the other Bhikkhus exhortation and instruction by discourse relating to the Dhamma; in this way the six persons lived on what the three Bhikkhus¹ brought home from their alms pilgrimage.

¹ Those three Bhikkhus of the five, who had been converted,

36, 37. And the venerable Mahânâma and the venerable Assagi, when they received from the Blessed One, . . . (&c., as in §§ 33, 34, down to :). Thus these venerable persons received the upasampadâ ordination.

38. And the Blessed One thus spoke to the five Bhikkhus : 'The body (Rûpa), O Bhikkhus, is not the self. If the body, O Bhikkhus, were the self, the body would not be subject to disease, and we should be able to say : "Let my body be such and such a one, let my body not be such and such a one." But since the body, O Bhikkhus, is not the self, therefore the body is subject to disease, and we are not able to say : "Let my body be such and such a one, let my body not be such and such a one."

39-41. 'Sensation (Vedanâ), O Bhikkhus, is not the self, . . . (&c.¹) Perception (Saññâ) is not the self, . . . The Samkhâras² are not the self, . . . Consciousness (Viññâna) is not the self, . . . (&c.¹)

42. 'Now what do you think, O Bhikkhus, is the body permanent or perishable?'

went about for alms; while the Buddha remained with their two companions, and instructed them.

¹ This is shown exactly in the same way and with the same words that are used in § 38 with regard to the body. Body, sensations, perceptions, samkhâras, and consciousness are the well-known five classes (khandha) of bodily and mental parts and powers; see Rh. D., 'Buddhism,' p. 90 seq. The self (attâ), which, if it exists at all, must be permanent and imperishable, is not to be found in any one of these five classes, which are all subject to origin and decay. This discourse of the Buddha's, which is frequently called the Anattalakkhana Sutta (Sutta of the not having the signs of self), shows the perishable nature of the five khandhas, and that the khandhas are not the self. But it does not deal with the question, whether the self exists or not, in any other way.

² See the note on chap. I. 2.

‘It is perishable, Lord.’

‘And that which is perishable, does that cause pain or joy?’

‘It causes pain, Lord.’

‘And that which is perishable, painful, subject to change, is it possible to regard that in this way: ‘This is mine, this am I, this is my self?’

‘That is impossible, Lord.’

43. ‘Is sensation permanent or perishable?’ (&c.¹)

44. ‘Therefore, O Bhikkhus, whatever body has been, will be, and is now, belonging or not belonging to sentient beings, gross or subtle, inferior or superior, distant or near, all that body is not mine, is not me, is not my self: thus it should be considered by right knowledge according to the truth.

45. ‘Whatever sensation, (&c.²)

46. ‘Considering this, O Bhikkhus, a learned, noble hearer of the word becomes weary of body, weary of sensation, weary of perception, weary of the *Samkhâras*, weary of consciousness. Becoming weary of all that, he divests himself of passion; by absence of passion he is made free; when he is free, he becomes aware that he is free; and he realises that re-birth is exhausted; that holiness is completed; that duty is fulfilled; and that there is no further return to this world³.’

47. Thus the Blessed One spoke; the five Bhikkhus were delighted, and rejoiced at the words of the Blessed One. And when this exposition had been

¹ Here follow the same questions, answers, and rejoinders, with regard to sensation, perception, the *samkhâras*, and consciousness.

² The same with regard to the other four *khandhas*.

³ Compare Burnouf, ‘*Lotus de la bonne Loi*,’ p. 481.

propounded, the minds of the five Bhikkhus became free from attachment to the world, and were released from the *Âsavas*¹.

At that time there were six Arahats (persons who had reached absolute holiness) in the world.

End of the first Bhānavāra.

7².

1. At that time there was in Benares a noble youth, Yasa by name, the son of a *setthi* (or treasurer³) and delicately nurtured. He had three palaces, one for winter, one for summer, one for the rainy season. In the palace for the rainy season he lived during the four months (of that season), surrounded with female musicians among whom no

¹ See the note on § 9.

² A well-known scene in the life of the Bodhisatta has evidently been represented after the model of this story. See *Gâtaka* I, p. 61; *Lalita Vistara*, p. 251; Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama*, p. 55. Nowhere in the Pâli *Piṭakas* is the story told about the Bodhisatta himself.

³ This was a position of honour among the merchants. In the later literature we hear of an office of *setthi* (*setthi-ñhâna*) in a city, to which any one with the requisite wealth and talent was eligible (*Gâtaka* I, 120-122); and, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, the king appointed to an office called *setthitâ*, apparently at his court (*Mah.* p. 69). The *Gahapati*, or Treasurer, one of the seven jewels of a king, is explained by Buddhaghosa to be *setthi-gahapati* (see Rh. D.'s note on *Mahâ-sudassana Sutta* I, 41). 'The *Setthi*,' standing alone, or 'the *Mahâ-setthi*,' means *Anâtha Pindika* (*Gâtaka* I, 95, 227-230; *Dhammapada Commentary*, p. 395). Below, in chapter 9, § 1, it would seem that the rank of *setthi* was hereditary, and this is confirmed by the later literature; but this applies to the social rank only, and not to the office.

man was, and he did not descend from that palace (all that time). Now one day Yasa, the noble youth, who was endowed with, and possessed of the five pleasures of sense¹, while he was attended (by those female musicians), fell asleep sooner than usual; and after him his attendants also fell asleep. Now an oil lamp was burning through the whole night.

2. And Yasa, the noble youth, awoke sooner than usual; and he saw his attendants sleeping; one had her lute leaning against her arm-pit; one had her tabor leaning against her neck; one had her drum leaning against her arm-pit; one had dishevelled hair; one had saliva flowing from her mouth; and they were muttering in their sleep. One would think it was a cemetery one had fallen into². When he saw that, the evils (of the life he led) manifested themselves to him; his mind became weary (of worldly pleasures). And Yasa, the noble youth, gave utterance to this solemn exclamation: 'Alas! what distress; alas! what danger!'

3. And Yasa, the noble youth, put on his gilt slippers, and went to the gate of his house. Non-human beings opened the gate, in order that no being might prevent Yasa the noble youth's leaving the world, and going forth into the houseless state. And Yasa, the noble youth, went to the gate of the city. Non-human beings opened the gate, in order that no being might prevent Yasa the noble youth's leaving the world, and going forth into the houseless state. And Yasa, the noble youth, went to the deer park Isipatana.

¹ Pleasures of the eye, ear, nose, tongue, and touch.

² *Hatthappattam susānam maññe*, literally, 'one would think a cemetery had (suddenly) come to one's hand.'

4. At that time the Blessed One, having arisen in the night, at dawn was walking up and down in the open air. And the Blessed One saw Yasa, the noble youth, coming from afar. And when he saw him, he left the place where he was walking, and sat down on a seat laid out (for him). And Yasa, the noble youth, gave utterance near the Blessed One to that solemn exclamation: 'Alas! what distress; alas! what danger!' And the Blessed One said to Yasa, the noble youth: 'Here is no distress, Yasa, here is no danger. Come here, Yasa, sit down; I will teach you the Truth (Dhamma).'

5. And Yasa, the noble youth, when he heard that there was no distress, and that there was no danger, became glad and joyful; and he put off his gilt slippers, and went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. When Yasa, the noble youth, was sitting near him, the Blessed One preached to him in due course: that is to say, he talked about the merits obtained by alms-giving, about the duties of morality, about heaven, about the evils, the vanity, and the sinfulness of desires, and about the blessings of the abandonment of desire¹.

6. When the Blessed One saw that the mind of Yasa, the noble youth, was prepared, impressible, free from obstacles (to understanding the Truth), elated, and believing, then he preached what is the principal doctrine of the Buddhas, namely, Suffering,

¹ Nekkhamma is neither naishkramya nor naishkarmya, but naishkāmya. Itivuttaka, fol. khi (Phayre MS.): *kāmānam etam nissaranam yad idam nekkhammam, rūpānam etam nissaranam yad idam aruppaṃ*.

the Cause of suffering, the Cessation of suffering, the Path. Just as a clean cloth free from black specks properly takes the dye, thus Yasa, the noble youth, even while sitting there, obtained the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth (that is, the knowledge): 'Whatsoever is subject to the condition of origination is subject also to the condition of cessation.'

7. Now the mother of Yasa, the noble youth, having gone up to his palace, did not see Yasa, the noble youth, and she went to the *setthi*, the householder (her husband), and having approached him, she said to the *setthi*, the householder: 'Your son Yasa, O householder, has disappeared.' Then the *setthi*, the householder, sent messengers on horseback to the four quarters of the horizon; and he went himself to the deer park Isipatana. Then the *setthi*, the householder, saw on the ground the marks of the gilt slippers; and when he saw them, he followed them up.

8. And the Blessed One saw the *setthi*, the householder, coming from afar. On seeing him, he thought: 'What if I were to effect such an exercise of miraculous power, that the *setthi*, the householder, sitting here, should not see Yasa, the noble youth, who is sitting here also.' And the Blessed One effected such an exercise of his miraculous power.

9. And the *setthi*, the householder, went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, he said to the Blessed One: 'Pray, Lord, has the Blessed One seen Yasa, the noble youth?'

'Well, householder, sit down. Perhaps, sitting here, you may see Yasa, the noble youth, sitting here also.'

And the *settthi*, the householder, who thought : 'Indeed, sitting here I shall see Yasa, the noble youth, sitting here also !' became glad and joyful, and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him.

10. When the *settthi*, the householder, was sitting near him, the Blessed One preached to him in due course ; that is to say, he talked about the merits obtained by alms-giving, . . . (&c., as at end of § 5). And the *settthi*, the householder, having seen the Truth, having mastered the Truth, having penetrated the Truth, having overcome uncertainty, having dispelled all doubts, having gained full knowledge, dependent on nobody else for the knowledge of the doctrine of the Teacher, said to the Blessed One : 'Glorious, Lord ! glorious, Lord ! Just as if one should set up, Lord, what had been overturned, or should reveal what had been hidden, or should point out the way to one who had lost his way, or should bring a lamp into the darkness, in order that those who had eyes might see visible things, thus has the Blessed One preached the doctrine in many ways. I take my refuge, Lord, in the Blessed One, and in the Dhamma, and in the fraternity of Bhikkhus ; may the Blessed One receive me from this day forth while my life lasts as a disciple who has taken his refuge in Him.'

This was the first person in the world who became a lay-disciple by the formula of the holy triad.

11. And Yasa, the noble youth, while instruction was administered (by the Buddha) to his father, contemplated the stage of knowledge which he had seen with his mind and understood ; and his mind became free from attachment to the world, and was

released from the *Âsavas*. Then the Blessed One thought: 'Yasa, the noble youth, while instruction was administered to his father, has contemplated the stage of knowledge which he had seen with his mind and understood; and his mind has become free from attachment to the world, and has become released from the *Âsavas*. It is impossible that Yasa, the noble youth, should return to the world and enjoy pleasures, as he did before, when he lived in his house. What if I were now to put an end to that exertion of my miraculous power.' And the Blessed One put an end to that exertion of his miraculous power.

12. Then the *setthi*, the householder, saw Yasa, the noble youth, sitting there. On seeing him he said to Yasa, the noble youth: 'My son Yasa, your mother is absorbed in lamentation and grief; restore your mother to life.'

13. Then Yasa, the noble youth, looked at the Blessed One. And the Blessed One said to the *setthi*, the householder: 'What do you think then, O householder? That Yasa has (first) won only an imperfect¹ degree of knowledge and insight into the Truth, as you have yourself? Or that rather he was contemplating the stage of knowledge which he had seen with his mind and understood; and that his mind has thus become free from attachment to the world, and has become released from the *Âsavas*? Now would it then be possible, O householder, that Yasa should return to the world and enjoy pleasures as he did before, when he lived in his house?'

'Not so, Lord.'

¹ The stage of a *sekha*, i. e. a person who has attained to any stage in the Noble Eightfold Path (such as *sotâpattiphala*, &c.) inferior to the highest (*Arahatship*).

‘Yasa, the noble youth, O householder, had (first) won, like yourself, an imperfect degree of knowledge and insight into the Truth. But when he was contemplating the stage of knowledge which he had seen with his mind and understood, his mind has become free from attachment to the world, and has become released from the Âsavas. It is impossible, O householder, that Yasa, the noble youth, should return to the world and enjoy pleasures as he did before, when he lived in his house.’

14. ‘It is all gain, Lord, to Yasa, the noble youth, it is high bliss, Lord, for Yasa, the noble youth, that the mind of Yasa, the noble youth, has become free from attachment to the world, and has become released from the Âsavas. Might, Lord, the Blessed One consent to take his meal with me to-day together with Yasa, the noble youth, as his attendant?’

The Blessed One expressed his consent by remaining silent. Then the *setthi*, the householder, when he understood that the Blessed One had accepted his invitation, rose from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and passing round him with his right side towards him, departed thence.

15. And Yasa, the noble youth, soon after the *setthi*, the householder, was gone, said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, let me receive the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations from the Blessed One.’

‘Come, O Bhikkhu,’ said the Blessed One, ‘well taught is the doctrine; lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering.’

Thus this venerable person received the upasampadâ ordination. At that time there were seven Arahats in the world.

End of the story of Yasa’s pabbaggâ.

8.

1. And in the forenoon the blessed One, having put on his under-rob¹, took his alms-bowl, and, with his *ktvara* on, went with the venerable Yasa as his attendant to the house of the *setthi*, the householder. When he had arrived there, he sat down on a seat laid out for him. Then the mother and the former wife of the venerable Yasa went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, they sat down near him.

2. Then the Blessed One preached to them in due course; that is to say, he talked about the merits obtained by alms-giving, . . . (&c., as in chap. 7. 5, 6, down to:); thus they obtained, while sitting there, the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth (that is, the knowledge): 'Whatsoever is subject to the condition of origination is subject also to the condition of cessation.'

3. And having seen the Truth, . . . (&c., as above, §§ 5, 6, down to:), dependent on nobody else for knowledge of the Teacher's doctrine, they thus spoke to the Blessed One: 'Glorious, Lord! glorious Lord! Just as if one should set up' (&c., as in chap. 7. 10, down to:). We take our refuge, Lord, in the Blessed One, and in the Dhamma, and in the fraternity of Bhikkhus; may the Blessed One receive us from this day forth, while our life lasts, as disciples who have taken their refuge in Him.'

These were the first females in the world who became lay-disciples by the formula of the holy triad.

¹ The rules about the dress of a Bhikkhu who is going to the village are given in the *Kullavagga* VIII, 4, 3; 5, 2. Compare Rh. D.'s note on the *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta* V, 45.

4. And the mother and the father and the former wife of the venerable Yasa with their own hands served and offered¹ excellent food, both hard and soft, to the Blessed One and to the venerable Yasa ; and when the Blessed One had finished his meal, and cleansed his bowl and his hands, they sat down near him. Then the Blessed One taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the mother, and father, and the former wife of the venerable Yasa by religious discourse ; and then he rose from his seat and went away.

9.

1. Now four lay persons, friends of the venerable Yasa, belonging to the *setthi* families of Benares, and to the highest after the *setthi* families, by name Vimala, Subāhu, Punṇagi, and Gavampati, heard : ‘Yasa, the noble youth, has cut off his hair and beard, and has put on yellow robes, and has given up the world, and gone forth into the houseless state.’ When they had heard that, they thought : ‘Surely that cannot be a common doctrine and discipline, that cannot be a common renunciation of the world, if Yasa, the noble youth, has cut off his hair and beard, and has put on yellow robes, and has given up the world, and gone forth into the houseless state.’

¹ According to Subhūti (in Childers’s Dictionary) *sampavāreti* means that the host hands dishes to the guest until the latter says, ‘I have had enough.’ Childers accordingly translates *sampavāreti*, ‘to cause to refuse.’ But as *pavāreti* means, ‘to cause to accept,’ it is impossible that *sampavāreti* should have exactly the opposite meaning. We prefer, therefore, to take it as an emphatic synonym of *pavāreti*.

2. Those four persons went to the place where the venerable Yasa was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the venerable Yasa, they stood by his side. And the venerable Yasa went with his four lay-friends to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him the venerable Yasa said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, here are four lay-friends of mine, belonging to the *setthi* families of Benares and to the highest after the *setthi* families; their names are Vimala, Subâhu, Punnnagi, and Gavampati. May the Blessed One administer exhortation and instruction to these four persons.'

3. Then the Blessed One preached to them, (&c., as in chap. 8. 2).

4. And having seen the Truth, (&c., down to :) dependent on nobody else for the knowledge of the Teacher's doctrine, they thus spoke to the Blessed One: 'Lord, let us receive the *pabbaggâ* and *upasampadâ* ordinations from the Blessed One.'

'Come, O Bhikkhus,' said the Blessed One, 'well taught is the doctrine; lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering.'

Thus these venerable persons received the *upasampadâ* ordination. And the Blessed One administered to these Bhikkhus exhortation and instruction by discourse relating to the Dhamma. While they received exhortation and instruction from the Blessed One by discourse relating to the Dhamma, their minds became free from attachment to the world, and were released from the *Âsavas*.

At that time there were eleven Arahats in the world.

Here ends the story of the ordination of
the four laymen.

10.

Now fifty lay persons, friends of the venerable Yasa, belonging to the highest families in the country and to those next to the highest, heard, (&c., as in chap. 9, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4, down to:). While they received exhortation and instruction from the Blessed One by discourse relating to the Dhamma, their minds became free from attachment to the world, and were released from the Āsavas.

At that time there were sixty-one Arahats in the world.

11.

1. And the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: 'I am delivered, O Bhikkhus, from all fetters, human and divine. You, O Bhikkhus, are also delivered from all fetters, human and divine. Go ye now, O Bhikkhus, and wander, for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, and for the welfare of gods and men. Let not two of you go the same way¹. Preach, O Bhikkhus, the doctrine

¹ This cannot be understood as a general rule, for it is repeated nowhere where precepts for wandering Bhikkhus are given, and, on the contrary, numerous instances occur in the Sacred Texts

which is glorious in the beginning, glorious in the middle, glorious at the end, in the spirit and in the letter; proclaim a consummate, perfect, and pure life of holiness. There are beings whose mental eyes are covered by scarcely any dust, but if the doctrine is not preached to them, they cannot attain salvation. They will understand the doctrine. And I will go also, O Bhikkhus, to Uruvelâ, to Senâni-nigama¹, in order to preach the doctrine.'

2. And Mâra the wicked One went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, he addressed the Blessed One in the following stanza: 'Thou art bound by all fetters, human and divine. Thou art bound by strong fetters. Thou wilt not be delivered from me, O Samana.'

Buddha replied: 'I am delivered from all fetters, human and divine. I am delivered from the strong fetters. Thou art struck down, O Death.'

(Mâra said): 'The fetter which pervades the sky, with which mind is bound, with that fetter I will bind thee. Thou wilt not be delivered from me, O Samana.'

(Buddha replied): 'Whatever forms, sounds, odours, flavours, or contacts there are which please the

in which two or more Bhikkhus are mentioned as wandering together, without any expression of disapproval being added. The precept given here evidently is intended to refer only to the earliest period in the spread of the new doctrine; just as in chap. 12 a form of upasampadâ is introduced by Buddha which was regarded as inadmissible in later times.

¹ The correct spelling of this name appears to be Senâninigama ('the General's Town'), and not Senânigama ('the Army's Town'); the *Gâtaka Atthavannanâ* (vol. i. p. 68) and the Paris MS. of the *Mahāvagga* (manu secunda) read Senâninigama. The *Lalita Vistara* has Senâpatigrâma.

senses, in me desire for them has ceased. Thou art struck down, O Death.'

Then Mâra the wicked One understood: 'The Blessed One knows me, the perfect One knows me,' and, sad and afflicted, he vanished away.

Here ends the story of Mâra.

12.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus brought (to Buddha), from different regions and different countries, persons who desired to obtain the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations, thinking: 'The Blessed One will confer on them the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations.' Thus both the Bhikkhus became tired (from the journey), and also those who desired to obtain the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations. Now when the Blessed One was alone and had retired into solitude, the following consideration presented itself to his mind: 'The Bhikkhus now bring to me from different regions and different countries persons who desire to obtain the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations, thinking: "The Blessed One will confer on them the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations." Now both the Bhikkhus become tired, and also those who desire to obtain the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations. What if I were to grant permission to the Bhikkhus, saying: "Confer henceforth, O Bhikkhus, in the different regions, and in the different countries, the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations yourselves (on those who desire to receive them)."'

2. And the Blessed One, having left the solitude

in the evening, in consequence of that, and on this occasion, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'When I was alone, O Bhikkhus, and had retired into solitude, the following consideration, &c. What if I were to permit, . . . ' (&c., as in § 1).

3. 'I grant you, O Bhikkhus, this permission: Confer henceforth in the different regions and in the different countries the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations yourselves (on those who desire to receive them). And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to confer the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations in this way: Let him (who desires to receive the ordination), first have his hair and beard cut off; let him put on yellow robes, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet of the Bhikkhus (with his head), and sit down squatting; then let him raise his joined hands and tell him to say:

4. "I take my refuge in the Buddha, I take my refuge in the Dhamma, I take my refuge in the *Samgha*. And for the second time I take (&c. . . . *Samgha*). And for the third time I take my refuge in the Buddha, and for the third time I take my refuge in the Dhamma, and for the third time I take my refuge in the *Samgha*."

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations consisting in the three times repeated declaration of taking refuge (in the holy triad).'

End of the account of the upasampadâ ordination by the threefold declaration of taking refuge¹.

¹ On this ceremony, which is still gone through before the regular ordination, see the remarks in the note on chapter I, § 1.

13.

1. And the Blessed One, after having kept the vassa residence¹, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'By wise contemplation, O Bhikkhus, and by wise firmness of exertion have I attained the highest emancipation, have I realised the highest emancipation. Attain ye also, O Bhikkhus, the highest emancipation, realise the highest emancipation, by wise contemplation and by wise firmness of exertion.'

2. And Māra the wicked One went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, he addressed the Blessed One by the following stanza: 'Thou art bound by Māra's fetters, human and divine. Thou art bound by strong fetters. Thou wilt not be delivered from me, O Samana.'

(Buddha replied): 'I am delivered from Māra's fetters, human and divine. I am delivered from the strong fetters. Thou art struck down, O Death.'

Then Māra the wicked One understood: 'The Blessed One knows me, the perfect One knows me;' and, sad and afflicted, he vanished away.

14.

1. And the Blessed One, after having dwelt at Benares as long as he thought fit, went forth to Uruvelā. And the Blessed One left the road and went to a certain grove; having gone there, and having entered it, he sat down at the foot of a tree. At that time there was a party of thirty friends, rich young men, who were sporting in that same grove

¹ See about the vassa residence the rules given in Book III.

together with their wives. One of them had no wife; for him they had procured a harlot. Now while they did not pay attention, and were indulging in their sports, that harlot took up the articles belonging to them, and ran away.

2. Then those companions, doing service to their friend, went in search of that woman; and, roaming about that grove, they saw the Blessed One sitting at the foot of a tree. Seeing him they went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, they said to the Blessed One: 'Pray, Lord, has the Blessed One seen a woman passing by?'

'What have you to do, young men, with the woman?'

'We were sporting, Lord, in this grove, thirty friends, rich young men, together with our wives. One of us had no wife; for him we had procured a harlot. Now, Lord, while we did not pay attention, and were indulging in our sports, that harlot has taken up the articles belonging to us, and has run away. Therefore, Lord, we companions, doing service to our friend, go in search of that woman, and roam about this grove.'

3. 'Now what think you, young men? Which would be the better for you; that you should go in search of a woman, or that you should go in search of yourselves?'

'That, Lord, would be the better for us, that we should go in search of ourselves.'

'If so, young men, sit down, I will preach to you the Truth (Dhamma).'

The rich young companions replied: 'Yes, Lord,' and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and sat down near him.

4. Then the Blessed One preached to them, (&c., as in chap. 8. 2, or 9. 3).

5. And having seen the Truth, (&c., as in chap. 9. 4 down to:). Thus these venerable persons received the upasampadâ ordination.

Here ends the story of the thirty rich young companions.

End of the second Bhānavāra.

15.

1. And the Blessed One, wandering from place to place, came to Uruvelâ. At that time there lived in Uruvelâ three *Gaṇilas*¹, Uruvelâ Kassapa, Nadi Kassapa (Kassapa of the River, i. e. the Nerañgarâ), and Gayâ Kassapa (Kassapa of the village Gayâ). Of these the *Gaṇila* Uruvelâ Kassapa was chief, leader, foremost, first, and highest over five hundred *Gaṇilas*; Nadi Kassapa was chief (&c., down to highest over) three hundred *Gaṇilas*, Gayâ Kassapa was chief (&c., down to highest over) two hundred *Gaṇilas*.

2. And the Blessed One went to the hermitage of

¹ The *Gaṇilas* (i. e. ascetics wearing matted hair) are Brahmanical vānaprasthas. The description of their ascetic life given in many passages of the *Gâtaka Atthavannanâ* and of the *Apadâna* exactly agrees with the picture of the forest life of the *ἰλόβιοι* which so frequently occurs in the *Mahābhārata*. In the *Mahāvagga* (VI, 35, 2) it is expressly stated that the *Gaṇilas* recognised the authority of the Veda, and it is in keeping with this that the usual term for adopting the state of a *Gaṇila* is 'isipabbaggam pabbagati' (frequently in the *Gât. Atth.*), i. e. leaving the world and becoming a *Rishi*.

the *Gaṭila Uruvelā Kassapa*; having gone there, he said to the *Gaṭila Uruvelā Kassapa*: 'If it is not disagreeable to you, Kassapa, let me spend one night in the room where your (sacred) fire is kept.'

'It is not disagreeable to me, great *Samāna*, but there is a savage *Nāga* (or *Serpent*) king of great magical power¹, a dreadfully venomous serpent; let him do no harm to you.'

And a second time the Blessed One said to the *Gaṭila Uruvelā Kassapa*: 'If it is not disagreeable,' &c.

'It is not disagreeable,' &c.

And a third time the Blessed One said: 'If it is not disagreeable,' &c.

'It is not disagreeable,' &c.

'He is not likely to do any harm to me. Pray, *Kassapa*, allow me a place in the room where your fire is kept.'

'Stay there, great *Samāna*, as you wish it.'

3. Then the Blessed One entered the room where the fire was kept, made himself a couch of grass, and sat down cross-legged, keeping the body erect and surrounding himself with watchfulness of mind². And the *Nāga* saw that the Blessed One had entered; when he saw that, he became annoyed, and irritated, and sent forth a cloud of smoke. Then the Blessed One thought: 'What if I were to leave intact the skin, and hide, and flesh, and ligaments, and bones,

¹ *Iddhi*. Compare the passages referred to by Rh. D. in 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,' pp. 2, 40, 259; and further *Mahāvagga* VI, 15, 8, and *Kullavagga* VII, 1, 4, and VII, 2, 1.

² *Satiṃ upaṭṭhāpetvā*. *Sati* is here a more precise idea than memory.

and marrow of this Nâga ; but were to conquer the fire, which he will send forth, by my fire.'

4. And the Blessed One effected the appropriate exercise of miraculous power and sent forth a cloud of smoke. Then the Nâga, who could not master his rage¹, sent forth flames. And the Blessed One, converting his body into fire², sent forth flames. When they both shone forth with their flames, the fire room looked as if it were burning and blazing, as if it were all in flames. And the *Gaṭilas*, surrounding the fire room, said : 'Truly the countenance of the great Samana is beautiful, but the Nâga will do harm to him³.'

5. That night having elapsed, the Blessed One, leaving intact the skin and hide and flesh and ligaments and bones and marrow of that Nâga, and conquering the Nâga's fire by his fire, threw him into his alms-bowl, and showed him to the *Gaṭila Uruvelâ Kassapa* (saying), 'Here you see the Nâga, Kassapa ; his fire has been conquered by my fire.'

Then the *Gaṭila Uruvelâ Kassapa* thought: 'Truly the great Samana possesses high magical powers and great faculties, in that he is able to conquer by his fire the fire of that savage Nâga king, who is possessed of magical power, that dreadfully venomous serpent. He is not, however, holy (*arahâ*) as I am.'

6⁴. Near the *Nerañgarâ* river the Blessed One

¹ Buddhaghosa explains *makkha* by *kodha*.

² Compare *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 4, where Dabba also *tegodhâtum samâpaggati*, that is, his finger is on fire.

³ Compare the Editor's corrections at *Kullavagga*, p. 363.

⁴ In §§ 6, 7 (excepting the last clause of § 7) the story related in §§ 1-5 is repeated in a more popular style. This appears to us to be a more archaic redaction than the preceding. We do not know

said to the *Gaṭila* Uruvelā Kassapa: 'If it is not disagreeable to you, Kassapa, let me dwell this moon-light night in your fire room.'

'It is not disagreeable to me, great *Samana*, but in your own behalf I warn you off. There is a savage Snake king there possessed of magical power, a dreadfully venomous serpent; let him do no harm to you.'

'He is not likely to do any harm to me; pray, Kassapa, allow me a place in your fire room.'

When he saw that Kassapa had given his permission, fearlessly He, who had overcome all fear, entered. When the chief of Serpents saw that the Sage had entered, he became irritated, and sent forth a cloud of smoke. Then the chief of men¹, joyful and unperplexed, also sent forth a cloud of smoke. Unable to master his rage, the chief of Serpents sent forth flames like a burning fire. Then the chief of men¹, the perfect master of the element of fire, also sent forth flames. When they shone forth both with their flames, the *Gaṭilas* looked at the fire room (saying), 'Truly the countenance of the great *Samana* is beautiful, but the *Nāga* will do harm to him.'

7. And when that night had elapsed, the flames of the *Nāga* were extinguished, but the various-coloured flames of Him who is possessed of magical powers remained. Dark blue and red, light red, yellow, and crystal-coloured flames of various colours

any other instance in the Pāli Piṭakas of a similar repetition, excepting a short passage at the end of chap. 24. 3; and one other in the *Mahā-padhāna Sutta*.

¹ Literally, 'the Snake among men,' or 'the Elephant among men' (*manussanāgo*).

appeared on the Āṅgīrasa's¹ body. Having put the chief of Serpents into his alms-bowl, he showed him to the Brāhmaṇa (saying), 'Here you see the Nāga, Kassapa; his fire has been conquered by my fire.'

And the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa, having conceived an affection for the Blessed One in consequence of this wonder, said to the Blessed One: 'Stay with me, great Samana, I will daily provide you with food.'

End of the first Wonder.

16.

1. And the Blessed One resided in a certain grove near the hermitage of the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa. And on a beautiful night the four Mahārāgas², filling the whole grove with light by the brilliancy of their complexion, went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, they stood in the four directions like great firebrands.

2. And when that night had elapsed, the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, he said to the Blessed One: 'It is time, great Samana, the meal is ready. Who were they, great Samana, who came, this beautiful night, filling the whole grove with light by the brilliancy of their complexion, to

¹ According to Vedic tradition the Gautamas, as is well known, belong to the Āṅgīrasa tribe.

² See chap. 4. 4.

the place where you were, and having approached you and respectfully saluted you, stood in the four directions like great firebrands?’

‘They were the four Mahârâgas, Kassapa, who came to me in order to hear my preaching.’

Then the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa thought : ‘Truly the great Samana possesses high magical powers and great faculties, since even the four Mahârâgas come to hear his preaching. He is not, however, holy like me.’

And the Blessed One ate the food offered by the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa, and continued to stay in that same grove.

End of the second Wonder.

17.

1. And on a beautiful night Sakka (Sakra or Indra) the king of the devas, filling the whole grove with light by the brilliancy of his complexion, went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he stood near him like a great firebrand, surpassing in beauty and brilliancy the splendour of the former appearances.

2. And when that night had elapsed (&c., as in chap. 16. 2).

End of the third Wonder.

18.

And on a beautiful night Brahmā Sahampati (&c., as in chap. 17).

End of the fourth Wonder.

19.

1. At that time a great sacrifice which the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa used to celebrate was approaching, and all the people of Aṅga and Magadha wished to go to that sacrifice carrying abundant food, both hard and soft. Now the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa thought : 'Presently my great sacrifice is approaching, and all the people of Aṅga and Magadha will come and bring with them abundant food, both hard and soft. If the great Samana should perform a wonder before that great assembly, gain and honour would increase to the great Samana, and my gain and honour would diminish. Well, the great Samana shall not appear here to-morrow.'

2. Then the Blessed One, understanding by the power of his mind this reflection which had arisen in the mind of the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa, went to Uttara Kuru ; having begged alms there, he took the food (he had received) to the Anotatta lake¹; there he took his meal and rested during the heat of the day at the same place.

And when the night had elapsed, the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa went to the place where the Blessed One was ; having approached him, he said to the

¹ One of the supposed seven great lakes in the Himavant.

Blessed One: 'It is time, great Samana, the meal is ready. Why did you not come yesterday, great Samana? We have thought of you: "Why does the great Samana not come?" and your portions of food, both hard and soft, were served up for you.'

3. (Buddha replied): 'Did you not think, Kassapa: "Presently my great sacrifice(&c., as above down to:). Well, the great Samana shall not appear here to-morrow?"'

4. 'Now I understood, Kassapa, by the power of my mind this reflection which had arisen in your mind, and I went to Uttara Kuru; having begged alms there, I took the food to the Anotatta lake; there I took my meal and rested during the heat of the day at the same place.'

Then the *Gatila Uruvelâ* Kassapa thought: 'Truly the great Samana possesses high magical powers and great faculties, since he is able to understand by the power of his mind the thoughts of other people. He is not, however, holy like me.'

And the Blessed One ate (&c., as in chap. 16. 2).

End of the fifth Wonder.

20.

1. At that time the Blessed One had rags taken from a dust heap (of which he was going to make himself a dress). Now the Blessed One thought: 'Where shall I wash these rags?' Then Sakka the king of the devas, understanding in his mind the thought which had arisen in the mind of the Blessed One, dug a tank with his own hand,

and said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, might the Blessed One wash the rags here.'

And the Blessed One thought: 'What shall I rub the rags upon?' Then Sakka the king of the devas, understanding, &c., put there a great stone and said: 'Lord, might the Blessed One rub the rags upon this stone.'

2. And the Blessed One thought: 'What shall I take hold of when going up (from the tank)?' Then a deity that resided in a Kakudha tree, understanding, &c., bent down a branch and said: 'Lord, might the Blessed One take hold of this branch when going up (from the tank).'

And the Blessed One thought: 'What shall I lay the rags upon (in order to dry them)?' Then Sakka the king of the devas, understanding, &c., put there a great stone and said: 'Lord, might the Blessed One lay the rags upon this stone.'

3. And when that night had elapsed, the *Gaṭṭila* Uruvelā Kassapa went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, he said to the Blessed One: 'It is time, great *Samāna*, the meal is ready. What is this, great *Samāna*? Formerly there was here no tank, and now here is this tank. Formerly no stone was put here; by whom has this stone been put here? Formerly this Kakudha tree did not bend down its branch, and now this branch is bent down.'

4. 'I had rags, Kassapa, taken from a dust heap; and I thought, Kassapa: "Where shall I wash these rags?"' Then, Kassapa, Sakka the king of the devas, understanding in his mind the thought which had arisen in my mind, dug a tank with his hand and said to me: "Lord, might the Blessed One wash the

rags here." Thus this tank has been dug by the hand of a non-human being.

'And I thought, Kassapa : "What shall I rub the rags upon?" Then, Kassapa, Sakka, &c. Thus this stone has been put here by a non-human being.

5. 'And I thought, Kassapa : "What shall I take hold of when going up (from the tank)?" Then, Kassapa, a deity, &c. Thus this Kakudha tree has served me as a hold for my hand.

'And I thought, Kassapa : "Where shall I lay the rags upon (in order to dry them)?" Then, Kassapa, Sakka, &c. Thus this stone has been put here by a non-human being.'

6. Then the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa thought : 'Truly the great Samāna possesses high magical powers and great faculties, since Sakka the king of the devas does service to him. He is not, however, holy like me.'

And the Blessed One ate (&c., as in chap. 16. 2).

7. And when that night had elapsed, the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa went to the place where the Blessed One was ; having approached him, he announced to the Blessed One that it was time, by saying, 'It is time, great Samāna, the meal is ready.'

(Buddha replied): 'Go you, Kassapa ; I will follow you.'

Having thus sent away the *Gaṭṭhā* Uruvelā Kassapa, he went to pluck a fruit from the gambu tree after which this continent of Gambudīpa (the Gambu Island, or India) is named¹; then arriving before

¹ See about this gambu tree, which grows in the forest of Himavanta, Hardy's Manual, p. 18 seq.

Kassapa he sat down in the room where Kassapa's (sacred) fire was kept¹.

8. Then the *Gaṭṭila Uruvelā* Kassapa saw the Blessed One sitting in the fire room; seeing him he said to the Blessed One: 'By what way have you come, great *Samana*? I have departed before you, and you have arrived before me and are sitting in the fire room.'

9. 'When I had sent you away, Kassapa, I went to pluck a fruit from the gambu tree after which this continent of *Gambudīpa* is named; then I arrived before you and sat down in the fire room. Here is the gambu fruit, Kassapa, it is beautiful, fragrant, and full of flavour; you may eat it, if you like.'

'Nay, great *Samana*, to you alone it is becoming to eat it; eat it yourself.'

And the *Gaṭṭila Uruvelā* Kassapa thought: 'Truly the great *Samana* possesses high magical powers and great faculties, since he is able, having sent me away before him, to go and pluck a fruit from the gambu tree after which this continent of *Gambudīpa* is named, and then to arrive before me and to sit down in the fire room. He is not, however, holy like me.'

And the Blessed One ate (&c., as in chap. 16. 2).

10. And when that night had elapsed (&c., as in § 7, down to:). Having thus sent away the *Gaṭṭila Uruvelā* Kassapa, he went to pluck a fruit from a mango tree growing near the gambu tree after which this continent of *Gambudīpa* is named, &c. He

¹ Very probably it is this story in which a similar legend has originated that the Ceylonese tell about Mahinda, the converter of their island; see *Dīpavaṃsa* XII, 75.

went to pluck a fruit from an emblic myrobalan tree, &c., from a yellow myrobalan tree growing near the gambu tree, &c. He went to the Tâvatimsa heaven to pluck a pârikêhhattaka (or pârigâtaka) flower; then arriving before Kassapa he sat down in the fire room. Then the *Gaṭila* Uruvelâ Kassapa saw (&c., as in § 8).

11. 'When I had sent you away, Kassapa, I went to the Tâvatimsa heaven to pluck a pârikêhhattaka flower; then I arrived before you and sat down in the fire room. Here is the pârikêhhattaka flower, Kassapa; it is beautiful and fragrant; you may take it, if you like.'

'Nay, great Samana, to you alone it is becoming to keep it; keep it yourself.'

And the *Gaṭila* (&c., as in § 9). 'He is not, however, holy as I am.'

12. At that time one day the *Gaṭilas*, who wished to attend on their sacred fires, could not succeed in splitting fire-wood. Now these *Gaṭilas* thought: 'Doubtless this is the magical power and the high faculty of the great Samana that we cannot succeed in splitting fire-wood.' Then the Blessed One said to the *Gaṭila* Uruvelâ Kassapa: 'Shall the fire-wood be split, Kassapa?'

'Let it be split, great Samana.'

Then in a moment the five hundred pieces of fire-wood¹ were split. And the *Gaṭila* Uruvelâ

¹ Bigandet (Life of Gaudama, p. 135) translates this passage from the Burmese version: 'Gaudama split it in a moment, in five hundred pieces.' Doubtless the true meaning is, that there were five hundred pieces of wood, one for each of the five hundred *Gaṭilas* over whom was Kassapa chief. In the following two stories (§§ 13, 14) we have five hundred sacred fires.

Kassapa thought: 'Truly the great Samāna possesses high magical powers and great faculties, since even the fire-wood splits itself (at his command). He is not, however, holy like me.'

13. At that time the *Gaṭilas* who wished to attend on their sacred fires, could not succeed in lighting up the fires (&c., as in the preceding story).

14. At that time the *Gaṭilas*, after having attended on their sacred fires, could not succeed in extinguishing the fires (&c., as above).

15. At that time in the cold winter nights, in the time between the *ashṭakâ* festivals¹, when snow falls, the *Gaṭilas* plunged into the river *Neraṅgarâ*, and emerged again, and repeatedly plunged into the water and emerged. And the Blessed One created five hundred vessels with burning fire²; at those the *Gaṭilas* coming out of the river warmed themselves. And the *Gaṭilas* thought: 'Doubtless this is the magical power and the high faculty of the great Samāna that these vessels with fire have been caused to appear here.' And the *Gaṭila* *Uruvelâ* Kassapa thought: 'Truly the great Samāna possesses high magical powers and great faculties, since he can create such great vessels with fire. He is not, however, holy like me.'

16. At that time a great rain fell out of season; and a great inundation arose. The place where the Blessed One lived was covered with water. Then

¹ The *ashṭakâ* festivals, about which accurate details are given in the *Gr̥hya Sūtras*, were celebrated about the wane of the moon of the winter months *mārgaśīrsha*, *taisha*, and *māgha*; see Weber, *Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Naxatra*, II, p. 337, and H. O.'s note on the *Sāṅkhāyana Gr̥hya*, 3, 12, ap. *Indische Studien*, XV, p. 145.

² *Buddhaghosa* explains *mandāmukhiyo* by *aggibhāganāni*.

the Blessed One thought: 'What if I were to cause the water to recede round about, and if I were to walk up and down in the midst of the water on a dust-covered spot.' And the Blessed One caused the water to recede round about, and he walked up and down in the midst of the water on a dust-covered spot.

And the *Gaṭīla Uruvelā Kassapa*, who was afraid that the water might have carried away the great *Samana*, went with a boat together with many *Gaṭīlas* to the place where the Blessed One lived. Then the *Gaṭīla Uruvelā Kassapa* saw the Blessed One, who had caused the water to recede round about, walking up and down in the midst of the water on a dust-covered spot. Seeing him, he said to the Blessed One: 'Are you there, great *Samana*?'

'Here I am, Kassapa,' replied the Blessed One, and he rose in the air and stationed himself in the boat.

And the *Gaṭīla Uruvelā Kassapa* thought: 'Truly the great *Samana* possesses high magical powers and great faculties, since the water does not carry him away. He is not, however, holy like me.'

17. Then the Blessed One thought: 'This foolish man will still for a long time think thus: "Truly the great *Samana* possesses high magical powers and great faculties; he is not, however, holy like me." What if I were to move the mind of this *Gaṭīla* (in order to show him my superiority).'

And the Blessed One said to the *Gaṭīla Uruvelā Kassapa*: 'You are not holy (*arahâ*), Kassapa, nor have you entered the path of *Arahatship*, nor do you walk in such a practice as will lead you to *Arahatship*, or to entering the path of *Arahatship*.'

Then the *Gaṭila* Uruvelā Kassapa prostrated himself, inclining his head to the feet of the Blessed One, and said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, let me receive the pabbaggā and upasampadā ordinations from the Blessed One.'

18. (Buddha replied): 'You, Kassapa, are chief, leader, foremost, first, and highest of five hundred *Gaṭilas*; go first and inform them of your intention, and let them do what they think fit.'

Then the *Gaṭila* Uruvelā Kassapa went to those *Gaṭilas*; having gone to them, he said to those *Gaṭilas*: 'I wish, Sirs, to lead a religious life under the direction of the great Samana; you may do, Sirs, what you think fit.'

(The *Gaṭilas* replied): 'We have conceived, Sir, an affection for the great Samana long since; if you will lead, Sir, a religious life under the great Samana's direction, we will all lead a religious life under the great Samana's direction.'

19. Then the *Gaṭilas* flung their hair¹, their braids, their provisions², and the things for the agnihotra sacrifice into the river, and went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and prostrated themselves before him, inclining their heads to the feet of the Blessed One, they said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, let us receive the pabbaggā and upasampadā ordinations from the Blessed One.'

¹ Which they had cut off in order to receive the pabbaggā ordination, see chap. 12. 3.

² We are extremely doubtful about the meaning of *khârikâga*, which Buddhaghosa explains by *khâribhâra*. Perhaps it may mean provisions of any description of which each *Gaṭila* used to keep one *khâri* (a certain dry measure).

‘Come, O Bhikkhus,’ said the Blessed One, ‘well taught is the doctrine; lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering.’

Thus these venerable persons received the upa-sampadâ ordination.

20. And the *Gaṭila* Nadi Kassapa saw the hair, the braids, the provisions, the things for the agni-hotra sacrifice, which were carried down by the river; when he saw that, he became afraid that some misfortune might have befallen his brother. He sent some *Gaṭilas*, saying, ‘Go and look after my brother,’ and went himself with his three hundred *Gaṭilas* to the venerable Uruvelâ Kassapa; having approached him, he said to the venerable Uruvelâ Kassapa: ‘Now, Kassapa, is this bliss?’

(Uruvelâ Kassapa replied): ‘Yes, friend, this is bliss.’

21. And the *Gaṭilas* (who had come with Nadi Kassapa (&c., as in § 19).

22. And the *Gaṭila* Gayâ Kassapa saw (&c., as in § 20); when he saw that, he became afraid that some misfortune might have befallen his brothers. He sent some *Gaṭilas*, saying, ‘Go and look after my brothers,’ and went himself with his two hundred *Gaṭilas* to the venerable Uruvelâ Kassapa (&c., as above).

23. And the *Gaṭilas* (who had come with Gayâ Kassapa (&c., as in § 19).

24. ¹ At the command of the Blessed One the five hundred pieces of fire-wood could not be split and were split, the fires could not be lit up and

¹ This is evidently a remark added to the text by a reader or commentator.

were lit up, could not be extinguished and were extinguished; besides he created five hundred vessels with fire. Thus the number of these miracles amounts to three thousand five hundred.

21.

1. And the Blessed One, after having dwelt at Uruvelā as long as he thought fit, went forth to Gayâśśa¹, accompanied by a great number of Bhikkhus, by one thousand Bhikkhus who all had been Gaḥilas before. There near Gayā, at Gayâśśa, the Blessed One dwelt together with those thousand Bhikkhus.

2. There the Blessed One thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Everything, O Bhikkhus, is burning. And how, O Bhikkhus, is everything burning?

'The eye, O Bhikkhus, is burning; visible things are burning; the mental impressions based on the eye are burning; the contact of the eye (with visible things) is burning; the sensation produced by the contact of the eye (with visible things), be it pleasant, be it painful, be it neither pleasant nor painful, that also is burning. With what fire is it burning? I declare unto you that it is burning with the fire of lust, with the fire of anger, with the fire of ignorance; it is burning with (the anxieties of) birth, decay, death, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection, and despair.

3. 'The ear is burning, sounds are burning, &c. . . . The nose is burning, odours are burning, &c.

¹ According to General Cunningham, Gayâśśa ('the head of Gayā') is the mountain of Brahmāyoni near Gayā. Arch. Rep. III, 107.

. . . . The tongue is burning, tastes are burning, &c. . . . The body is burning, objects of contact are burning, &c. . . . The mind is burning, thoughts are burning, &c. . . .¹

4. 'Considering this, O Bhikkhus, a disciple learned (in the scriptures), walking in the Noble Path, becomes weary of the eye, weary of visible things, weary of the mental impressions based on the eye, weary of the contact of the eye (with visible things), weary also of the sensation produced by the contact of the eye (with visible things), be it pleasant, be it painful, be it neither pleasant nor painful. He becomes weary of the ear (&c. . . . , down to thoughts¹). Becoming weary of all that, he divests himself of passion; by absence of passion he is made free; when he is free, he becomes aware that he is free; and he realises that re-birth is exhausted; that holiness is completed; that duty is fulfilled; and that there is no further return to this world.'

When this exposition was propounded, the minds of those thousand Bhikkhus became free from attachment to the world, and were released from the Âsavas.

Here ends the sermon on 'The Burning.'

End of the third Bhâṇavâra concerning the
Wonders done at Uruvelâ.

¹ Here the same exposition which has been given relating to the eye, its objects, the sensations produced by its contact with objects, &c., is repeated with reference to the ear and the other organs of sense.

22.

1. And the Blessed One, after having dwelt at Gayâṣṭsa as long as he thought fit, went forth to Râgagaha, accompanied by a great number of Bhikkhus, by one thousand Bhikkhus who all had been *Gaṭṭilas* before. And the Blessed One, wandering from place to place, came to Râgagaha. There the Blessed One dwelt near Râgagaha, in the *Latthivana* pleasure garden, near the sacred shrine of *Supatittha*¹.

2. Then the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra heard : ' The Samana Gotama Sakyaputta, an ascetic of the Sakya tribe, has just arrived at Râgagaha and is staying near Râgagaha, in the *Latthivana* pleasure garden, near the sacred shrine of *Supatittha*. Of Him the blessed Gotama such a glorious fame is spread abroad : " Truly he is the blessed, holy, absolute Sambuddha, endowed with knowledge and conduct, the most happy One, who understands all worlds, the highest One, who guides men as a driver curbs a bullock, the teacher of gods and men, the blessed Buddha. He makes known the Truth, which he has understood himself and seen face to face, to this world system with its devas, its Mâras, and its Brahmâs ; to all beings, Samanas and Brâhmanas,

¹ *Latthivana* (Sansk. *yashâvana*), literally, ' stick forest,' means a forest consisting of bambus. General Cunningham has the following note about this bambu forest : ' In 1862, when I was at Râjgir (i. e. Râgagaha), I heard the bambu forest always spoken of as Jaktiban ; . . . I fixed the position of the bambu forest to the south-west of Râjgir on the hill lying between the hot-springs of Tapoban and old Râgagrîha.' Reports, III, 140.

The word we have rendered sacred shrine is *Ketiya*.

gods and men; he preaches that Truth (Dhamma) which is glorious in the beginning, glorious in the middle, glorious at the end, in the spirit and in the letter; he proclaims a consummate, perfect, and pure life." It is good to obtain the sight of holy men (Arahats) like that.'

3. And the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra, surrounded by twelve myriads of Magadha Brâhmanas and householders¹, went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. And of those twelve myriads of Magadha Brâhmanas and householders some also respectfully saluted the Blessed One and sat down near him; some exchanged greeting with the Blessed One, having exchanged with him greeting and complaisant words, they sat down near him; some bent their clasped hands towards the Blessed One and sat down near him; some shouted out their name and their family name before the Blessed One and sat down near him; some silently sat down near him.

4. Now those twelve myriads of Magadha Brâhmanas and householders thought: 'How now is this? has the great Samana placed himself under the spiritual direction of Uruvelâ Kassapa, or has Uruvelâ Kassapa placed himself under the spiritual direction of the great Samana?'

And the Blessed One, who understood in his mind the reflection which had arisen in the minds of those twelve myriads of Magadha Brâhmanas and householders, addressed the venerable Uruvelâ Kassapa

¹ The word householder (gahapati) is used here, as is the case not unfrequently, to denote householders of the third caste. Compare Rh. D.'s note on Mahâ-sudassana Sutta, p. 260.

in this stanza: 'What knowledge have you gained, O inhabitant of Uruvelā, that has induced you, who were renowned for your penances¹, to forsake your sacred fire? I ask you, Kassapa, this question: How is it that your fire sacrifice has become deserted?'

(Kassapa replied): 'It is visible things and sounds, and also tastes, pleasures and woman that the sacrifices speak of²; because I understood that whatever belongs to existence³ is filth, therefore I took no more delight in sacrifices and offerings⁴.'

5. 'But if your mind, Kassapa (said the Blessed One⁵), found there no more delight,—either in visible things, or sounds, or tastes,—what is it in the world of men or gods in which⁶ your mind, Kassapa, now finds delight? Tell me that.'

(Kassapa replied): 'I have seen the state of peace (i. e. Nirvāṇa) in which the basis of existence (upadhi³) and the obstacles to perfection (kiñ-

¹ Literally, 'who is known as emaciate.' This is said with reference to the mortifications practised by the Gaṣṭas or Vānaprasthas. The Mahābhārata (III, 1499) uses the same adjective (*krīṣa*) of a Gaṣṭa. Vadāno we take for a participle, but it is possible also to read vadā no, 'tell us,' which Professor Jacobi (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Ges., XXXIV, p. 187) prefers. Buddhaghosa takes kisakovadāno for a compound of kisaka and ovadāna: tāpasānam ovadako anusāsako.

² The meaning is: The mantras which are recited at the sacrifices contain praises of visible things, &c., and the rewards that are promised to him who offers such sacrifices do not extend beyond that same sphere.

³ The Pāli word is upadhi, which is translated by Childers, 'substratum of being.' See our note on chap. 5. 2. In this passage upadhi is said to refer to the Khandhas (Buddhaghosa).

⁴ Here we have the Vedic distinction of greater and smaller sacrifices (*yagatayas* and *guhodayas*).

⁵ The words 'said the Blessed One' (ti Bhagavā avoḥa) are probably interpolated from a gloss, as they destroy the metre.

⁶ Doubtless Buddhaghosa is right in explaining ko by kva.

*kaṇa*¹) have ceased, which is free from attachment to sensual existence, which cannot pass over into another state, which cannot be led to another state; therefore I took no more delight in sacrifices and offerings.'

6. Then the venerable Uruvelā Kassapa rose from his seat, adjusted his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, prostrated himself, inclining his head to the feet of the Blessed One, and said to the Blessed One: 'My teacher, Lord, is the Blessed One, I am his pupil; my teacher, Lord, is the Blessed One, I am his pupil.' Then those twelve myriads of Magadha Brāhmaṇas and householders understood: 'Uruvelā Kassapa has placed himself under the spiritual direction of the great Samana.'

7, 8. And the Blessed One, who understood in his mind the reflection that had arisen in the minds of those twelve myriads of Magadha Brāhmaṇas and householders, preached to them in due course (&c., as in chap. 7, §§ 5, 6, down to:). Just as a clean cloth free from black specks properly takes the dye, thus eleven myriads of those Magadha Brāhmaṇas and householders with Bimbisāra at their head, while sitting there, obtained the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth (that is, the knowledge): 'Whatsoever is subject to the condition of origination is subject

¹ *Akiṇṇa* here, and elsewhere, used as an epithet of Arahantship, refers to the state of mind in which the *kiṇṇas*, that is, lust, malice, and delusion (so in the *Samgīti Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*), have ceased to be. It is literally 'being without the somethings,' which are the things that stand in the way, the obstacles to Buddhist perfection; and Buddhaghosa (in the *Su-maṅgala Vilāsinī* on the passage in the *Samgīti Sutta*) explains accordingly *kiṇṇa* by *paṭibodha*.

also to the condition of cessation.' One myriad announced their having become lay-pupils.

9. Then the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra, having seen the Truth (&c. . . . down to) dependent on nobody else for the knowledge of the Teacher's doctrine, said to the Blessed One: 'In former days, Lord, when I was a prince, I entertained five wishes; these are fulfilled now. In former days, Lord, when I was a prince, I wished: "O that I might be inaugurated as king." This was my first wish, Lord; this is fulfilled now. "And might then the holy, absolute Sambuddha come into my kingdom." This was my second wish, Lord; this is fulfilled now.

10. "And might I pay my respects to Him, the Blessed One." This was my third wish, Lord; this is fulfilled now. "And might He the Blessed One preach his doctrine (Dhamma) to me." This was my fourth wish, Lord; this is fulfilled now. "And might I understand His, the Blessed One's doctrine." This was my fifth wish, Lord; this is fulfilled now. These were the five wishes, Lord, which I entertained in former days when I was a prince; these are fulfilled now.

11. 'Glorious, Lord! (&c., as in chap. 7. 10, down to:) who has taken his refuge in Him. And might the Blessed One, Lord, consent to take his meal with me to-morrow together with the fraternity of Bhikkhus.'

The Blessed One expressed his consent by remaining silent.

12. Then the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra, when he understood that the Blessed One had accepted his invitation, rose from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and, passing round him with his right side towards him, went away.

And when the night had elapsed, the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra ordered excellent food, both hard and soft, to be prepared, and had dinner-time announced to the Blessed One in the words: 'It is time, Lord, the meal is ready.' And in the forenoon the Blessed One, having put on his under-robcs, took his alms-bowl, and with his *êtvâra* on entered the city of Râgagaha accompanied by a great number of Bhikkhus, by one thousand Bhikkhus who all had been *Gaṭilas* before.

13. At that time Sakka the king of the devas, assuming the appearance of a young Brâhman, walked in front of the Bhikkhu fraternity with Buddha at its head, singing the following stanzas: 'The self-controlled One with the self-controlled, with the former *Gaṭilas*, the released One with the released, the Blessed One, gold-coloured like an ornament of *siṅgi* gold¹, has entered Râgagaha.

'The emancipated One with the emancipated, with the former *Gaṭilas*, &c.

'He who has crossed (the ocean of passion) with them who have crossed (it), with the former *Gaṭilas*, the released One with the released, the Blessed One, gold-coloured like an ornament of *siṅgi* gold, has entered Râgagaha.

'He who is possessed of the ten Noble States²

¹ Gold colour is one (the 17th) of the thirty-two *lakkhaṇa* which form the characteristics of Buddha as a *mahâpurisa*.

² The ten *ariyavâsas*. Buddhaghosa says: *dasasu ariyavâsesu vutthavâso*. The *Samgîti Sutta* gives the ten Noble States, as follows: 1. being free from the five bad qualities (*pañkaṅga*), 2. being possessed of the six good qualities (*khaḷaṅga*), 3. being guarded in the one thing (*ekâraakkha*), 4. observing four things (*âaturâpassena*), 5. rejecting each of the four false truths (*pa-nunna paḷḷeka-saḷḷa*), 6. seeking right things (*samavayasa-*

and of the ten Powers¹, who understands the ten Paths of Kamma² and possesses the ten (attributes of Arahatsip)³, the Blessed One, surrounded by ten hundred of followers, has entered Râgagaha.'

14. The people when they saw Sakka the king of the devas, said: 'This youth indeed is handsome; this youth indeed has a lovely appearance; this youth indeed is pleasing. Whose attendant may this youth be?'

When they talked thus, Sakka the king of the devas addressed those people in this stanza: 'He who is wise, entirely self-controlled, the unrivalled Buddha, the Arahata, the most happy upon earth: his attendant am I.'

15. And the Blessed One went to the palace of the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra. Having gone there, he sat down with the Bhikkhus who followed him, on seats laid out for them. Then the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra with his own hands served and offered excellent food, both hard and soft, to the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at

dhesana), 7. having pure aims (*anâvila-samkappa*), 8. being full of ease (*passaddhakâya-samkhâra*), 9. being emancipated in heart (*suvimuttakitta*), 10. being emancipated in ideas (*suvimuttapañña*). The *Samgiti* then further enlarges on the meaning of each of these ten.

¹ The ten Balas, which are ten kinds of knowledge (*ñâna*); see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 781 and following, and compare *Gâtaka* I, 78.

² Buddhaghosa explains *dasadhammavidû* by *dasakammapatthavidû*.

³ Buddhaghosa explains *dasabhi k'ûpeto* by supplying *asekhehi dhammehi*. The first eight of the ten *asekhâ dhammâ* consist in the full perfection of *sammâdiñhi* (right belief) and the other categories enumerated in the formula of the Noble Eightfold Path; the ninth and tenth are the perfection of *sammâñâna* (right knowledge) and *sammâvimutti* (right emancipation).

its head; and when the Blessed One had finished his meal and cleansed his bowl and his hands, he sat down near him.

16. Sitting near him the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra thought: 'Where may I find a place for the Blessed One to live in, not too far from the town and not too near, suitable for going and coming, easily accessible for all people who want (to see him), by day not too crowded, at night not exposed to much noise and alarm, clean of the smell of people, hidden from men, well fitted for a retired life?'

17. And the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra thought: 'There is the *Veḷuvana*¹, my pleasure garden, which is not too far from the town and not too near, suitable for going and coming, . . . (&c., down to a retired life). What if I were to make an offering of the *Veḷuvana* pleasure garden to the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head?'

18. And the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra took a golden vessel (with water in it, to be poured over the Buddha's hand); and dedicated (the garden) to the Blessed One (by saying), 'I give up this *Veḷuvana* pleasure garden, Lord, to the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head.' The Blessed One accepted the *ârâma* (park). Then the Blessed One, after having taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the Magadha king Seniya

¹ The site of the *Veḷuvana* ('bambu forest') near *Râgagaha* has not yet been discovered. 'It must have occupied about the position where the ancient basements, marked K. K. K. and G. in Cunningham's map of *Râgagriha* (pl. xiv, Reports, vol. i), were found by him' (Rh. D., 'Buddhism,' p. 62 note).

Bimbisāra by religious discourse, rose from his seat and went away.

And in consequence of this event the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to receive the donation of an ārama (a park).'

23.

1. At that time Saṅgaya, a paribbāgaka (wandering ascetic), resided at Rāgagaha with a great retinue of paribbāgakas, with two hundred and fifty paribbāgakas. At that time Sāriputta and Moggallāna (two young Brāhmanas) led a religious life as followers of Saṅgaya the paribbāgaka; these had given their word to each other: 'He who first attains to the immortal (amata, i.e. Nirvāna) shall tell the other one.'

2. Now one day the venerable Assagi in the forenoon, having put on his under-robes, and having taken his alms-bowl, and with his *ĕtvara* on, entered the city of Rāgagaha for alms; his walking, turning back, regarding, looking, drawing (his arms) back, and stretching (them) out was decorous; he turned his eyes to the ground, and was dignified in deportment. Now the paribbāgaka Sāriputta saw the venerable Assagi, who went through Rāgagaha for alms, whose walking, &c., was decorous, who kept his eyes on the ground, and was dignified in deportment. Seeing him he thought: 'Indeed this person is one of those Bhikkhus who are the worthy ones (Arahats) in the world, or who have entered the path of Arahatship. What if I were to approach this Bhikkhu and

to ask him: "In whose name, friend, have you retired from the world? Who is your teacher? Whose doctrine do you profess?"

3. Now the paribbâgaka Sâriputta thought: 'This is not the time to ask this Bhikkhu; he has entered the interior yard of a house, walking for alms. What if I were to follow this Bhikkhu step by step, according to the course recognised by those who want something¹.'

And the venerable Assagi, having finished his alms-pilgrimage through Râgagaha, went back with the food he had received. Then the paribbâgaka Sâriputta went to the place where the venerable Assagi was; having approached him, he exchanged greeting with the venerable Assagi; having exchanged with him greeting and complaisant words, he stationed himself at his side; standing at his side the paribbâgaka Sâriputta said to the venerable Assagi: 'Your countenance, friend, is serene; your complexion is pure and bright. In whose name, friend, have you retired from the world? Who is your teacher? Whose doctrine do you profess²?'

4. (Assagi replied): 'There is, friend, the great Samana Sakyaputta, an ascetic of the Sakya tribe; in His, the Blessed One's, name have I retired from the world; He, the Blessed One, is my teacher; and His, the Blessed One's, doctrine do I profess.'

¹ This seems to us the meaning of *atthikehi upaññâtam maggam*. Sâriputta followed Assagi as suppliants are accustomed to follow their proposed benefactor till a convenient season arrives for preferring their request.

² The same words as are put in the mouth of Upaka, when addressing the Buddha, above, chap. 6, § 7 (and see below, § 6).

‘And what is the doctrine, Sir, which your teacher holds, and preaches to you?’

‘I am only a young disciple, friend; I have but recently received the ordination; and I have newly adopted this doctrine and discipline. I cannot explain to you the doctrine in detail; but I will tell you in short what it means.’

Then the paribbāgaka Sâriputta said to the venerable Assagi: ‘Well, friend, tell me much or little as you like, but be sure to tell me the spirit (of the doctrine); I want but the spirit; why do you make so much of the letter?’

5. Then the venerable Assagi pronounced to the paribbāgaka Sâriputta the following text of the Dhamma: ‘Of all objects which proceed from a cause, the Tathāgata has explained the cause, and He has explained their cessation also; this is the doctrine of the great Samana¹.’

And the paribbāgaka Sâriputta after having heard this text obtained the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth (that is, the following knowledge): ‘Whatsoever is subject to the condition of origination is subject also to the condition of cessation.’ (And he said): ‘If this alone be the Doctrine (the Dhamma), now you have reached up to the state where all sorrow ceases (i. e. Nirvāṇa), (the state) which has remained unseen

¹ This famous stanza doubtless alludes to the formula of the twelve Nidānas (see chap. 1. 2) which explains the origination and cessation of what are called here ‘dhammā hetuppabhavā.’ Hetu and paṭṭhaya (the word so frequently used in the formula of the Nidānas) are nearly synonymous. Colebrooke (Life and Essays, vol. ii. p. 419) says that the Bauddhas distinguish between hetu, ‘proximate cause,’ and paṭṭhaya (pratyaya), ‘concurrent occasion;’ but, in practical use, this slight difference of meaning, if it really existed, has but little weight attached to it.

through many myriads of Kappas (world-ages) of the past.'

6. Then the paribbâgaka Sâriputta went to the place where the paribbâgaka Moggallâna was. And the paribbâgaka Moggallâna saw the paribbâgaka Sâriputta coming from afar; seeing him he said to the paribbâgaka Sâriputta: 'Your countenance, friend, is serene; your complexion is pure and bright. Have you then really reached the immortal, friend?'

'Yes, friend, I have attained to the immortal.'

'And how, friend, have you done so?'

7-9. 'I saw, friend, the Bhikkhu Assagi who went through Râgagaha for alms (&c.¹, down to:); "But I will tell you in short what it means."

"Tell me much or little as you like, but be sure to tell me the spirit (of the doctrine); I want but the spirit; why do you make so much of the letter?"

10. 'Then, friend, the Bhikkhu Assagi pronounced the following Dhamma sentence: "Of all objects which proceed from a cause, the Tathâgata has explained the cause, and He has explained their cessation also; this is the doctrine of the great Samana."'

And the paribbâgaka Moggallâna, after having heard (&c., as in § 5, down to the end).

24.

1. Then the paribbâgaka Moggallâna said to the paribbâgaka Sâriputta: 'Let us go, friend, and join

¹ See §§ 2-4. Instead of 'The paribbâgaka Sâriputta,' of course, the pronoun of the first person is to be read; instead of 'The venerable Assagi' read, 'The Bhikkhu Assagi;' and further, the vocative 'Friend' (âvuso), addressed to Moggallâna, is inserted three or four times in the course of this narration.

the Blessed One; that He, the Blessed One, may be our teacher.'

(Sâriputta replied): 'It is on our account, friend, that these two hundred and fifty paribbâgakas live here (as followers of Sañgaya), and it is we whom they regard; let us first inform them also of our intention; then they may do what they think fit.'

Then Sâriputta and Moggallâna went to the place where those paribbâgakas were; having approached them, they said to the paribbâgakas: 'Friends, we are going to join the Blessed One; that He, the Blessed One, may be our teacher.'

(The paribbâgakas replied): 'It is on your account, Sirs, that we live here, and it is you whom we regard; if you, Sirs, are about to place yourselves under the spiritual direction of the great Samana, we all will place ourselves also under the spiritual direction of the great Samana.'

2. Then Sâriputta and Moggallâna went to the place where the paribbâgaka Sañgaya was; having approached him, they said to the paribbâgaka Sañgaya: 'Friend, we are going to join the Blessed One; that He, the Blessed One, may be our teacher.'

(Sañgaya replied): 'Nay, friends, do not go; let us all three share in the leadership of this body (of disciples).'

And a second time Sâriputta and Moggallâna said, &c. And a third time Sâriputta and Moggallâna said, &c. (And a third time he replied): 'Nay, friends, do not go; let us all three share in the leadership of this body (of disciples).'

3. But Sâriputta and Moggallâna took with them those two hundred and fifty paribbâgakas and went to the Ve/uvana. But the paribbâgaka Sañgaya

began, on the spot, to vomit hot blood from his mouth¹.

And the Blessed One saw them, Sâriputta and Moggallâna, coming from afar; on seeing them he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'There, O Bhikkhus, two companions arrive, Kolita and Upatissa²; these will be a pair of (true) pupils, a most distinguished, auspicious pair.'

When³ (Sâriputta and Moggallâna), who had reached emancipation in the perfect destruction of the substrata (of existence), which is a profound subject accessible only to knowledge, came to the Veḷuvana, the Teacher, who saw them, foretold about

¹ The later Burmese and Chinese works translated by Bigandet (*Life of Gaudama*, p. 152) and by Beal (*Romantic Legend*, p. 330) add that he died. This is not in the Pâli text, and the Sinhalese account given by Hardy (*Manual*, p. 197) is directly opposed to that statement.

² Upatissa was called Sâriputta after his mother ('The Son of Sâri'); Kolita had the family name Moggallâna (compare Beal, *Romantic Legend*, pp. 324, 331). The name Upatissa occurs in Asoka's well-known edict which has been found at Bairât. The king there quotes 'The Question of Upatissa' among the texts, the study of which he recommends to the brethren and sisters of the fraternity and to the laymen of either sex. This very probably refers to the dialogue between Assagi and Sâriputta.

³ As to this repetition of what had been related before, comp. the note on chap. 15. 6, 7. The words from gambhîre down to upadhisamkhaṇḍe form a sloka. This is one of several instances where an older passage in verse, and probably first composed in some nearly related dialect, appears in the Pâli Piṭakas in prose. It is this which explains the extraordinary grammatical construction of the first seven words. Compare Rh. D.'s note on the similar instance at Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta V, 62. The exclamation put into the mouth of Sâriputta, and afterwards of Moggallâna (above, chap. 23, §§ 5, 10), ought also, perhaps, to be included in the same category.

them: 'These two companions who are now coming—Kolita and Upatissa—these will be a pair of (true) pupils, a most distinguished, auspicious pair.'

4. Then Sâriputta and Moggallâna went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, they prostrated themselves, inclining their heads to the feet of the Blessed One, and said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, let us receive the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations from the Blessed One.'

'Come, O Bhikkhus,' said the Blessed One, 'well taught is the doctrine; lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering.' Thus these venerable persons received the upasampadâ ordination.

5. At that time many distinguished young Magadha noblemen led a religious life under the direction of the Blessed One. The people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), 'The Samana Gotama causes fathers to beget no sons; the Samana Gotama causes wives to become widows; the Samana Gotama causes families to become extinct. Now he has ordained one thousand Gatilas, and he has ordained these two hundred and fifty paribbâgakas who were followers of Saṅgaya; and these many distinguished young Magadha noblemen are now leading a religious life under the direction of the Samana Gotama.' And moreover, when they saw the Bhikkhus, they reviled them in the following stanza: 'The great Samana has come to Giribbaga (i. e. Râgagaha) of the Magadha people, leading with him all the followers of Saṅgaya; who will be the next to be led by him?'

6. Some Bhikkhus heard those people that were

annoyed, murmured, and had become angry; these Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One. (He replied): 'This noise, O Bhikkhus, will not last long; it will last only seven days; after seven days it will be over. And if they revile you, O Bhikkhus, in this stanza: "The great Samāna has come, &c.," you should reply to the revilers in the following stanza: "It is by means of the true doctrine that the great heroes, the Tathāgatas, lead men. Who will murmur at the wise, who lead men by the power of the Truth?"'

7. At that time the people, when seeing the Bhikkhus, reviled them in the following stanza: 'The great Samāna has come, &c.'

Then the Bhikkhus replied to the revilers in the following stanza: 'It is by means of the true doctrine, &c.'

Then the people understood: 'It is by truth, and not by wrong, that the Sakyaputtiya Samānas lead men;' and thus that noise lasted only seven days, and after seven days it was over.

Here ends the narration of the ordination of
Sâriputta and Moggallāna.

End of the fourth Bhānavāra.

25¹.

1. At that time some Bhikkhus, as they had no upagghāyas (preceptors) and received no exhorta-

¹ The chief object of the first book being to discuss the regulations for the upasampadā ordination, at which the preceptor

tion and instruction, went on their rounds for alms wearing improper under and upper garments (or, wearing their under and upper garments improperly), and in an improper attire. While people were eating, they held out their alms-bowls in which were leavings of food¹, over the hard food (which the people were eating), and held them out over soft food, and held them out over savoury food, and held them out over drinks. They asked for soup and boiled rice themselves, and ate it; in the dining halls they made a great and loud noise.

2. The people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas go on their rounds for alms wearing improper under and upper garments, . . . (&c., as in § 1, down to drinks)? How can they make so great and loud a noise in the dining halls? They behave like Brāhmanas at the dinners given to them.'

3. Some Bhikkhus heard those people that were annoyed, murmured, and had become angry. Those Bhikkhus who were moderate, frugal, modest, con-

(upagghāya) of the candidate has a principal part, the text now goes on to relate the institution of the office and upagghāyas, and to explain the mutual duties incumbent on upagghāyas and pupils (saddhivihārikas).

¹ Buddhaghosa has the following note on utti//hapatta: 'utti//hapattan ti pindāya karanakapattam, tasmim hi manussā ukki//hasaññino (this word is spelt so in the Paris MS. as well as in the Berlin MS. of the Samanta Pāsādikā; the usual spelling is ukkhi//ha), tasmā utti//hapattan ti vuttam. athavā utt//hahitvā pattam upanāmentiti evam ettha attho da//habbo.' We take the word, as the former of Buddhaghosa's two explanations implies, for a composition of ukkhi//ha. For the conversion of palatal consonants into dentals, see E. Kuhn, Beiträge zur Pali-Grammatik, p. 36, and on the use of the word compare Trenckner's Milinda Pañho, pp. 213, 214.

scientious, anxious for training, were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can the Bhikkhus go on their rounds for alms wearing improper under and upper garments, &c.? How can they make so great and loud a noise in the dining halls?'

4. These Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, having ordered the fraternity of Bhikkhus to assemble, questioned the Bhikkhus: 'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, that some Bhikkhus go on their rounds, . . . (&c., down to), that they make a great and loud noise in the dining halls?'

'It is true, Lord.'

5. Then the Blessed Buddha rebuked those Bhikkhus: 'It is improper, O Bhikkhus, what these foolish persons are doing, it is unbecoming, indecent, unworthy of Samanas, unallowable, and to be avoided. How can these foolish persons, O Bhikkhus, go on their rounds, &c.? How can they make so great and loud a noise in the dining halls? This will not do, O Bhikkhus, for converting the unconverted, and for augmenting the number of the converted; but it will result, O Bhikkhus, in the unconverted being repulsed (from the faith), and in many of the converted being estranged.'

6. And the Blessed One rebuked those Bhikkhus in many ways, spoke against unfrugality, ill-nature, immoderation, insatiableness, delighting in society, and indolence; spoke in many ways in praise of frugality, good-nature, of the moderate, contented, who have eradicated (sin), who have shaken off (sin), of the gracious, of the reverent, and of the energetic. And having delivered before the Bhikkhus a religious

discourse in accordance to, and in conformity with these subjects, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, (that young Bhikkhus choose) an *upagghāya* (or preceptor).

'The *upagghāya*, O Bhikkhus, ought to consider the *saddhivihārika* (i.e. pupil) as a son; the *saddhivihārika* ought to consider the *upagghāya* as a father. Thus these two, united by mutual reverence, confidence, and communion of life, will progress, advance, and reach a high stage in this doctrine and discipline.

7. 'And let them choose, O Bhikkhus, an *upagghāya* in this way: Let him (who is going to choose an *upagghāya*) adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet (of the intended *upagghāya*), sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say: "Venerable Sir, be my *upagghāya*; venerable Sir, be my *upagghāya*; venerable Sir, be my *upagghāya*." (If the other answer): "Well," or, "Certainly," or, "Good," or, "All right," or, "Carry on (your work) with friendliness (towards me)," or should he express this by gesture (lit. by his body), or by word, or by gesture and word, then the *upagghāya* has been chosen. If he does not express this by gesture, nor by word, nor by gesture and word, the *upagghāya* has not been chosen.

8. 'The *saddhivihārika*, O Bhikkhus, ought to observe a strict conduct towards his *upagghāya*. And these are the rules for his conduct: Let him arise betimes, and having taken off his shoes¹ and adjusted his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder,

¹ If he had put on shoes for having a walk early in the morning or for keeping his feet clean (Buddhaghosa).

let him give (to the *upagghâya*) the teeth-cleanser and water to rinse his mouth with. Then let him prepare a seat (for the *upagghâya*). If there is rice-milk, let him rinse the jug and offer the rice-milk (to the *upagghâya*). When he has drunk it, let him give water (to the *upagghâya*), take the jug, hold it down, rinse it properly without (damaging it by) rubbing, and put it away. When the *upagghâya* has risen, let him take away the seat. If the place is dirty, let him sweep the place.

9. 'If the *upagghâya* wishes to go into the village, let (the *saddhivihârika*) give (to the *upagghâya*) his under garment, take (from him) his second under garment (i.e. his house-dress?), give him his girdle, lay the two upper garments upon each other¹ and give them (to the *upagghâya*), rinse the alms-bowl, and give it him with some water in it. If the *upagghâya* wishes (to go with) an attendant Bhikkhu, let him put on his under garment so as to conceal the three circles (viz. the navel and the two knees) and as to cover the body all around; then let him put on his girdle, lay the two upper garments upon each other and put them on, tie the knots, take his alms-bowl, after having it rinsed, and follow the *upagghâya* as his attendant. Let him not go too far (from the *upagghâya*) nor too near. Let him take (from the *upagghâya*) what has been put into his alms-bowl².

10. 'When the *upagghâya* speaks, let (the *sad-*

¹ Buddhaghosa explains *sagunam* *katvâ* by *ekato* *katvâ*.

² According to Buddhaghosa the meaning of these words is: If the alms-bowl of the *upagghâya* has become too heavy or hot by the food put into it, the *saddhivihârika* ought to take it and give his own bowl to the *upagghâya*.

dhivihârika) not interrupt him. If the upagghâya is in danger of committing an offence by the words he says, let (the saddhivihârika) keep him back. When (the upagghâya) turns back (from his alms-pilgrimage), let the saddhivihârika go back (to the Vihâra) before (the upagghâya), prepare a seat, get water for the washing of his feet, a foot-stool, and a towel¹; then let him go to meet the upagghâya, take his bowl and his robe, give him his second under garment (his house-dress?), and take his under garment. If the robe (of the upagghâya) is wet with perspiration, let him dry it a while in a hot place, but let him not leave the robe in a hot place. Let him fold up the robe. When folding up the robe, let him fold it up so as to leave (every day) four inches (more than the day before) hanging over at the corners, in order that no fold may arise in the middle of it². Let him . . . the girdle³. If there is any food received in the alms-bowl, and the upagghâya desires to eat it, let him give water (to the upagghâya) and then offer him the food.

11. 'Let him offer to the upagghâya (water) to drink. When the upagghâya has finished his meal, let (the saddhivihârika) give him water, take his alms-bowl, hold it down, rinse it properly without (damaging it by) rubbing, pour the water out, and dry (the bowl) a while in some hot place, but let

¹ See Chap. 6. 11, with the note.

² I. e. in order that the folds might not fall upon the same place every day, and the robe might be worn out at that place (Buddhaghosa).

³ The Pâli text is : 'Obhoge kâyabandhanam kâtabbam.' Buddhaghosa's note runs as follows : 'Kâyabandhanam samgharivâ (read samharivâ) kîvarabhoge pakkhipitvâ thapetabbam.' We do not venture to offer any conjectures as to the meaning of this passage.

him not leave the bowl in the hot place. Let him put away the alms-bowl and the robe. When he puts away the alms-bowl, let him do so holding the alms-bowl with one hand, and first feeling with the other hand under the bed or under the chair (where he is going to put the bowl), and let him not put the bowl on the bare ground. When he hangs up the robe, let him take the robe with one hand and stroke with the other hand along the bambu peg or rope on which the robe is to be hung up, and hang up the robe so that the border is turned away from him (and turned to the wall), and the fold is turned towards him. When the upagghâya has risen, let him take away the seat and put away the water for the washing of the feet, the foot-stool, and the towel¹. If the place is dirty, let him sweep the place.

12. 'If the upagghâya wishes to bathe, let him prepare a bath. If he wants cold water, let him get cold water; if he wants hot water, let him get hot water. If the upagghâya wishes to go to the gantâghara², let (the saddhivihârîka) knead the powder³, moisten the clay⁴, take up the chair belonging to the gantâghara, follow the upagghâya from behind, give him the chair, take his

¹ See Chap. 6. 11, with the note.

² A gantâghara (Sansk. yantragrîha, according to Dr. Bühler's conjecture) is a bathing-place for hot sitting baths. See *Kullavagga* V, 14, 3; VIII, 8; Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachf.*, XXV, 325.

³ It is first moistened by water and then kneaded into lumps (Buddhaghosa),—no doubt to be rubbed over the person who is bathing.

⁴ The face was besmeared with moistened clay in order to protect it from the heat. See *Kullavagga* V, 14, 3.

robe and put it aside, give him the powder and the clay. If he is able¹, let him also enter the *gantâghara*. When he is going to enter the *gantâghara*, let him besmear his face with clay, cover himself from before and behind, and thus enter the *gantâghara*.

13. 'Let him not sit down so as to encroach on senior Bhikkhus, nor let him dislodge junior Bhikkhus from their seats. Let him wait upon the *upagghâya* in the *gantâghara*. When he is going to leave the *gantâghara*, let him take up the chair belonging to the *gantâghara*, cover himself from before and behind, and thus leave the *gantâghara*. Let him wait upon the *upagghâya* also in the water. When he has bathed, let (the *saddhivihârika*) go out of the water first, let him dry his own body, put on his dress, then wipe off the water from his *upagghâya*'s body, give him his under garment and his upper garment, take the chair belonging to the *gantâghara*, go before the *upagghâya*, prepare a seat for him, and get water for the washing of his feet, a foot-stool, and a towel². Let him offer to the *upagghâya* (water) to drink.

14. 'If (the *upagghâya*) likes being called upon to deliver a discourse, let him call upon (the *upagghâya* to do so). If (the *upagghâya*) likes questions being put to him, let him put questions (to the *upagghâya*).

'If the *Vihâra*, in which the *upagghâya* dwells, is dirty, let him clean that *Vihâra*, if he is able to do so. When cleaning the *Vihâra*, let him first take away the alms-bowl and the robe (of the *upagghâya*)

¹ I. e. if he is not prevented by indisposition (Buddhaghosa).

² See Chap. 6. 11, with the note.

and lay them aside. Let him take away the mat and the sheet¹ and lay them aside. Let him take away the mattress and the pillow and lay them aside.

15. 'Let him turn down the bed, take it away properly without rubbing it (against the floor) and without knocking it against door or doorpost, and put it aside. Let him turn down the chair, take it away properly without rubbing it (against the floor) and without knocking it against door or doorpost, and put it aside. Let him take away the supporters of the bed² and put them aside. Let him take away the spitting-box and put it aside. Let him take away the board to recline on³ and put it aside. Let him take away the carpet, after having noticed how it was spread out, and put it aside. If there are cobwebs in the Vihâra, let him remove them as soon as he sees them. Let him wipe off the casements⁴ and the corners of the room. If a wall which is coated with red chalk, is dirty, let him moisten the mop, wring it out, and scour the wall. If the floor is coated black and is dirty, let him moisten the mop, wring it out, and scour the floor. If the floor is not blacked, let him sprinkle it with water and scrub it in order that the Vihâra may not become dusty. Let him heap up the sweepings and cast them aside.

16. 'Let him bask the carpet in the sunshine, clean it, dust it by beating, take it back, and spread it out as it was spread before. Let him put the supporters of the bed in the sunshine, wipe them,

¹ See VIII, 16, 3. 4.

² The bedstead rested on movable supporters. See *Kullavagga* VI, 2, 5.

³ See *Kullavagga* VI, 20, 2.

⁴ See the *Samanta Pâsâdikâ*, ap. Minayeff, *Prâtimoksha*, p. 87.

take them back, and put them in their place. Let him put the bed in the sunshine, clean it, dust it by beating, turn it down, take it back properly without rubbing it (against the floor) and without knocking it against door and doorpost, and put it in its place. Let him put the chair in the sunshine, &c.¹ Let him put mattress and pillow in the sunshine, clean them, dust them by beating, take them back, and lay them out as they were laid out before. Let him put the mat and sheet in the sunshine, &c.¹ Let him put the spittoon in the sunshine, wipe it, take it back, and put it in its place. Let him put in the sunshine the board to recline on, &c.¹

17. 'Let him put away the alms-bowl and the robe. When he puts them away (&c., as in § 11, down to:), and hang up the robe so that the border is turned away from him and the fold is turned towards him.

18. 'If dusty winds blow from the East, let him shut the windows on the East. If dusty winds blow from the West, let him shut the windows on the West, &c.² If it is cold weather, let him open the windows by day and shut them at night. If it is hot weather, let him shut the windows by day and open them at night.

19. 'If the cell is dirty, let him sweep the cell. If the store-room is dirty, let him sweep the store-room. If the refectory, &c. If the fire room, &c. If the privy is dirty, let him sweep the privy. If there is no drinkable water, let him provide drinkable water. If there is no food, let him provide food. If there is no water in the waterpot for rinsing the mouth with, let him pour water into the pot.

¹ As in the preceding clause.

² The same for North and South.

20. 'If discontent has arisen within the upagghâya's heart, let the saddhivihârika appease him¹, or cause him to be appeased (by another), or compose him by religious conversation. If indecision has arisen in the upagghâya's mind, let the saddhivihârika dispel it, or cause it to be dispelled, or compose him by religious conversation. If the upagghâya takes to a false doctrine, let the saddhivihârika discuss it, or cause another to discuss it, or compose (the upagghâya) by religious conversation.

21. 'If the upagghâya is guilty of a grave offence, and ought to be sentenced to parivâsa discipline², let the saddhivihârika take care that the Samgha sentence the upagghâya to parivâsa discipline. If the upagghâya ought to be sentenced to recommence his penal discipline, let the saddhivihârika take care that the Samgha may order the upagghâya to recommence his penal discipline. If the mânatta discipline ought to be imposed on the upagghâya, let the saddhivihârika take care that the Samgha impose the mânatta discipline on the upagghâya. If the upagghâya is to be rehabilitated (when his penal discipline has been duly undergone), let the saddhivihârika take care that the Samgha rehabilitate the upagghâya.

¹ Literally, make it (the discontentedness) clear. Buddhaghosa reads vûpakâsetabbo vûpakâsâpetabbo, which he explains thus: 'vûpakâsetabbo means, "Let (the saddhivihârika) lead him to another place;" vûpakâsâpetabbo means, "Let him tell another Bhikkhu to take the Thera and go with him elsewhere."'

² The second and third books of the Kullavagga contain a detailed explanation of parivâsa and of the other technical terms contained in this paragraph.

22. 'If the *Samgha* wishes to proceed against the *upagghâya* by the *tagganiyakamma*¹, or the *nissaya*, or the *pabbâganiyakamma*, or the *paṭisâranīyakamma*, or the *ukkhepanīyakamma*, let the *saddhivihârika* do what he can in order that the *Samgha* may not proceed against the *upagghâya* or may mitigate the proceeding. Or if the *Samgha* has instituted a proceeding against him, the *tagganiyakamma*, &c., or the *ukkhepanīyakamma*, let the *saddhivihârika* do what he can in order that the *upagghâya* may behave himself properly, live modestly, and aspire to get clear of his penance, and that the *Samgha* may revoke its sentence.

23. 'If the robe of the *upagghâya* must be washed, let the *saddhivihârika* wash it or take care that the *upagghâya*'s robe is washed. If a robe must be made for the *upagghâya*, let the *saddhivihârika* make it or take care that the *upagghâya*'s robe is made. If dye must be boiled for the *upagghâya*, &c. If the robe of the *upagghâya* must be dyed, &c. When he dyes the robe, let him dye it properly and turn it whenever required, and let him not go away before the dye has ceased to drop.

24. 'Let him not give his alms-bowl to any one without the permission of his *upagghâya*. Let him not accept an alms-bowl from any one else without the permission of his *upagghâya*. Let him not give his robe to any one else, &c. Let him not accept a robe from any one else; let him not give articles

¹ The discussion about the *tagganiyakamma* and the other disciplinary proceedings alluded to in this paragraph is given in the first book of the *Kullavagga*.

(required for a Bhikkhu) to any one else; let him not receive (such) articles from any one else; let him not shave the hair of any one else; let him not have his hair shaven by any one else; let him not wait upon any one else; let him not have done service by any one else; let him not execute commissions for any one else; let him not have commissions executed by any one else; let him not go with any one else as his attendant; let him not take any one else with him as his attendant; let him not carry any one's food received by him in alms (to the Vihâra); let him not have the food received by himself in alms carried by any one (to the Vihâra) without the permission of his upagghâya. Let him not enter the village, or go to a cemetery, or go abroad on journeys without the permission of his upagghâya. If his upagghâya is sick, let him nurse him as long as his life lasts, and wait until he has recovered.'

End of the duties towards an upagghâya.

26.

1. 'The upagghâya, O Bhikkhus, ought to observe a strict conduct towards his saddhivihârika. And these are the rules for his conduct: Let the upagghâya, O Bhikkhus, afford (spiritual) help and furtherance to the saddhivihârika by teaching, by putting questions to him, by exhortation, by instruction. If the upagghâya has an alms-bowl and the saddhivihârika has not, let the upagghâya give the alms-bowl to the saddhivihârika or take care

that the saddhivihârika gets an alms-bowl. If the upagghâya has a robe and the saddhivihârika has not, let the upagghâya give the robe, &c. If the upagghâya has the articles (required for a Bhikkhu) and the saddhivihârika has not, &c.

2-6. 'If the saddhivihârika is sick, let (the upagghâya) arise betimes and give him the teeth-cleanser and water to rinse his mouth with. Then let him prepare a seat (for the saddhivihârika). If there is rice-milk (&c., as in chap. 25. 8, 9, down to :), and give it him with some water in it. When he expects: "Now he must be about to return," let him prepare a seat, get water for the washing of his feet (&c., as in chap. 25. 10-13¹, down to :). Let him offer to the saddhivihârika water to drink.

7-10. 'If the Vihâra in which the saddhivihârika dwells, is dirty (&c., as in chap. 25. 14-22).

11. 'If the robe of the saddhivihârika must be washed, let the upagghâya tell the saddhivihârika: "Thus must you wash your robe," or let him take care that the saddhivihârika's robe is washed. If a robe must be made for the saddhivihârika, let the upagghâya tell the saddhivihârika: "Thus must you make the robe," or let him take care that the saddhivihârika's robe is made. If dye must be boiled for the saddhivihârika, &c. If the robe of the saddhivihârika must be dyed, let the upagghâya tell, &c. When he dyes the robe, let him dye it properly, and turn it whenever required, and let him not go away before the dye has ceased to drop. If the saddhivihârika

¹ Instead of, 'Follow the upagghâya from behind' (chap. 25. 12), read here, 'Go (with the saddhivihârika).'

is sick, let him nurse him as long as his life lasts, and wait until he has recovered.'

End of the duties towards a saddhivihârika.

27.

1. At that time the saddhivihârikas did not observe a proper conduct towards their upagghâyas. The moderate Bhikkhus¹ were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'How can the saddhivihârikas not observe a proper conduct towards their upagghâyas?' These Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

(Then Buddha questioned the Bhikkhus): 'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, that the saddhivihârikas do not observe a proper conduct towards their upagghâyas?'

(They replied): 'It is true, Lord.'

Then the blessed Buddha rebuked those Bhikkhus: 'How can the saddhivihârikas, O Bhikkhus, not observe a proper conduct towards their upagghâyas?' Having rebuked them and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus²: 'Let a saddhivihârika, O Bhikkhus, not forbear to observe a proper conduct towards

¹ We believe that the words 'The moderate Bhikkhus' are intended here and throughout the whole work as an abbreviation of the fuller phrase, 'Those Bhikkhus who were moderate, frugal, modest, conscientious, anxious for training' (chap. 25. 3).

² All this is an abbreviation of what has been given at full length in chap. 25. 4-6.

his *upagghâya*. He who does not observe it, is guilty of a *dukkaṭa*¹ offence.'

2. Notwithstanding this, they did not observe a proper conduct. They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I ordain, O Bhikkhus, to turn away (a *saddhivihârika*) who does not observe a proper conduct. And he ought, O Bhikkhus, to be turned away in this way: (The *upagghâya* is to say): "I turn you away," or, "Do not come back hither," or, "Take away your alms-bowl and robe," or, "I am not to be attended by you any more." Whether he express this by gesture, or by word, or by gesture and word, the *saddhivihârika* has then been turned away. If he does not express this by gesture, nor by word, nor by gesture and word, the *saddhivihârika* has not been turned away.'

3. At that time *saddhivihârikas* who had been turned away did not beg pardon (of their *upagghâyas*). They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that (a *saddhivihârika* who has been turned away) should beg pardon (of his *upagghâya*).'

They did not beg pardon notwithstanding. They told, &c.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that (a *saddhivihârika*) who has been turned away shall not forbear to beg pardon (of his *upagghâya*). If he does not beg pardon, it is a *dukkaṭa* offence.'

¹ Those slight offences which were not embodied in the *Pâtimokkha* are called *dukkaṭa* offences. They range, as to their gravity, with the *pâṭittiya* offences of the *Pâtimokkha*. For him who had committed a *dukkaṭa* offence, no further penance was required than a simple confession of his fault. See *Kullavagga* XI, 1, 10.

4. At that time *upagghâyas*, when the *saddhivihârikas* begged their pardon, would not forgive them. They told, &c.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, forgiving.’

Notwithstanding this they did not forgive. The *saddhivihârikas* went away, or returned to the world, or went over to other schools. They told, &c.

‘Let him who is asked for his pardon, not withhold it. He who does not forgive, is guilty of a *dukkata* offence.’

5. At that time *upagghâyas* turned away (a *saddhivihârîka*) who observed a proper conduct, and did not turn away one who did not observe it. They told, &c.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, who observes a proper conduct, be turned away. He who turns him away is guilty of a *dukkata* offence. And let no one, O Bhikkhus, who does not observe a proper conduct, not be turned away. (An *upagghâya*) who does not turn him away is guilty of a *dukkata* offence.

6. ‘In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a *saddhivihârîka* ought to be turned away: when he does not feel great affection for his *upagghâya*, nor great inclination (towards him), nor much shame, nor great reverence, nor great devotion (towards the *upagghâya*). In these five cases, O Bhikkhus, a *saddhivihârîka* ought to be turned away.

‘In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a *saddhivihârîka* ought not to be turned away: when he feels great affection for his *upagghâya*, great inclination (towards him), &c. In these five cases, O Bhikkhus, a *saddhivihârîka* ought not to be turned away.

7. ‘In five cases, O Bhikkhus, it is right to turn away a *saddhivihârîka*: when he does not feel

great affection, &c. In these five cases, O Bhikkhus, it is right to turn away a saddhivihārika.

‘In five cases, O Bhikkhus, it is not right, &c.

8. ‘In five cases, O Bhikkhus, an upagghāya who does not turn away a saddhivihārika, trespasses (against the law), and an upagghāya who turns him away, does not trespass: when he does not feel great affection, &c. In these five cases, &c.

‘In five cases, O Bhikkhus, an upagghāya who turns away a saddhivihārika, trespasses (against the law), and an upagghāya who does not turn him away, does not trespass, &c.’

28.

1. At that time a certain Brāhmaṇa came to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the pabbaggā ordination. The Bhikkhus were not willing to ordain him. As he did not obtain the pabbaggā ordination from the Bhikkhus, he became emaciated, lean, discoloured, more and more livid, and the veins became visible all over his body.

And the Blessed One saw this Brāhmaṇa, who had become emaciated, &c. When he had seen him, he said to the Bhikkhus: ‘How is it, O Bhikkhus, that this Brāhmaṇa has become emaciated, &c.?’

‘This Brāhmaṇa, Lord, came to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the pabbaggā ordination (&c., as above, down to:), and the veins became visible all over his body.’

2. Then the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: ‘Now, O Bhikkhus, who remembers anything about this Brāhmaṇa?’

When he had spoken thus, the venerable Sâriputta said to the Blessed One: 'I remember something, Lord, about this Brâhmaṇa.'

'And what is it you remember, Sâriputta, about this Brâhmaṇa?'

'This Brâhmaṇa, Lord, one day, when I went through Râgagaha for alms, ordered a spoonful of food to be given to me; this is what I remember, Lord, about this Brâhmaṇa.'

3. 'Good, good, Sâriputta; pious men, Sâriputta, are grateful and remember what has been done to them. Therefore, Sâriputta, confer you the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations on that Brâhmaṇa.'

'Lord, how shall I confer the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations on this Brâhmaṇa?'

Then the Blessed One on this occasion, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'I abolish, O Bhikkhus, from this day the upasampadâ ordination by the threefold declaration of taking refuge¹, which I had prescribed. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you confer the upasampadâ ordination by a formal act of the Order in which the announcement (*ñatti*) is followed by three questions².

4. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to confer the

¹ See chap. 12 and the note on chap. I. 1.

² The form for bringing a formal motion before the Order is the following: The mover first announces to the assembled Bhikkhus what resolution he is going to propose; this announcement is called *ñatti* (see, for instance, § 4). After the *ñatti* follows the question put to the Bhikkhus present if they approve the resolution. This question is put either once or three times; in the first case we have a *ñattidutiya kamma* (see, for instance, II, chap. 6); in the second case, a *ñatti-katuttha kamma* (as in this chapter).

upasampadâ ordination in this way: Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*:

‘Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. This person N. N. desires to receive the upasampadâ ordination from the venerable N. N. (i. e. with the venerable N. N. as his *upaggâya*). If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* confer on N. N. the upasampadâ ordination with N. N. as *upaggâya*. This is the *ñatti*.

5, 6. ‘Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. This person N. N. desires to receive the upasampadâ ordination from the venerable N. N. The *Samgha* confers on N. N. the upasampadâ ordination with N. N. as *upaggâya*. Let any one of the venerable brethren who is in favour of the upasampadâ ordination of N. N. with N. N. as *upaggâya*, be silent, and any one who is not in favour of it, speak.

‘And for the second time I thus speak to you: Let the *Samgha* (&c., as before).

‘And for the third time I thus speak to you: Let the *Samgha*, &c.

‘N. N. has received the upasampadâ ordination from the *Samgha* with N. N. as *upaggâya*. The *Samgha* is in favour of it, therefore it is silent. Thus I understand¹.’

29.

1. At that time a certain Bhikkhu shortly after having received the upasampadâ ordination, aban-

¹ With this and the following chapters should be compared the corresponding ordinance laid down in chapters 74-76.

doned himself to bad conduct. The Bhikkhus said to him: 'You ought not to do so, friend; it is not becoming.'

He replied: 'I never asked you, Sirs, saying, "Confer on me the upasampadâ ordination." Why have you ordained me without your being asked?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, ordain a person unless he has been asked to do so. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you ordain only after having been asked.

2. 'And (a Bhikkhu) ought to be asked in this way: Let him who desires to receive the upasampadâ ordination, go to the Saṃgha, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet of the Bhikkhus with his head, sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say: "I ask the Saṃgha, reverend Sirs, for the upasampadâ ordination; might the Saṃgha, reverend Sirs, draw me out (of the sinful world) out of compassion towards me." And for the second time, &c.; and for the third time let him ask, &c.

3. 'Then let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the Saṃgha: "Let the Saṃgha, reverend Sirs, hear me. This person N. N. desires to receive the upasampadâ ordination from the venerable N. N.; N. N. asks the Saṃgha for the upasampadâ ordination with N. N. as upagghâya. If the Saṃgha is ready, &c.¹"

¹ Here follows the complete formula of a *ñatti*katuttha kamma, as in chap. 28. 4-6. The only difference is, that here in the *ñatti*, as well as in the three questions, the words 'N. N. asks the Saṃgha for the upasampadâ ordination with N. N. as upagghâya' are inserted after the words 'desires to receive the upasampadâ ordination from the venerable N. N.'

30.

1. At that time an arrangement had been made at Râgagaha that the Bhikkhus were to receive excellent meals successively (in the houses of different rich upâsakas). Now (one day) a certain Brâhmana thought: 'Indeed the precepts which these Sakyaputtiya Samanas keep and the life they live are commodious; they have good meals and lie down on beds protected from the wind¹. What if I were to embrace the religious life among the Sakyaputtiya Samanas?' Then this Brâhmana went to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the pabbaggâ ordination; the Bhikkhus conferred the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations on him.

2. When he had been ordained, the arrangement of successive meals (with the rich upâsakas) came to an end. The Bhikkhus said to him: 'Come, friend, let us now go on our rounds for alms.'

He replied: 'I have not embraced the religious life for that purpose—to going about for alms; if you give me (food), I will eat; if you do not, I will return to the world.'

(The Bhikkhus said): 'What, friend! have you indeed embraced the religious life for your belly's sake?'

'Yes, friends.'

3. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can a Bhikkhu embrace the religious life in so well-taught a doctrine and discipline for his belly's sake?'

¹ On this curious expression, compare *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 8. It is frequently repeated below.

These Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.
(The Buddha said): 'Is it true, O Bhikkhu, that you have embraced the religious life for your belly's sake?'

(He replied): 'It is true, Lord.'

Then the blessed Buddha rebuked that Bhikkhu: 'How can you, foolish person that you are, embrace the religious life in so well-taught a doctrine and discipline for your belly's sake? This will not do, O foolish one, for converting the unconverted and for augmenting the number of the converted.'

Having rebuked him and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus:

4. 'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that he who confers the upasampadâ ordination (on a Bhikkhu), tell him the four Resources:

'The religious life has morsels of food given in alms for its resource. Thus you must endeavour to live all your life. Meals given to the *Samgha*, to certain persons, invitations, food distributed by ticket, meals given each fortnight, each uposatha day (i. e. the last day of each fortnight), or the first day of each fortnight, are extra allowances.

'The religious life has the robe made of rags taken from a dust heap for its resource. Thus you must endeavour to live all your life. Linen, cotton, silk, woollen garments, coarse cloth, hempen cloth are extra allowances.

'The religious life has dwelling at the foot of a tree for its resource. Thus you must endeavour to live all your life. *Vihâras*, *addhayogas*, storied dwellings, attics, caves¹ are extra allowances.

¹ These are the five kinds of dwellings (*pañka lenâni*) which are declared to be allowable, *Kullavagga* VI, 1, 2. The single expres-

‘The religious life has decomposing urine as medicine¹ for its resource. Thus you must endeavour to live all your life. Ghee, butter, oil, honey, and molasses are extra allowances.’

Here ends the fifth Bhānavāra, which contains the duties towards upagghāyas.

31.

1. At that time a certain youth came to the Bhikkhus and asked them to be ordained. The Bhikkhus told him the (four) Resources before his ordination. Then he said: ‘If you had told me the Resources, venerable Sirs, after my ordination, I should have persisted (in the religious life); but now, venerable Sirs, I will not be ordained; the Resources are repulsive and loathsome to me.’

The Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to tell the Resources (to the candidates) before their ordination. He who does, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you tell the Resources (to the newly-ordained Bhikkhus) immediately after their upasampadā.’

sions are explained by Buddhaghosa in his note on *Kullavagga* 1.1. as follows: ‘*addhayogo* ’ti *suvaṇṇavaṇṇageham*, *pāsādo* ’ti *dīgha-pāsādo*, *hammiyan* ti *upariākāsatale patiṭṭhitakūṭāgāro pāsādo yeva*, *guhā* ’ti *ittakaguhā* *silāguhā* *dāruguhā* *pamsuguhā*,’ i.e. ‘*Addha-yoga* is a gold-coloured Bengal house. *Pāsāda* is a long storied mansion (or, the whole of an upper storey). *Hammiya* is a *Pāsāda*, which has an upper chamber placed on the topmost storey. *Guhā* is a hut made of bricks, or in a rock, or of wood.’

¹ Compare *Mahāvagga* VI, 14, 6.

2. At that time some Bhikkhus performed the upasampadâ service with a chapter of two or three Bhikkhus.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, receive the upasampadâ ordination before a chapter of less than ten Bhikkhus. He who performs the upasampadâ service (with a smaller number of Bhikkhus), is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe you, O Bhikkhus, the holding of upasampadâ services with a chapter of ten Bhikkhus or more than ten.’

3. At that time some Bhikkhus conferred the upasampadâ ordination on their saddhivihârikas one or two years after their own upasampadâ. ¹Thus also the venerable Upasena Vaṅgantaputta conferred the upasampadâ ordination on a saddhivihârîka of his one year after his own upasampadâ. When he had concluded the vassa residence, after two years from his own upasampadâ had elapsed, he went with his saddhivihârîka, who had completed the first year after his upasampadâ, to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him.

4. Now it is the custom of the blessed Buddhas to exchange greeting with incoming Bhikkhus. And the Blessed One said to the venerable Upasena Vaṅgantaputta: ‘Do things go well with you, Bhikkhu? Do you get enough to support your life? Have you made your journey with not too great fatigue?’

‘Things go pretty well with us, Lord; we get

¹ This story recurs in the *Gâtaka Commentary* II, 449.

enough, Lord, to support our life, and we have made our journey, Lord, with not too great fatigue.'

The Tathāgatas sometimes ask about what they know; sometimes they do not ask about what they know. They understand the right time when to ask, and they understand the right time when not to ask. The Tathāgatas put questions full of sense, not void of sense; to what is void of sense the bridge is pulled down for the Tathāgatas. For two purposes the blessed Buddhas put questions to the Bhikkhus, when they intend to preach the doctrine or when they intend to institute a rule of conduct to their disciples.

5. And the Blessed One said to the venerable Upananda Vaṅgantaṭṭha: 'How many years have you completed, O Bhikkhu, since your upasampadā?'

'Two years, Lord.'

'And how many years has this Bhikkhu completed?'

'One year, Lord.'

'In what relation does this Bhikkhu stand to you?'

'He is my saddhivihārika, Lord.'

Then the blessed Buddha rebuked him: 'This is improper, O foolish one, unbecoming, unsuitable, unworthy of a Samāṇa, unallowable, and to be avoided. How can you, O foolish one, who ought to receive exhortation and instruction from others, think yourself fit for administering exhortation and instruction to another Bhikkhu? Too quickly, O foolish one, have you abandoned yourself to the ambition of collecting followers. This will not do (&c., as in chap. 30. 3). Let no one, O Bhikkhus, confer the upasampadā ordination who has not

completed ten years. He who does, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that only he who has completed ten years, or more than ten years, may confer the upasampadâ ordination.'

6. At that time ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus (who said), 'We have completed ten years (since our upasampadâ), we have completed ten years,' conferred the upasampadâ ordination; (thus) ignorant upagghâyas were found and clever saddhivihârikas; unlearned upagghâyas were found and learned saddhivihârikas; upagghâyas were found who had small knowledge, and saddhivihârikas who had great knowledge; foolish upagghâyas were found and wise saddhivihârikas. And a certain Bhikkhu who had formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, when his upagghâya remonstrated with him (on certain offences) according to the Dhamma, brought his upagghâya (by reasoning) to silence and went back to that same Titthiya school¹.

7. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can those ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus confer the upasampadâ ordination (saying), "We have completed ten years, we have completed ten years?"' (Thus) ignorant upagghâyas are found and clever saddhivihârikas (&c., down to:), foolish upagghâyas are found and wise saddhivihârikas.'

These Bhikkhus told, &c.

'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, &c. ?'

'It is true, Lord.'

8. Then the blessed Buddha rebuked those Bhikkhus: 'How can these foolish persons, O Bhikkhus,

¹ See the conclusion of this in chapter 38.

confer the upasampadâ ordination (saying), "We have, &c?" (Thus) ignorant upagghâyas are found, &c. This will not do, O Bhikkhus, for converting the unconverted and for augmenting the number of the converted.'

Having rebuked those Bhikkhus and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Let no ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, confer the upasampadâ ordination. If he does, he is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that only a learned, competent Bhikkhu who has completed ten years, or more than ten years, may confer the upasampadâ ordination.'

32.

1. At that time some Bhikkhus whose upagghâyas were gone away, or had returned to the world, or had died, or were gone over to a (schismatic) faction¹, as they had no âkariyas and received no exhortation and instruction, went on their rounds for alms wearing improper under and upper garments (&c., as in chap. 25. 1-6, down to:), he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, (that young Bhikkhus choose) an âkariya².

¹ Buddhaghosa can scarcely be right in explaining pakkhasamkanta by titthiyapakkhasamkanta.

² Âkariya as well as upagghâya means 'teacher,' or 'preceptor.' It is very difficult or rather impossible to draw a sharp line of distinction between âkariya and upagghâya. The duties of an âkariya towards his antevâsika, and of an antevâsika towards his âkariya, as indicated in chaps. 32, 33 (=Kullavagga VIII, 13, 14), are exactly the same as those of an upagghâya

‘The âkariya, O Bhikkhus, ought to consider the antevâsika (i.e. disciple) as a son; the antevâsika ought to consider the âkariya as a father. Thus these two, united by mutual reverence, confidence, and communion of life, will progress, advance, and reach a high stage in this doctrine and discipline.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you live (the first) ten years in dependence (on an âkariya); he who has completed his tenth year may give a nissaya¹ himself.

towards his saddhivihârika and vice versa (chaps. 25, 26 = *Kulavagga* VIII, 11, 12). The position of an upagghâya, however, was considered as the more important of the two; at the upasampadâ service the upagghâya had a more prominent part than the âkariya, as we may infer from chaps. 28, 29, and from the explanations on the 65th pâkittiya rule which are given in the *Sutta Vibhaṅga*. There it is said that, if the upasampadâ ordination had been conferred, against the rule, on a person that has not yet attained his twentieth year, the upagghâya has made himself guilty of a pâkittiya offence, the âkariya and the other present Bhikkhus only of a dukkaṭa offence. We may add that the succession of Vinaya teachers from Upâli down to Mahinda, which is given in the *Dīpavamsa* (*Bhānavāras* IV and V), is a succession of upagghâyas and saddhivihârikas (see IV, 36, 42, 43, &c.), not of âkariyas and antevâsikas; the duty of instructing the young Bhikkhus in the holy doctrines and ordinances seems, therefore, to belong to the upagghâya rather than to the âkariya; compare also *Dīpavamsa* VII, 26. So among the *Brāhmanas*, on the contrary, the âkârya is estimated higher than the upādhyâya; see *Manu* II, 145; *Yâgñavalkya* I, 35. Compare also chap. 36. 1 (end of the paragraph), and Buddhaghosa’s explanation of that passage.

¹ Nissaya (i. e. dependence) is the relation between âkariya and antevâsika. The antevâsika lives ‘nissâya’ with regard to the âkariya, i. e. dependent on him; the âkariya gives his nissaya to the antevâsika, i. e. he receives him into his protection and care. At chap. 36. 1, ‘nissaya’ is said also of the relation between upagghâya and saddhivihârika.

2. 'And let (the antevâsika), O Bhikkhus, choose his âkariya in this way: Let him adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet (of the âkariya), sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say: "Venerable Sir, be my âkariya, I will live in dependence on you, Sir." (This formula is repeated thrice.)

'(If the other answers): "Well" (&c., as in chap. 25. 7).

3. 'The antevâsika, O Bhikkhus, ought to observe a strict conduct towards his âkariya' (&c., as in chap. 25. 8-24).

End of the duties towards an âkariya.

33.

'The âkariya, O Bhikkhus, ought to observe a strict conduct towards his antevâsika' (&c., as in chap. 26).

End of the duties towards an antevâsika.

End of the sixth Bhânavâra.

34.

At that time the antevâsikas did not observe a proper conduct towards their âkariyas (&c., as in chap. 27. 1-8).

35.

1, 2. At that time ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus (who said), 'We have completed ten years (since our upasampadâ), we have completed ten years,' gave a nissaya (i.e. they received young Bhikkhus as their antevâsikas); (thus) ignorant âkariyas were found and clever antevâsikas; unlearned âkariyas were found and learned antevâsikas; âkariyas were found who had small knowledge, and antevâsikas who had great knowledge; foolish âkariyas were found and wise antevâsikas. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed (&c., as in chap. 31. 7, 8).

'Let no ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, give a nissaya. If he does, he is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that only a learned, competent Bhikkhu who has completed ten years, or more than ten years, may give a nissaya.'

36.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus whose âkariyas and upagghâyas were gone away, or had returned to the world, or had died, or were gone over to a (schismatic) faction, were not acquainted with (the rules about) the cessation of their nissayas¹.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'There are five cases of cessation of a nissaya, O Bhikkhus, between (saddhivihârika and) upag-

¹ That is, 'did not know how to decide whether their nissaya was destroyed, or not.'

gghâya: When the *upagghâya* is gone away, or he has returned to the world, or has died, or is gone over to a (schismatic) faction; the fifth case is that of order (given by the *upagghâya* to the *saddhivihârika*¹). These, O Bhikkhus, are the five cases of the cessation of a *nissaya* between (*saddhivihârika* and) *upagghâya*.

‘There are six cases of cessation of a *nissaya*, O Bhikkhus, between (*antevâsika* and) *âkariya*: When the *âkariya* is gone away, &c.; the fifth case is that of order (given by the *âkariya* to the *antevâsika*); or (sixthly) when the *âkariya* and the *upagghâya* have come together at the same place². These, O Bhikkhus, are the six cases of cessation of a *nissaya* between (*antevâsika* and) *âkariya*.

2. ‘In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer the *upasampadâ* ordination, nor give a *nissaya*, nor ordain a novice³: When he does not possess full perfection in what belongs to moral practices; or does not possess full perfection in what belongs to self-concentration; or does not possess full perfection in what belongs to wisdom; or does

¹ This refers, according to Buddhaghosa, to the *pañamanâ* (turning away of the *saddhivihârika*); see chap. 27. 2.

² Buddhaghosa: ‘Coming together may be understood either by seeing or by hearing. If a *saddhivihârika* who lives in dependence (*nissâya*) on his *âkariya* sees his *upagghâya* paying homage to a sacred shrine in the same *Vihâra*, or going on his rounds in the same village, cessation of the *nissaya* (towards the *âkariya*) is the consequence. If he hears the voice of his *upagghâya*, who preaches the Dhamma or gladdens (lay-people by religious discourse), in the *Vihâra* or in the interior of a house, and if he recognises that it is his *upagghâya*’s voice, cessation of the *nissaya* (towards the *âkariya*) is the consequence.’

³ About the ordination of novices, see chap. 54. 3.

not possess full perfection in what belongs to emancipation; or does not possess full perfection in what belongs to knowledge and insight into emancipation. In these five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer the upasampadâ ordination, nor give a nissaya, nor ordain a novice.

3. 'In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may confer the upasampadâ ordination, give a nissaya, and ordain a novice: When he possesses full perfection in what belongs to moral practices, &c. In these five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may, &c.

4. 'And also in other five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer, &c.: When he does not possess for himself full perfection in what belongs to moral practices, and is not able to help others to full perfection in what belongs to moral practices; or does not possess for himself full perfection in what belongs to self-concentration, and is not able to help others to full perfection in what belongs to self-concentration, &c.

5. 'In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may confer, &c.: When he possesses for himself full perfection in what belongs to moral practices, and is able to help others to full perfection, &c.

6. 'And also in other five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer, &c.: When he is unbelieving, shameless, fearless of sinning, indolent, forgetful. In these five cases, &c.

7. 'In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may confer, &c.: When he is believing, modest, fearful of sinning, strenuous, of ready memory. In these five cases, &c.

8. 'And also in other five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer, &c.: When as regards

moral practices he is guilty of moral transgressions ; or when as regards the rules of conduct¹ he is guilty of transgressions in his conduct ; or when as regards belief he is guilty of heresy ; or when he is unlearned ; or when he is foolish. In these five cases, &c.

9. 'In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may confer, &c.: When as regards moral practices he is not guilty of moral transgressions, &c.; when he is learned ; and when he is wise. In these five cases, &c.

10. 'And also in other five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer, &c.: When he is not able to nurse or to get nursed an antevāsika or a saddhivihārika when he is sick, to appease him or to cause him to be appeased when discontent with religious life has sprung up within him, to dispel or to cause to be dispelled according to the Dhamma doubts of conscience which have arisen in his mind ; when he does not know what is an offence ; or does not know how to atone for an offence. In these five cases, &c.

11. 'In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may confer, &c.: When he is able (&c., down to:); when he knows what is an offence ; and knows how to atone for an offence. In these five cases, &c.

12. 'And also in other five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer, &c.: When he is not able to train an antevāsika or a saddhivihārika in the precepts of proper conduct², to educate him

¹ According to Buddhaghosa, moral transgression (*adhisīla*) is said with regard to offences against the *pârâgika* and *samghâdisesa* rules, while transgressions in conduct (*agghâkâra*) consist in offences against the minor rules of the *Pâtimokkha*. Buddhaghosa's explanation is confirmed by the *Mahāvagga* IV, 16, 12.

² According to Buddhaghosa, this refers to instruction in the

in the elements of morality¹, to instruct him in what pertains to the Dhamma, to instruct him in what pertains to the Vinaya, to discuss or to make another discuss according to the Dhamma a false doctrine that might arise. In these five cases, &c.

13. 'In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may confer, &c.: When he is able, &c.

14. 'And also in other five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer, &c.: When he does not know what is an offence; or does not know what is no offence; or does not know what is a light offence; or does not know what is a grave offence; when the two Pâtimokkhas are not perfectly known to him in their entirety, with all their divisions and their whole course, and with the entire discussion according to the single rules and to the single parts of each rule. In these five cases, &c.

15. 'In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may confer, &c.: When he knows, &c.

16. 'And also in other five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer, &c.: When he does not know what is an offence; or does not know what is no offence; or does not know what is a light offence; or does not know what is a grave offence;

khandhakavatta (i.e. in the rules contained in the Khandhaka texts, Mahāvagga and Kullavagga?). See also Spence Hardy, *Manual*, p. 492.

¹ This means instructing him in the *sekhapaññatti* (Buddhaghosa). We cannot say what is the accurate meaning of the last term, which apparently, as its verbal meaning seems to imply, refers to ordinances for those Bhikkhus who have entered the path of sanctification, but have not yet attained Arahatsip. Spence Hardy (*Manual*, p. 493) gives the term *sekha-sīla*, which he explains as the observance of precepts in order to become a *sekha*. See also Hardy's note on *ādibrahmaṅgariya-sīla*, l. l. p. 492.

or when he has not completed the tenth year (after his upasampadā). In these five cases, &c.

17. 'In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may confer, &c.: When he knows (&c., down to:); when he has completed ten years or more than ten years (after his upasampadā). In these five cases, &c.'

End of the sixteen times five cases concerning
the admissibility of upasampadā.

37.

'In six cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not confer, &c.¹'

End of the sixteen times² six cases concerning
the admissibility of upasampadā.

38.

1. At that time that Bhikkhu who, having formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, had (by reasoning) put to silence his upagghāya, when he remonstrated with him according to the Dhamma, and had returned to that same Titthiya school³, came back again and asked the Bhikkhus for the upasampadā ordination. The Bhikkhus told, &c.

'That Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who having formerly

¹ Chap. 37 is exactly identical with chap. 36. 2-15, but for the sixth case, which, throughout chap. 37, is added each time at the end of the five cases given in chap. 36, 'When he has not completed the tenth year (after his upasampadā);' and respectively, 'When he has completed ten years or more than ten years (after his upasampadā).'

² It should be, 'Fourteen times.'

³ See chap. 31, § 6.

belonged to a Titthiya school, has put to silence his upagghâya when he remonstrated with him according to the Dhamma, and has returned to that same Titthiya school, must not receive the upasampadâ ordination, if he comes back. On other persons, O Bhikkhus, who have formerly belonged to Titthiya schools and desire to receive the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations in this doctrine and discipline, you ought to impose a parivâsa (a probation-time) of four months.

2. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to impose it in this way: Let him (who desires to receive the ordination) first cut off his hair and beard; let him put on yellow robes, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet of the Bhikkhus (with his head), and sit down squatting; then let him raise his joined hands, and tell him to say: "I take my refuge in the Buddha, I take my refuge in the Dhamma, I take my refuge in the Samgha. And for the second time, &c. And for the third time take I my refuge in the Buddha, and for the third time take I my refuge in the Dhamma, and for the third time take I my refuge in the Samgha."

3. 'Let that person, O Bhikkhus, who has formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, approach the Samgha, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet of the Bhikkhus (with his head), sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say: "I, N. N., reverend Sirs, who have formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, desire to receive the upasampadâ ordination in this doctrine and discipline, and ask the Samgha, reverend Sirs, for a parivâsa of four months." Let him ask thus a second time. Let him ask thus a third time.

‘Then let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: “Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. This person N. N., who has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, desires to receive the *upasampadâ* ordination in this doctrine and discipline. He asks the *Samgha* for a *parivâsa* of four months. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* impose on N. N., who has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, a *parivâsa* of four months. This is the *ñatti*.”

4. “Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. This person N. N., who has, &c. He asks the *Samgha* for a *parivâsa* of four months. The *Samgha* imposes on N. N., who has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, a *parivâsa* of four months. Let any one of the venerable brethren who is in favour of imposing a *parivâsa* of four months on N. N., who has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, be silent, and any one who is not in favour of it, speak. A *parivâsa* of four months has been imposed by the *Samgha* on N. N., who has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school. The *Samgha* is in favour of it, therefore it is silent. Thus I understand.”

5. ‘And this, O Bhikkhus, is the way in which a person that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, succeeds or fails in satisfying (the Bhikkhus and obtaining *upasampadâ* when the probation-time is over).

‘What is the way, O Bhikkhus, in which a person that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, fails in satisfying (the Bhikkhus)?

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the person that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, enters the village

too early, and comes back (to the Vihâra) too late, thus, O Bhikkhus, a person that has formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, fails in satisfying (the Bhikkhus).

‘And further, O Bhikkhus, in case the person that has formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, frequents the society of harlots, or of widows, or of adult girls, or of eunuchs, or of Bhikkhunis, thus also, O Bhikkhus, a person that has formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, fails in satisfying (the Bhikkhus).

6. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, in case the person that has formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, does not show himself skilled in the various things his fellow Bhikkhus have to do, not diligent, not able to consider how those things are to be done, not able to do things himself, not able to give directions to others, thus also, O Bhikkhus, &c.

‘And further, O Bhikkhus, in case the person that has formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, does not show keen zeal, when the doctrine is preached to him or when questions are put, in what belongs to morality, to contemplation, and to wisdom, thus also, O Bhikkhus, &c.

7. ‘And further, O Bhikkhus, in case the person that has formerly belonged to a Titthiya school, becomes angry, displeased, and dissatisfied, when people speak against the teacher, the belief, the opinions, the persuasion, the creed of the school he formerly belonged to ; and is pleased, glad, and satisfied, when people speak against the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the *Samgha* ; or he is pleased, glad, and satisfied, when people speak in praise of the teacher, &c. ; and becomes angry, displeased, dissatisfied, when people speak in praise of the Buddha, the

Dhamma, and the *Samgha*; this, O Bhikkhus, is a decisive moment for the failure of a person that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school (in obtaining admission to the *Samgha*).

‘Thus, O Bhikkhus, a person that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, fails in satisfying (the Bhikkhus). When a person comes, O Bhikkhus, that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, and has thus failed in satisfying (the Bhikkhus), the *upasam-padâ* ordination should not be conferred on him.

8-10. ‘And what is the way, O Bhikkhus, in which a person that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, succeeds in satisfying (the Bhikkhus)?

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the person that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, does not enter the village too early (&c., point by point the contrary of the preceding).

‘When a person comes, O Bhikkhus, that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, and has thus succeeded in satisfying (the Bhikkhus), the *upasam-padâ* ordination ought to be conferred on him.

11. ‘If a person, O Bhikkhus, that has formerly belonged to a *Titthiya* school, comes (to the Bhikkhus) naked, it is incumbent on his *upagghâya* to get a robe for him. If he comes with unshaven hair, the *Samgha*’s permission ought to be asked for having his hair shaved¹.

‘If fire-worshippers and *Gaṭilas* come to you, O Bhikkhus, they are to receive the *upasampadâ* ordination (directly), and no *parivâsa* is to be imposed on them. And for what reason? These, O Bhikkhus, hold the doctrine that actions receive their

¹ Compare chap. 48.

reward, and that our deeds have their result (according to their moral merit).

‘If a Sakya by birth, O Bhikkhus, who has belonged to a Titthiya school, comes to you, he is to receive the upasampadâ ordination (directly), and no parivâsa is to be imposed on him. This exceptional privilege, O Bhikkhus, I grant to my kinsmen.’

Here ends the exposition on the ordination of persons that have formerly belonged to Titthiya schools.

End of the seventh Bhânavâra.

39.

1. At that time these five diseases prevailed among the people of Magadha:—leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption, and fits. The people who were affected with these five diseases went to Gîvaka Komârabhaṭṭa¹ and said: ‘Pray, doctor, cure us.’

‘I have too many duties, Sirs, and am too occupied. I have to treat the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra, and the royal seraglio, and the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at their head. I cannot cure you.’

‘All that we possess shall be yours, doctor, and we will be your slaves; pray, doctor, cure us.’

‘I have too many duties, Sirs, &c.; I cannot cure you.’

2. Now those people thought: ‘Indeed the precepts which these Sakyaputtiya Samanas keep and

¹ Gîvaka was physician to king Bimbisâra, and one of the chief partisans of Buddha at the court of Râgagaha. See VIII, 1, the introduction of the Sâmaññaphala Sutta, &c.

the life they live are commodious; they have good meals and lie down on beds protected from the wind. What if we were to embrace the religious life among the Sakyaputtiya Samanas: then the Bhikkhus will nurse us, and *Gīvaka Komārabhaṭṭha* will cure us.'

Thus these persons went to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the pabbaggā ordination; the Bhikkhus conferred on them the pabbaggā and upasampadā ordinations; and the Bhikkhus nursed them, and *Gīvaka Komārabhaṭṭha* cured them.

3. At that time the Bhikkhus, who had to nurse many sick Bhikkhus, began to solicit (lay people) with many demands and many requests: 'Give us food for the sick; give us food for the tenders of the sick; give us medicine for the sick.' And also *Gīvaka Komārabhaṭṭha*, who had to treat many sick Bhikkhus, neglected some of his duties to the king.

4. Now one day a man who was affected with the five diseases went to *Gīvaka Komārabhaṭṭha* and said: 'Pray, doctor, cure me.'

'I have too many duties, Sir, and am too occupied; I have to treat the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra, and the royal seraglio, and the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at their head; I cannot cure you.'

'All that I possess shall be yours, doctor, and I will be your slave; pray doctor, cure me.'

'I have too many duties, Sir, &c.; I cannot cure you.'

5. Now that man thought: 'Indeed the precepts which these Sakyaputtiya Samanas keep (&c., down to:): then the Bhikkhus will nurse me, and *Gīvaka Komārabhaṭṭha* will cure me. When I have become free from sickness, then I will return to the world.'

Thus that man went to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the pabbaggā ordination; the Bhikkhus

conferred on him the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations; and the Bhikkhus nursed him, and *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* cured him. When he had become free from sickness, he returned to the world. Now *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* saw this person that had returned to the world; and when he saw him he asked that person: 'Had you not embraced the religious life, Sir, among the Bhikkhus?'

'Yes, doctor.'

'And why have you adopted such a course, Sir?'

Then that man told *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* the whole matter.

6. Then *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* was annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can the venerable brethren confer the pabbaggâ ordination on a person affected with the five diseases?'

And *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him, *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* said to the Blessed One: 'Pray, Lord, let their reverences not confer the pabbaggâ ordination on persons affected with the five diseases.'

7. Then the Blessed One taught, incited, animated, and gladdened *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* by religious discourse; and *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā*, having been taught and gladdened by the Blessed One by religious discourse, rose from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and passing round him with his right side towards him, went away.

In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Let no one,

O Bhikkhus, who is affected with the five diseases, receive the pabbaggâ ordination. He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on such a person), is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

40.

1. At that time the border provinces (of the kingdom) of the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra were agitated. Then the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra gave order to the officers who were at the head of the army: 'Well now, go and search through the border provinces¹.' The officers who were at the head of the army accepted the order of the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra (by saying), 'Yes, Your Majesty.'

2. Now many distinguished warriors thought: 'We who go (to war) and find our delight in fighting, do evil and produce great demerit. Now what shall we do that we may desist from evil-doing and may do good?'

Then these warriors thought: 'These Sakyaputtiya Samāṇas lead indeed a virtuous, tranquil, holy life; they speak the truth; they keep the precepts of morality, and are endowed with all virtues. If we could obtain pabbaggâ with the Sakyaputtiya Samāṇas, we should desist from evil-doing and do good.'

Thus these warriors went to the Bhikkhus and

¹ On ukkīnatha, compare the use of ukkhikkhāmi at Mahāparinibbāna Sutta I, 1 (p. 1), which Buddhaghosa rightly explains by ukkhīndissāmi. But we think it better to adhere here to the reading ukkīnatha, in accordance with the MSS.

asked them for the pabbaggâ ordination; the Bhikkhus conferred on them the pabbaggâ and upasampadâ ordinations.

3. The officers at the head of the army asked the royal soldiers: 'Why, how is it that the warriors N. N. and N. N. are nowhere to be seen?'

'The warriors N. N. and N. N., Lords, have embraced religious life among the Bhikkhus.'

Then the officers at the head of the army were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas ordain persons in the royal service?'

The officers who were at the head of the army told the thing to the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra. And the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra asked the officers of justice: 'Tell me, my good Sirs, what punishment does he deserve who ordains a person in the royal service?'

'The upagghâya, Your Majesty, should be beheaded; to him who recites (the kammavâkâ), the tongue should be torn out; to those who form the chapter, half of their ribs should be broken.'

4. Then the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, there are unbelieving kings who are disinclined (to the faith); these might harass the Bhikkhus even on trifling occasions. Pray, Lord, let their reverences not confer the pabbaggâ ordination on persons in royal service.'

Then the Blessed One taught (&c., see chap. 39. 7,

down to :), thus addressed the Bhikkhus : 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, who is in the royal service, receive the pabbaggâ ordination. He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on such a person), is guilty of a dukkata offence.'

41.

At that time the robber Aṅgulimâla¹ had embraced religious life among the Bhikkhus. When the people saw that, they became alarmed and terrified; they fled away, went elsewhere, turned away their heads, and shut their doors. The people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samānas ordain a robber who openly wears the emblems (of his deeds)?'

Some Bhikkhus heard those people that were annoyed, murmured, and had become angry; these Bhikkhus told the thing to the Blessed One.

The Blessed One thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Let no robber, O Bhikkhus, who wears the emblems (of his deeds), receive the pabbaggâ ordination. He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on such a person), is guilty of a dukkata offence.'

¹ The robber Aṅgulimâla (i. e. he who wears a necklace of fingers), whose original name was Ahimsaka, had received this surname from his habit of cutting off the fingers of his victims and wearing them as a necklace. See Spence Hardy, Manual, p. 249 seq.

42.

1. At that time the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra had issued the following decree : ' No one is to do any harm to those who are ordained among the Sakyaputtiya Samanas ; well taught is their doctrine ; let them lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering.'

Now at that time a certain person who had committed robbery was imprisoned in the jail. He broke out of the jail, ran away, and received the pabbaggâ ordination with the Bhikkhus.

2. The people who saw him, said : ' Here is the robber who has broken out of jail ; come, let us bring him (before the authorities).'

But some people replied : ' Do not say so, Sirs. A decree has been issued by the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra : ' No one is to do any harm to those who are ordained, &c.'

People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, thinking : ' Indeed these Sakyaputtiya Samanas are secure from anything ; it is not allowed to do any harm to them. How can they ordain a robber who has broken out of jail ?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

' Let no robber, O Bhikkhus, who has broken out of jail, receive the pabbaggâ ordination. He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on such a person), is guilty of a dukkata offence.'

43.

At that time a certain person who had committed robbery had run away and had become ordained with the Bhikkhus. At the royal palace a proclamation was written: 'Wherever he is seen, he is to be killed.'

The people who saw him, said: 'Here is the proclaimed robber; come, let us kill him' (&c., as in chap. 42).

'Let no proclaimed robber, O Bhikkhus, receive the pabbaggâ ordination. He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on such a robber), is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

44.

At that time a certain person who had been punished by scourging had been ordained with the Bhikkhus. People were annoyed, &c.: 'How can these Sakyaputtiya Samanas ordain a person that has been punished by scourging?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, who has been punished by scourging, receive the pabbaggâ ordination. He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on such a person), is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

45.

At that time a certain person who had been punished by branding (&c., as in chap. 44, down to the end).

46.

At that time a certain person who was in debt, ran away and was ordained with the Bhikkhus. When his creditors saw him, they said : ' There is our debtor ; come, let us lead him (to prison).' But some people replied : ' Do not say so, Sirs. A decree has been issued by the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra : ' No one is to do any harm to those who are ordained with the Sakyaputtiya Samanas ; well taught is their doctrine ; let them lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering.'

People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry : ' Indeed these Sakyaputtiya Samanas are secure from anything ; it is not allowed to do anything to them. How can they ordain a debtor ?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

' Let no debtor, O Bhikkhus, receive the pabbaggâ ordination. He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on a debtor), is guilty of a dukkata offence.'

47.

At that time a slave ran away and was ordained with the Bhikkhus. When his masters saw him, they said : ' There is our slave ; come, let us lead him away (back to our house),' (&c., as in chap. 46).

' Let no slave, O Bhikkhus, receive the pabbaggâ ordination. He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on a slave), is guilty of a dukkata offence.'

48.

1. At that time a certain smith¹ who was bald-headed, having had a quarrel with his father and mother, had gone to the Ârâma and received pabbaggâ with the Bhikkhus. Now the father and mother of that bald-headed smith, searching after that bald-headed smith, came to the Ârâma and asked the Bhikkhus: 'Pray, reverend Sirs, have you seen such and such a boy?'

The Bhikkhus, who did not know him, said: 'We do not know him;' having not seen him, they said: 'We have not seen him.'

2. Now the father and mother of that bald-headed smith, searching after that bald-headed smith, found him ordained with the Bhikkhus; they were annoyed, &c.: 'These Sakyaputtiya Samanas are shameless, wicked, and liars. They knew him and said: "We do not know him;" they had seen him and said: "We have not seen him." This boy has been ordained with the Bhikkhus.'

Now some Bhikkhus heard the father and mother of that bald-headed smith, who were annoyed, &c. Those Bhikkhus told the thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the Saṃgha's permission is asked for having (the new coming Bhikkhus) shaved.'

¹ Buddhaghosa explains *kammârabhandu* by *tulâtaramundako* (read *tulâdhâram*.) *suvannakâraputto*. At *Dhammapada*, v. 239, *kammâra* is said of a silversmith. There was probably no distinction in these early times between gold, silver, copper, and iron smiths; the same man being an artificer in all kinds of metal.

49.

1. At that time there was in Râgagaha a company of seventeen boys, friends of each other; young Upâli¹ was first among them. Now Upâli's father and mother thought: 'How will Upâli after our death live a life of ease and without pain?' Then Upâli's father and mother said to themselves: 'If Upâli could learn writing, he would after our death live a life of ease and without pain.' But then Upâli's father and mother thought again: 'If Upâli learns writing, his fingers will become sore. But if Upâli could learn arithmetic, he would after our death live a life of ease and without pain.'

2. But then Upâli's father and mother thought again: 'If Upâli learns arithmetic, his breast will become diseased². But if Upâli could learn money-changing³, he would after our death live a life of ease and comfort, and without pain.' But then Upâli's father and mother said to themselves: 'If Upâli learns money-changing, his eyes will suffer. Now here are the Sakyaputtiya Samāṇas, who keep commodious precepts and live a commodious life; they have good meals and lie down on beds protected from the wind. If Upâli could be ordained with the

¹ This Upâli is different from the famous Upâli who belonged to the chief disciples of Buddha; the latter came not from Râgagaha, but from the Sakya country.

² Buddhaghosa: 'He who learns arithmetic, must think much; therefore his breast will become diseased.'

³ We prefer this translation of rūpa to translating it by 'painting,' on account of Buddhaghosa's note: 'He who learns the rūpa-sutta must turn over and over many kârshâṇas and look at them.'

Sakyaputtiya Samāṇas, he would after our death live a life of ease and without pain.'

3. Now young Upāli heard his father and mother talking thus. Then young Upāli went to the other boys; having approached them, he said to those boys: 'Come, Sirs, let us get ordained with the Sakyaputtiya Samāṇas.' (They replied): 'If you will get ordained, Sir, we will be ordained also.' Then those boys went each to his father and mother and said to them: 'Give me your consent for leaving the world and going forth into the houseless state.' Then the parents of those boys, who thought, 'It is a good thing what all these boys are wishing so unanimously for,' gave their consent. They went to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the pabbaggā ordination. The Bhikkhus conferred the pabbaggā and upasampadā ordinations on them.

4. In the night, at dawn, they rose and began to cry: 'Give us rice-milk, give us soft food, give us hard food!' The Bhikkhus said: 'Wait, friends, till day-time. If there is rice-milk, you shall drink; if there is food, soft or hard, you shall eat; if there is no rice-milk and no food, soft or hard, you must go out for alms, and then you will eat.'

But those Bhikkhus, when they were thus spoken to by the other Bhikkhus, threw their bedding about and made it wet, calling out: 'Give us rice-milk, give us soft food, give us hard food!'

5. Then the Blessed One, having arisen in the night, at dawn, heard the noise which those boys made; hearing it he said to the venerable Ānanda: 'Now, Ānanda, what noise of boys is that?'

Then the venerable Ānanda told the thing to the Blessed One.

‘Is it true, O Bhikkhus, that the Bhikkhus knowingly confer the upasampadâ ordination on persons under twenty years of age?’

‘It is true, Lord.’

Then the Blessed One rebuked those Bhikkhus: ‘How can those foolish persons, O Bhikkhus, knowingly confer the upasampadâ ordination on persons under twenty years of age?’

6. ‘A person under twenty years, O Bhikkhus, cannot endure coldness and heat, hunger and thirst, vexation by gadflies and gnats, by storms and sun-heat, and by reptiles; (he cannot endure) abusive, offensive language; he is not able to bear bodily pains which are severe, sharp, grievous, disagreeable, unpleasant, and destructive to life; whilst a person that has twenty years of age, O Bhikkhus, can endure coldness, &c. This will not do, O Bhikkhus, for converting the unconverted and for augmenting the number of the converted.’

Having rebuked those Bhikkhus and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: ‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, knowingly confer the upasampadâ ordination on a person under twenty years of age. He who does, is to be treated according to the law¹.’

¹ The law alluded to is the 65th pâkittiya rule. Generally in the Khandhakas, which presuppose, as we have stated in our preface, the existence of the Pâtimokkha, direct repetition of the rules laid down there has been avoided. If, nevertheless, in the Khandhakas a transgression alluded to in the Pâtimokkha had to be mentioned again, then in most cases the Khandhakas, instead of directly indicating the penance incurred thereby, use of the guilty Bhikkhu the expression, ‘yathâdhammo kâretabbo,’ i.e. ‘he is to be treated according to the law.’ See H. O.’s Introduction to his edition of the Mahâvagga, p. xx note.

50.

At that time a certain family had died of pestilence¹; only a father and his son were left; they received the pabbaggâ ordination with the Bhikkhus and went together on their rounds for alms. Now that boy, when food was given to his father, ran up to him and said: 'Give some to me too, father; give some to me too, father.'

People were annoyed, &c.: 'These Sakyaputtiya Samanas live an impure life; this boy is a Bhikkhuni's son.'

Some Bhikkhus heard, &c.

They told this thing to the Blessed One, &c.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, confer the pabbaggâ ordination on a boy under fifteen years of age. He who does, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

51.

At that time a believing, pious family, who devoted themselves to the (especial) service of the venerable Ānanda, had died of pestilence. Only two boys were left; these, when seeing Bhikkhus, ran up to them according to their old custom, but the Bhikkhus turned them away. When they were turned away by the Bhikkhus, they cried. Now the venerable Ānanda thought: 'The Blessed One has forbidden us to confer the pabbaggâ ordination

¹ Buddhaghosa explains ahivâtakaroga by mâribyâdhi, and says: 'When this plague befalls a house, men and beasts in that house die; but he who breaks through wall or roof, or is "rogâ mâdigato (?)," may be saved.'

on a boy under fifteen years of age, and these boys are under fifteen years of age. What can be done in order that these boys may not perish ?' And the venerable Ānanda told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Are these boys able, Ānanda, to scare crows ?'

'They are, Lord.'

In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus : 'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to confer the *pabbaggâ* ordination on crow-keeper boys even under fifteen years of age.'

52.

At that time the venerable Upananda, of the Sakya tribe, had two novices, *Kandaka* and *Ma-haka*; these committed sodomy with each other. The Bhikkhus were annoyed, &c. : 'How can novices abandon themselves to such bad conduct ?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One, &c.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, ordain two novices. He who does, is guilty of a *dukkata* offence¹.'

53.

1. At that time the Blessed One dwelt at *Rāgagaha* during the rainy season, and remained at the same place during winter and summer. The people were annoyed, &c. : 'The (four) regions are² . . . and

¹ This seems very unpractical : and the rule is accordingly practically abrogated again by chapter 55.

² We must leave '*āhundarikā*' untranslated ; Buddhaghosa says nothing about this obscure word.

covered by darkness to the Sakyaputtiya Samanas; they cannot discern the (four) regions.' Some Bhikkhus heard, &c.

2. Then the Blessed One said to the venerable Ānanda: 'Go, Ānanda, take a key and tell the Bhikkhus in every cell: "Friends, the Blessed One wishes to go forth to Dakkhināgiri. Let any one of the venerable brethren who thinks fit, come to him."''

The venerable Ānanda accepted this order of the Blessed One (by saying), 'Yes, Lord,' took a key, and said to the Bhikkhus in every cell: 'Friends, the Blessed One,' &c.

3. The Bhikkhus replied: 'Friend Ānanda, the Blessed One has prescribed¹ that Bhikkhus are to live (the first) ten years in dependence (on their ākariyas and upagghāyas), and that he who has completed his tenth year, may give a nissaya himself. Now if we go there, we shall be obliged to take a nissaya there; then we shall stay there for a short time, then we must go back again and take a new nissaya. If our ākariyas and upagghāyas go, we will go also; if our ākariyas and upagghāyas do not go, we will not go either. Otherwise our light-mindedness, friend Ānanda, will become manifest.'

4. Thus the Blessed One went forth to Dakkhināgiri followed only by a few Bhikkhus. And the Blessed One, after having dwelt at Dakkhināgiri as long as he thought fit, went back to Rāgagaha again.

Then the Blessed One said to the venerable Ānanda: 'How is it, Ānanda, that the perfect

¹ See chap. 32. 1.

One has gone forth to Dakkhinâgiri with so few Bhikkhus?’

Then the venerable Ânanda told the thing to the Blessed One.

In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: ‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that a learned, competent Bhikkhu lives five years in dependence (on his âkariya and upagghâya), an unlearned one all his life.

5. ‘In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not live without a nissaya (i.e. independent of âkariya and upagghâya): when he does not possess full perfection in what belongs to moral practices (&c., as in chap. 36. 2). In these five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu should not live without a nissaya.

‘In five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may live without a nissaya: when he possesses full perfection in what belongs to moral practices (&c., as in chap. 36. 3). In these five cases, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu may live without a nissaya.

6-13. ‘And also in other five cases, &c.’¹

End of the eighth Bhânavâra, which is called the Abhayûvara Bhânavâra².

54.

1. Then the Blessed One, after having resided at Râgagaha as long as he thought fit, went forth to

¹ Supply these pentads and hexads, respectively, from chaps. 36. 6, 7; 8, 9; 14, 15; 16, 17; 37. 1, 2; 5, 6; 7, 8; 13, 14.

² Abhayûvara means, ‘secure from anything.’ This refers to the expression used in chap. 42, § 2.

Kapilavatthu. Wandering from place to place he came to Kapilavatthu. There the Blessed One dwelt in the Sakka country, near Kapilavatthu, in the Nigrodhârâma (Banyan Grove).

And in the forenoon the Blessed One, having put on his under-robcs, took his alms-bowl and with his *klvara* on went to the residence of the Sakka Suddhodana (his father). Having gone there, he sat down on a seat laid out for him.

Then the princess, who was the mother of Râhula¹, said to young Râhula: 'This is your father, Râhula; go and ask him for your inheritance.'

2. Then young Râhula went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, he stationed himself before the Blessed One (and said): 'Your shadow, Samana, is a place of bliss.'

Then the Blessed One rose from his seat and went away, and young Râhula followed the Blessed One from behind and said: 'Give me my inheritance, Samana; give me my inheritance, Samana.'

Then the Blessed One said to the venerable Sâriputta: 'Well, Sâriputta, confer the pabbaggâ ordination on young Râhula.'

(Sâriputta replied): 'How shall I confer, Lord, the pabbaggâ ordination on young Râhula?'

3. In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'I prescribe,

¹ The Buddha's former wife. This is, as far as we know, the only passage in the Pâli Piṭakas which mentions this lady, and it deserves notice that her name is not mentioned. Probably this name was unknown to the Buddhists in early times, and thus we may best account for the difference of the simply invented names given to this lady by later writers. Compare Rh. D., Buddhism, p. 50 seq.

O Bhikkhus, the pabbaggâ ordination of novices by the threefold declaration of taking refuge.

‘And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to confer the pabbaggâ ordination (on a novice) in this way: Let him first have his hair and beard cut off; let him put on yellow robes, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet of the Bhikkhus (with his head), and sit down squatting; then let him raise his joined hands and tell him to say: “I take my refuge in the Buddha, I take my refuge in the Dhamma, I take my refuge in the Saṃgha. And for the second time, &c. And for the third time, &c.”

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, the pabbaggâ ordination of novices by this threefold declaration of taking refuge.’

Thus the venerable Sâriputta conferred the pabbaggâ ordination on young Râhula.

4. Then the Sakka Suddhodana went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him the Sakka Suddhodana said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, I ask one boon of the Blessed One.’ (The Buddha replied): ‘The perfect Ones, Gotama, are above granting boons (before they know what they are¹).’ (Suddhodana said): ‘Lord, it is a proper and unobjectionable demand.’ ‘Speak, Gotama.’

5. ‘Lord, when the Blessed One gave up the

¹ Granting a boon (vara) is a constant phrase used of princes when making an open promise to give to any one whatever they should ask. See, for instance, the *Gâtaka* Story, No. 9, where the person to whom the boon was given laid it by for a convenient season; and then asked the king to make her son heir-apparent, in violation of all ancient law and custom.

world, it was a great pain to me ; so it was when Nanda¹ did the same ; my pain was excessive when Râhula too did so. The love for a son, Lord, cuts into the skin ; having cut into the skin, it cuts into the hide ; having cut into the hide, it cuts into the flesh, . . . the ligaments, . . . the bones ; having cut into the bones, it reaches the marrow and dwells in the marrow. Pray, Lord, let their reverences not confer the pabbaggâ ordination on a son without his father's and mother's permission.'

Then the Blessed One taught the Sakka Suddhodaṇa (&c., see chap. 39. 7).

'Let no son, O Bhikkhus, receive the pabbaggâ ordination without his father's and mother's permission. He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on a son without that permission), is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

55.

Then the Blessed One, after having resided at Kapilavatthu as long as he thought fit, went forth to Sâvatthi. Wandering from place to place he came to Sâvatthi. There the Blessed One dwelt at Sâvatthi, in the Getavana, the Ârâma of Anâthapindika.

At that time a family who devoted themselves to the (especial) service of the venerable Sâriputta sent a boy to the venerable Sâriputta (with this message) :

¹ Nanda was a son of Mahâpagâpatî, a half-brother of the Buddha. See the story of his conversion in Rh. D.'s Buddhist Birth Stories, p. 128 (later and fuller accounts can be seen in Hardy, Manual, p. 204 seq. ; Beal, Romantic Legend, p. 369 seq.)

‘ Might the Thera confer the pabbaggâ ordination on this boy.’ Now the venerable Sâriputta thought: ‘ The Blessed One has established the rule¹ that no one may ordain two novices, and I have already one novice, Râhula. Now what am I to do ?’

He told the thing to the Blessed One.

‘ I allow, O Bhikkhus, a learned, competent Bhikkhu to ordain two novices, or to ordain as many novices as he is able to administer exhortation and instruction to.’

56.

Now the novices thought: ‘ How many precepts² are there for us, and in what (precepts) are we to exercise ourselves ?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘ I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, ten precepts for the novices, and the exercise of the novices in these (ten precepts), viz. abstinence from destroying life; abstinence from stealing; abstinence from impurity; abstinence from lying; abstinence from arrack and strong drink and intoxicating liquors, which cause indifference (to religion); abstinence from eating at forbidden times; abstinence from dancing, singing, music, and seeing spectacles; abstinence from garlands, scents, unguents, ornaments, and finery; abstinence from (the use of) high or broad beds; abstinence from accepting gold or silver. I pre-

¹ See chap. 52.

² Sikkhâpadâni, literally, ‘ Paths of Training.’ Compare chap. 60.

scribe, O Bhikkhus, these ten precepts for the novices, and the exercise of the novices in these (ten precepts).'

57.

1. At that time novices did not show reverence and confidence towards the Bhikkhus, and did not live in harmony with them. The Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can the novices not show reverence and confidence towards the Bhikkhus, and not live in harmony with them?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you inflict punishment upon a novice in five cases: When he is intent on the Bhikkhus' receiving no alms; when he is intent on the Bhikkhus' meeting with misfortune; when he is intent on the Bhikkhus' finding no residence; when he abuses and reviles the Bhikkhus; when he causes divisions between Bhikkhus and Bhikkhus. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that in these five cases you inflict punishment upon a novice.'

2. Now the Bhikkhus thought: 'What punishment are we to inflict?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you forbid them (certain places, for instance, their own residences).'

At that time Bhikkhus forbid novices the whole *Samghârâma*. The novices, who were not admitted to the *Samghârâma*, went away, or returned to the world, or went over to *Titthiya* schools.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let them not, O Bhikkhus, forbid (novices) the whole *Samghârâma*. He who does so, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that (the Bhikkhus) forbid (a novice) the place where he lives or which he uses to frequent.’

3. At that time Bhikkhus forbid the novices the use of (certain kinds of) food that is taken with the mouth. People, when they prepared rice-milk to drink or meals for the *Samgha*, said to the novices: ‘Come, reverend Sirs, drink rice-milk; come, reverend Sirs, take food.’ The novices replied: ‘It is impossible, friends; the Bhikkhus have issued a fore-warning (against us).’ The people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, thinking: ‘How can their reverences forbid novices the use of all food that is taken with the mouth?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let them not, O Bhikkhus, forbid (novices) food that is taken with the mouth. He who does so, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.’

End of the section about punishment (of novices).

58.

At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya*¹ Bhikkhus laid a ban upon novices without the consent of the *upagghâyas* (of those novices). The *upagghâyas*

¹ Here first appear the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus (the company of the ‘six Bhikkhus’, with their attendants), the constant and indefatigable evil-doers throughout the whole *Vinaya-Piṭaka*. Buddhaghosa (on *Kullavagga* I, 1) says that *Panduka* and *Lohitaka* belonged to this company, and also *Assagi* and *Punabbasu* are mentioned as *Kḥabbaggiyas* (see Childers s. v. *ḥabbaggiyo*).

searched after them, thinking: 'How is it that our novices have disappeared?' The Bhikkhus said: 'The *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus, friends, have laid a ban upon them.' The upagghāyas were annoyed, &c.: 'How can the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus lay a ban upon our novices without having obtained our consent?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, lay a ban (upon novices) without consent of the upagghāyas. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

59.

At that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus drew the novices of senior Bhikkhus over (to themselves). The Theras, who were obliged to get themselves teeth-cleansers and water to rinse their mouths with, became tired.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, draw the followers of another Bhikkhu over to himself. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

60.

At that time a novice, *Kandaka* by name, who was a follower of the venerable Upananda Sakya-putta, had sexual intercourse with a Bhikkhunī, *Kandakā* by name. The Bhikkhus were annoyed, &c.: 'How can a novice abandon himself to such conduct?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you expel a novice (from the fraternity) in the following ten cases: When he destroys life; when he commits theft; when he commits impurity; when he is a liar; when he drinks strong drinks; when he speaks against the Buddha; when he speaks against the Dhamma; when he speaks against the Samgha; when he holds false doctrines; when he has sexual intercourse with Bhikkhunis¹. In these ten cases I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you expel the novice (from the fraternity).’

61.

At that time, &c.²

‘Let a eunuch, O Bhikkhus, who has not received the upasampadâ ordination, not receive it; if he has received it, let him be expelled (from the fraternity).’

¹ The case of the novice's committing sexual intercourse with a Bhikkhunî can have found its place here only by a negligence of the redactor, as it is comprised already in the third of the ten cases (the novice's committing impurity). Buddhaghosa (who of course never admits anything like an inadvertence of the holy Theras by whom the Vinaya is compiled) says that the third case and the tenth are distinguished here, because a person that has simply committed an impurity may receive the ordination, if he is willing to refrain himself in future; whilst a bhikkhunîdûsaka cannot be ordained in any case (see chap. 67).

² Tena kho pana samayena aññataro pandako bhikkhûsu pabagito hoti, so dahare dahare bhikkhû upasamkamitvâ evam vadeti: etha mam âyasmanto dûsethâ 'ti. Bhikkhû apasâdenti: nassa pandaka, vinassa pandaka, ko tayâ attho 'ti. So bhikkhûhi apasâdito mahante mahante moligalle (Buddhaghosa: thûlasarîre) sâmañere upasamkamitvâ evam vadeti: etha mam âvuso dûsethâ

62.

1. At that time there was a certain person of an old family, whose kinsmen had died away; he was delicately nurtured. Now this person of an old family, whose kinsmen had died away, thought: 'I am delicately nurtured; I am not able to acquire new riches or to augment the riches which I possess. What shall I do in order that I may live a life of ease and without pain?'

Then this person of an old family, whose kinsmen had died away, gave himself the following answer: 'There are the Sakyaputtiya Samanas, who keep commodious precepts and live a commodious life; they have good meals and lie down on beds protected from wind. What if I were to procure myself an alms-bowl and robes on my own account, and were to have my hair and beard cut off, to put on yellow robes, to go to the Ârâma, and to live there with the Bhikkhus.'

2. Then that person of an old family, whose kinsmen had died away, procured himself an alms-bowl and robes on his own account, had his hair and beard cut off, put on yellow robes, went to the Ârâma, and respectfully saluted the Bhikkhus. The

'ti. Sâmanerâ apasâdenti: nassa *pandaka*, vinassa *pandaka*, ko tayâ attho 'ti. So sâmanerehi apasâdito hatthibhande assabhande upasamkamitvâ *evam* vadeti: etha mam âvuso dâsethâ 'ti. Hatthibhandâ assabhandâ dâsesum. Te *ugghâyanti* khiyanti vipâkenti: *pandakâ* ime samanâ Sakyaputtijâ, ye pi imesam na *pandakâ* te pi *pandake* dâsenti, *evam* ime sabbeva abrahmakârinô 'ti. Assosum kho bhikkhû hatthibhandânam assabhandânam *ugghâyantânam* khiyantânam vipâkëntânam. Atha kho te bhikkhû bhagavato etam attham ârokesum.

Bhikkhus said to him : ‘ How many years, friend, have elapsed since your upasampadâ ?’

‘ What does that mean, friends, “ years elapsed since the upasampadâ ?” ’

‘ And who is your upagghâya, friend ?’

‘ What does that word upagghâya mean, friends ?’

The Bhikkhus said to the venerable Upâli : ‘ Pray, friend Upâli, examine this ascetic.’

3. Then that person of an old family, whose kinsmen had died away, when being examined by the venerable Upâli, told him the whole matter. The venerable Upâli told this thing to the Bhikkhus ; the Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘ Let a person, O Bhikkhus, who has furtively attached himself to the Saṃgha, if he has not received the upasampadâ ordination, not receive it ; if he has received it, let him be expelled (from the fraternity).

‘ Let a person, O Bhikkhus, who has gone over to the Titthiyas’ (&c., as in chap. 61).

63.

1. At that time there was a serpent who was aggrieved at, ashamed of, and conceived aversion for his having been born as a serpent. Now this serpent thought : ‘ What am I to do in order to become released from being a serpent, and quickly to obtain human nature ?’ Then this serpent gave himself the following answer : ‘ These Sakyaputtiya Samanas lead indeed a virtuous, tranquil, holy life ; they speak the truth ; they keep the precepts of morality, and are endowed with all virtues. If

I could obtain pabbaggā with the Sakyaputtiya Samanas, I should be released from being a serpent and quickly obtain human nature.'

2. Then that serpent, in the shape of a youth, went to the Bhikkhus, and asked them for the pabbaggā ordination; the Bhikkhus conferred on him the pabbaggā and upasampadā ordinations.

At that time that serpent dwelt together with a certain Bhikkhu in the last Vihāra (near the boundary wall of the Getavana). Now that Bhikkhu, having arisen in the night, at dawn, was walking up and down in the open air. When that Bhikkhu had left (the Vihāra), that serpent, who thought himself safe (from discovery), fell asleep (in his natural shape). The whole Vihāra was filled with the snake's body; his windings jutted out of the window.

3. Then that Bhikkhu thought: 'I will go back to the Vihāra,' opened the door, and saw the whole Vihāra filled with the snake's body, the windings jutting out of the window. Seeing that he was terrified and cried out. The Bhikkhus ran up, and said to that Bhikkhu: 'Why did you cry out, friend?' 'This whole Vihāra, friends, is filled with a snake's body; the windings jut out of the window.'

Then that serpent awoke from that noise and sat down on his seat. The Bhikkhus said to him: 'Who are you, friend?' 'I am a serpent, reverend Sirs.' 'And why have you done such a thing, friend?' Then that Nāga told the whole matter to the Bhikkhus; the Bhikkhus told it to the Blessed One.

4. In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, having ordered the fraternity of

Bhikkhus to assemble, said to that serpent: 'You serpents are not capable of (spiritual) growth in this doctrine and discipline. However, serpent, go and observe fast on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month; thus will you be released from being a serpent and quickly obtain human nature.'

Then that serpent, who thought, 'I am not capable of (spiritual) growth in this doctrine and discipline,' became sad and sorrowful, shed tears, made an outcry, and went away.

5. Then the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: 'There are two occasions, O Bhikkhus, on which a serpent (who has assumed human shape) manifests his true nature: when he has sexual intercourse with a female of his species, and if he thinks himself safe (from discovery) and falls asleep. These, O Bhikkhus, are the two occasions on which a serpent manifests his true nature.

'Let an animal, O Bhikkhus, that has not received the upasampadâ ordination, not receive it; if it has received it, let it be expelled (from the fraternity).'

64.

1. At that time a certain young man deprived his mother of life. He was grieved, ashamed, and loathed this sinful deed. Now this young man thought: 'What am I to do to get rid of my sinful deed?' Then this young man gave himself this answer: 'These Sakyaputtiya Samanas lead indeed a virtuous, tranquil, holy life, &c. If I could obtain

pabbaggâ with the Sakyaputtiya Samanas, I might get rid of my sinful deed.'

2. Then that young man went to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the pabbaggâ ordination. The Bhikkhus said to the venerable Upâli: 'Formerly, friend Upâli, a serpent in the shape of a youth received the pabbaggâ ordination with the Bhikkhus; pray, friend Upâli, examine this young man.' Then that young man, when examined by the venerable Upâli, told him the whole matter. The venerable Upâli told it to the Bhikkhus; the Bhikkhus told it to the Blessed One.

'Let a person, O Bhikkhus, that is guilty of matricide, if he has not received the upasampadâ ordination, not receive it; if he has received it, let him be expelled (from the fraternity).'

65.

At that time a certain young man deprived his father of life (&c., as in chap. 64).

'Let a person, O Bhikkhus, that is guilty of patricide, &c.'

66.

1. At that time a number of Bhikkhus were travelling on the road from Sâketa to Sâvatthi. On the road robbers broke forth, robbed some of the Bhikkhus, and killed some of them. Then royal soldiers came from Sâvatthi and caught some of the robbers; others of them escaped. Those who had escaped, received pabbaggâ with the Bhikkhus; those who had been caught, were led to death.

2. Then those who had been ordained, saw those robbers who were being led to death ; seeing them they said : ' It is well that we have escaped ; had we been caught, we should also be killed thus.' The Bhikkhus said to them : ' Why, what have you done, friends ?' Then those (robbers) who had been ordained, told the whole matter to the Bhikkhus. The Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

' Those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, were Arahats. Let a person, O Bhikkhus, that has murdered an Arahata, if this person has not received the upasampadâ ordination, not receive it ; if he has received it, let him be expelled (from the fraternity).'

67.

At that time a number of Bhikkhunis were travelling on the road from Sâketa to Sâvatthi. On the road robbers broke forth, robbed some of the Bhikkhunis, and violated some of them. Then royal soldiers (&c., as in chap. 66).

The Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

' Let a person, O Bhikkhus, that has violated a Bhikkhuni (or, that has had sexual intercourse with a Bhikkhuni), (&c., as in chap. 66).

' Let a person, O Bhikkhus, that has caused a schism among the *Samgha*, &c.

' Let a person, O Bhikkhus, that has shed (a Buddha's) blood,' &c.

68.

At that time a certain hermaphrodite had received pabbaggā with the Bhikkhus; so karoti pi kârâ-peti pi.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let a hermaphrodite, O Bhikkhus,’ &c.

69.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upasampadâ ordination on a person that had no upagghâya.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, who has no upagghâya, receive the upasampadâ ordination. He who confers the upasampadâ ordination (on such a person), commits a dukkata offence.’

2. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upasampadâ ordination with the Saṃgha as upagghâya.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one receive the upasampadâ ordination with the Saṃgha as upagghâya. He who confers the upasampadâ ordination (in such a way), commits a dukkata offence.’

3. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upasampadâ ordination with a number of Bhikkhus¹ as upagghâya (&c., as before).

4. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upa-

¹ I.e. not with the whole fraternity residing at that place, but with a part of it.

sampadâ ordination with a eunuch as upagghâya, &c.; with a person that had furtively attached himself (to the Samgha) as upagghâya; with a person that was gone over to the Titthiyas as upagghâya; with an animal as upagghâya; with a person that was guilty of matricide as upagghâya; with a person that was guilty of parricide as upagghâya; with a person that had murdered an Arahât as upagghâya; with a person that had violated a Bhikkhuni as upagghâya; with a person that had caused a schism among the Samgha as upagghâya; with a person that had shed (a Buddha's) blood as upagghâya; with a hermaphrodite as upagghâya.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one,' &c. (as in the first clause).

70.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upasampadâ ordination on persons that had no alms-bowl. They received alms with their hands. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'Like the Titthiyas.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, receive the upasampadâ ordination without having an alms-bowl. He who confers the upasampadâ ordination (on a person that has not), commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

2. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upasampadâ ordination on persons that had no robes. They went out for alms naked. People were annoyed (&c., as in § 1).

3. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upa-

sampadâ ordination on persons that had neither alms-bowl nor robes. They went out for alms naked and (received alms) with their hands. People were annoyed (&c., as in § 1).

4. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upa-sampadâ ordination on persons that had borrowed alms-bowls. After the ordination (the owners) took their alms-bowls back ; (the Bhikkhus) received alms with their hands. People were annoyed (&c. . . . down to) : ' Like the Tittiyas.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

' Let no one, O Bhikkhus, receive the upasampadâ ordination who has borrowed the alms-bowl. He who confers,' &c. (as in the first clause).

5. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upa-sampadâ ordination on persons that had borrowed robes. After the ordination (the owners) took their robes back ; (the Bhikkhus) went out for alms naked. People were annoyed (&c., as in § 1 to the end).

6. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the upa-sampadâ ordination on persons that had borrowed alms-bowls and robes, &c.

Here end the twenty cases in which upasampadâ is forbidden.

71.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the pabbaggâ ordination on a person whose hands were cut off, on a person whose feet were cut off, whose hands and feet were cut off, whose ears were cut off, whose nose was cut off, whose ears and nose were cut off, whose fingers were cut off, whose

thumbs were cut off, whose tendons (of the feet) were cut, who had hands like a snake's hood¹, who was a hump-back, or a dwarf, or a person that had a goitre, that had been branded, that had been scourged, on a proclaimed robber, on a person that had elephantiasis, that was afflicted with bad illness, that gave offence (by any deformity) to those who saw him, on a one-eyed person, on a person with a crooked limb, on a lame person, on a person that was paralysed on one side, on a cripple², on a person weak from age, on a blind man, on a dumb man, on a deaf man, on a blind and dumb man, on a blind and deaf man, on a deaf and dumb man, on a blind, deaf and dumb man.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no person, O Bhikkhus, whose hands are cut off, receive the pabbaggâ ordination. Let no person whose feet are cut off, receive the pabbaggâ ordination, &c. (each of the above cases being here repeated). He who confers the pabbaggâ ordination (on such persons), is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

Here end the thirty-two cases in which pabbaggâ is forbidden.

End of the ninth Bhāṇavāra.

¹ 'Whose fingers are grown together, like bats' wings' (Buddhaghosa).

² Buddhaghosa (Berlin MS.) explains 'kinniriyâpatha' by 'pidhasappi.' We ought to read, no doubt, pīḥasappī, which is Sanskrit pīḥasarpin, a cripple that is moved on in a rolling chair.

72.

1. At that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus gave a nissaya to shameless Bhikkhus.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, give a nissaya to shameless Bhikkhus. He who does, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.’

At that time some Bhikkhus lived in dependence on shameless Bhikkhus (i. e. they received a nissaya from them, they chose them for their upaggaḥāyas or ākariyas); ere long they became also shameless, bad Bhikkhus.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, live in dependence on shameless Bhikkhus. He who does, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.’

2. Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘The Blessed One has prescribed that we shall not give a nissaya to shameless Bhikkhus, nor live in dependence on shameless Bhikkhus. Now how are we to discern modest and shameless persons?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you wait first four or five days until you have seen how a Bhikkhu behaves to the other Bhikkhus.’

73.

1. At that time a certain Bhikkhu was travelling on the road in the Kosala country. Now this Bhikkhu thought: ‘The Blessed One has prescribed that we shall not live without a nissaya (of an ākariya and

an upagga^hâya); now I want a nissaya, but I am travelling. What am I to do?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a travelling Bhikkhu who can get no nissaya, to live without a nissaya.’

2. At that time two Bhikkhus were travelling on the road in the Kosala country. They came to a certain residence; there one of the two Bhikkhus was taken ill. Now that sick Bhikkhu thought: ‘The Blessed One has prescribed that we shall not live without a nissaya; now I want a nissaya, but I am sick. What am I to do?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a sick Bhikkhu who can get no nissaya, to live without a nissaya.’

3. Now the other Bhikkhu, who nursed that sick Bhikkhu, thought: ‘The Blessed One has prescribed, &c.; now I want a nissaya, but this Bhikkhu is sick. What am I to do?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who is nursing a sick Bhikkhu, if he can get no nissaya and the sick asks him (to remain with him), to live without a nissaya.’

4. At that time a certain Bhikkhu lived in the forest; he had a dwelling-place where he lived pleasantly. Now this Bhikkhu thought: ‘The Blessed One has prescribed, &c.; now I want a nissaya, but I live in the forest and have a dwelling-place where I live pleasantly. What am I to do?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu living in the forest who finds a place where he may live pleasantly,

and who can get (there) no nissaya, to live without a nissaya (saying to himself): "If a proper person to give me nissaya comes hither, I will take nissaya of that person."

74.

1. At that time there was a person that desired to receive the upasampadâ ordination from the venerable Mahâkassapa. Then the venerable Mahâkassapa sent a messenger to the venerable Ânanda: 'Come, Ânanda, and recite the upasampadâ proclamation for this person.' The venerable Ânanda said: 'I cannot pronounce the Thera's (i. e. Mahâkassapa's) name; the Thera is too venerable compared with me.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use also the family name (of the upagghâya, instead of his proper name) in the proclamation.'

2. At that time there were two persons that desired to receive the upasampadâ ordination from the venerable Mahâkassapa. They quarrelled with each other. (One said): 'I will receive the upasampadâ ordination first.' (The other said): 'Nay, I will receive it first.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to ordain two persons by one proclamation.'

3. At that time there were persons who desired to receive the upasampadâ ordination from different Theras. They quarrelled with each other. (One said): 'I will receive the upasampadâ ordina-

tion first.' (The other said): 'Nay, I will receive it first.' The Theras said: 'Well, friends, let us ordain them altogether by one proclamation.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to ordain two or three persons by one proclamation, provided they have the same *upagghâya*, but not if they have different *upagghâyas*.'

75.

At that time the venerable Kumârakassapa had received the *upasampadâ* ordination when he had completed the twentieth year from his conception (but not from his birth). Now the venerable Kumârakassapa thought: 'The Blessed One has forbidden us to confer the *upasampadâ* ordination on persons under twenty years of age¹, and I have completed my twentieth year (only) from my conception. Have I, therefore, received the *upasampadâ* ordination, or have I not received it?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'When, O Bhikkhus, in the womb the first thought rises up (in the nascent being), the first consciousness manifests itself, according to this the (true) birth should be reckoned. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to confer the *upasampadâ* ordination on persons that have completed the twentieth year from their conception (only).'

¹ See chap. 49. 6.

76.

1. At that time ordained Bhikkhus were seen who were afflicted with leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption, and fits.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that he who confers the upasampadā ordination, ask (the person to be ordained) about the Disqualifications (for receiving the ordination). And let him ask, O Bhikkhus, in this way :

‘Are you afflicted with the following diseases, leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption, and fits ?

‘Are you a man ?

‘Are you a male ?

‘Are you a freeman ?

‘Have you no debts ?

‘Are you not in the royal service ?

‘Have your father and mother given their consent ?

‘Are you full twenty years old ?

‘Are your alms-bowl and your robes in due state ?

‘What is your name ?

‘What is your upagghāya’s name ?’

2. At that time the Bhikkhus asked the persons who desired to receive the upasampadā ordination about the Disqualifications, without having them instructed beforehand (how to answer). The persons that desired to be ordained, became disconcerted, perplexed, and could not answer.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you first instruct (the persons desirous of being ordained), and then ask them about the Disqualifications.’

3. Then they instructed (the candidates) in the midst of the assembly; the persons desirous of being ordained became disconcerted, perplexed, and could not answer nevertheless.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you instruct them aside, and ask them about the Disqualifications before the assembly. And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to instruct them in this way: You ought first to cause them to choose an *upagghâya*; when they have chosen an *upagghâya*, their alms-bowl and robes must be shown to them, “This is your alms-bowl, this is your *samghâti*, this is your upper robe, this is your under garment; come and place yourself here.”’

4. Ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus instructed them; the persons desirous of being ordained, though they had been instructed, became disconcerted, perplexed, and could not answer.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, instruct them. If they do, they commit a *dukkata* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that a learned, competent Bhikkhu instruct them.’

5. At that time persons instructed them who were not appointed thereto.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, instruct them without being appointed thereto. He who so instructs, commits a *dukkata* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that an appointed Bhikkhu is to instruct them. And (this Bhikkhu), O Bhikkhus, is to be appointed in this way: One may either appoint himself, or one may appoint another person. And how is (a Bhikkhu) to

appoint himself? Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. N.N. desires to receive the upasampadā ordination from the venerable N.N. If the *Samgha* is ready, I will instruct N.N." Thus one may appoint himself.

6. 'And how is (a Bhikkhu) to appoint another person? Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, &c. N.N. desires to receive the upasampadā ordination from the venerable N.N. If the *Samgha* is ready, let N.N. instruct N.N." Thus one may appoint another person.

7. 'Then let that appointed Bhikkhu go to the person who desires to be ordained, and thus address him: "Do you hear, N.N.? This is the time for you to speak the truth, and to say that which is. When I ask you before the assembly about that which is, you ought, if it is so, to answer: 'It is;' if it is not so, you ought to answer: 'It is not.' Be not disconcerted, be not perplexed. I shall ask you thus: 'Are you afflicted with the following diseases, &c?'"'

8. (After the instruction, the instructor and the candidate) appeared together before the assembly.

'Let them not appear together. Let the instructor come first and proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. N.N. desires to receive the upasampadā ordination from the venerable N.N.; he has been instructed by me. If the *Samgha* is ready, let N.N. come." Then let him be told: "Come on." Let him be told to adjust his upper robe (&c., see chap. 29. 2), to raise his joined hands, and to ask (the *Samgha*) for the upasampadā ordination (by say-

ing), "I ask the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, for the upasampadâ ordination; might the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, draw me out (of the sinful world) out of compassion towards me. And for the second time, reverend Sirs, I ask, &c. And for the third time, reverend Sirs, I ask, &c."

9. 'Then let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. This person N. N. desires to receive the upasampadâ ordination from the venerable N. N. If the *Samgha* is ready, let me ask N. N. about the Disqualifications.

"Do you hear, N. N.? This is the time for you (&c., see § 7, down to:) you ought to answer: 'It is not.'"

"Are you afflicted with the following diseases, &c.?"

10. 'Then let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. This person N. N. desires to receive the upasampadâ ordination from the venerable N. N.; he is free from the Disqualifications; his alms-bowl and robes are in due state. N. N. asks the *Samgha* for the upasampadâ ordination with N. N. as upagghâya. If the *Samgha* is ready, &c.1"

End of the regulations for the upasampadâ
ordination².

¹ Here follows the usual complete formula of a *ñatti*katuttha kamma; see chaps. 28. 4-6; 29. 3, &c.

² With these sections compare the previous chapters 12, 28 and following, 36 and following. The *ñatti* prescribed in this chapter, together with the Three Refuges Formula prescribed in chap. 12, § 4, the whole of chap. 77, and the Four Interdictions form together

77.

‘Then let them measure the shadow, tell (the newly-ordained Bhikkhu) what season and what date it is, tell him what part of the day it is, tell him the whole formula¹, and tell him the four Resources: “The religious life has the morsels of food given in alms for its resource (&c., as in chap. 30. 4).”’

End of the four Resources.

78.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus, after having conferred the upasampadâ ordination on a certain Bhikkhu, left him alone and went away. Afterwards, as he went alone (to the Ârâma), he met on the way his former wife. She said to him: ‘Have you now embraced the religious life?’ (He replied): ‘Yes, I have embraced the religious life.’ ‘It is difficult to persons who have embraced religious life, to obtain sexual intercourse; come, let us have intercourse.’ He practised intercourse with her, and, in consequence, came late (to the Ârâma). The Bhikkhus said: ‘How is it, friend, that you are so late?’

2. Then that Bhikkhu told the whole matter to the Bhikkhus. The Bhikkhus told it to the Blessed One.

the current ceremony of ordination (the upasampadâ-kamma-vâkâ) as now still in use in the Order. See the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, VII, p. 1.

¹ I. e., according to Buddhaghosa, repeat to him all the data specified before together, in order that he might be able to give a correct answer when asked about his spiritual age.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you give a companion to a newly-ordained Bhikkhu, and that you tell him the four Interdictions :

“A Bhikkhu who has received the upasampadâ ordination, ought to abstain from all sexual intercourse even with an animal. A Bhikkhu who practises sexual intercourse is no Samana and no follower of the Sakyaputta. As a man whose head is cut off, cannot live any longer with his trunk alone, thus a Bhikkhu who practises sexual intercourse is no Samana and no follower of the Sakyaputta. Abstain from doing so as long as your life lasts.

3. “A Bhikkhu who has received the upasampadâ ordination, ought to abstain from taking what is not given to him, and from theft, even of a blade of grass. A Bhikkhu who takes what is not given to him, or steals it, if it is a pâda (i. e. a quarter of a kârshâpana), or of the value of a pâda, or worth more than a pâda, is no Samana and no follower of the Sakyaputta. As a sear leaf loosed from its stalk cannot become green again, thus a Bhikkhu who takes, &c. Abstain from doing so as long as your life lasts.

4. “A Bhikkhu who has received the upasampadâ ordination, ought not intentionally to destroy the life of any being down to a worm or an ant. A Bhikkhu who intentionally kills a human being, down to procuring abortion, is no Samana and no follower of the Sakyaputta. As a great stone which is broken in two, cannot be reunited, thus a Bhikkhu who intentionally, &c. Abstain from doing so as long as your life lasts.

5. “A Bhikkhu who has received the upasampadâ ordination, ought not to attribute to

himself any superhuman condition, and not to say even: 'I find delight in sojourning in an empty place.' A Bhikkhu who with bad intention and out of covetousness attributes to himself a superhuman condition, which he has not, and which he is not possessed of, a state of *gḥāna* (mystic meditation), or one of the *vimokkhas*¹, or one of the *samādhis* (states of self-concentration), or one of the *samāpattis* (the attainment of the four *gḥānas* and four of the eight *vimokkhas*), or one of the Paths (of sanctification), or one of the Fruits thereof, is no *Samāna* and no follower of the Sakyaputta. As a palm tree of which the top sprout has been cut off, cannot grow again, thus a Bhikkhu who with bad intention, &c. Abstain from doing so as long as your life lasts."

End of the four Interdicts.

79.

1. At that time a certain Bhikkhu against whom expulsion² had been pronounced for his refusal to see an offence (committed by himself), returned to

¹ The *vimokkhas* (literally, deliverances) are eight stages of meditation different from the four *gḥānas*. The characteristics of the different *vimokkhas* are specified by Childers s. v.

² This temporary expulsion (*ukkhepaniyakamma*), which is pronounced against Bhikkhus who refuse to see an offence committed by themselves (*âpattiyâ adassane*), or to atone for such an offence (*âpattiyâ appaṭikamme*), or to renounce a false doctrine (*pâpikâya diṭṭhiyâ appaṭinissagge*), must be distinguished from the definitive and permanent expulsion (*nâsanâ*) which is pronounced against Bhikkhus who have committed a *pârâgika* offence, or in cases like those treated of in chapters 61 seq.

the world. Afterwards he came back to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the upasampadâ ordination.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, that a Bhikkhu against whom expulsion has been pronounced for his refusal to see an offence (committed by himself), returns to the world, and afterwards comes back to the Bhikkhus and asks them for the upasampadâ ordination, let them say to him: “Will you see that offence?” If he replies: “I will see it,” let him be admitted to the pabbaggâ ordination; if he replies: “I will not see it,” let him not be admitted to the pabbaggâ ordination.

2. ‘When he has received the pabbaggâ ordination let them say to him: “Will you see that offence?” If he says: “I will see it,” let him be admitted to the upasampadâ ordination; if he says: “I will not see it,” let him not be admitted to the upasampadâ ordination.

‘When he has received the upasampadâ ordination (&c., as before). If he says: “I will see it,” let him be restored¹; if he says: “I will not see it,” let him not be restored.

‘When he has been restored, let them say to him: “Do you see that offence?” If he sees it, well and good; if he does not see it, let them expel him again, if it is possible to bring about unanimity (of the fraternity for the sentence of expulsion); if that is impossible, it is no offence to live and to dwell together (with such a Bhikkhu).

3. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, that a Bhikkhu against whom expulsion has been pronounced for his refusal

¹ I. e. the sentence of expulsion is abolished; compare the Samanta Pâsâdikâ, ap. Minayeff, Prâtimoksha, p. 92.

to atone for an offence (committed by himself), &c.¹ When he has been restored, let them say to him: "Atone now for that offence." If he atones for it, well and good, &c.

4. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, that a Bhikkhu against whom expulsion has been pronounced for his refusal to renounce a false doctrine, &c.² When he has been restored, let them say to him: "Renounce now that false doctrine." If he renounces it, well and good, &c.'

End of the first Khandhaka, which is called the
Great Khandhaka³.

¹ As in §§ 1, 2. Instead of 'Will you see that offence?' and, 'I will see it,' read here: 'Will you atone for that offence?' and, 'I will atone for it.'

² As above. Read here: 'Will you renounce that false doctrine?' and, 'I will renounce it.'

³ Here follow some Slokas, probably written in Ceylon, and an elaborate Table of Contents, both of which we leave untranslated. The Slokas are introductory to the Table of Contents (uddâna) and belong to it. A similar Table of Contents is found in the MSS. nearly after all the other Khandhakas.

SECOND KHANDHAKA.

(THE UPOSATHA CEREMONY, AND THE PÂTIMOKKHA.)

1.

1. At that time the blessed Buddha dwelt near Râgagaha, on the *Gigg'hakûta* mountain ('the Vulture's Peak'). At that time the Paribbâgakas belonging to Titthiya schools assembled on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month¹ and recited their Dhamma. The people went to them in order to hear the Dhamma. They were filled with favour towards, and were filled with faith in, the Paribbâgakas belonging to Titthiya schools; the Paribbâgakas belonging to Titthiya schools gained adherents.

2. Now when the Mâgadha king Seniya Bimbisâra was alone, and had retired into solitude, the following consideration presented itself to his mind : 'The Paribbâgakas belonging to Titthiya schools assemble now on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month and recite their Dhamma. The people go to them in order to hear the Dhamma. They are filled with favour towards, and are filled with faith in, the Paribbâgakas who belong to Titthiya

¹ One should be inclined to understand that the Paribbâgakas assembled twice each half month, on the eighth day of the pakkha and on the fourteenth or fifteenth day, according to the different length of the pakkha. However, chap. 4 makes it probable that not two days in each pakkha are to be understood, but three. Compare, however, the remark of Buddhaghosa, quoted in the note on chap. 34. 1.

schools; the Paribbāgakas who belong to Tittiya schools gain adherents. What if the reverend ones (the Buddhist Bhikkhus) were to assemble also on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month.'

3. Then the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, when I was alone and had retired into solitude, the following consideration presented itself to my mind: "The Paribbāgakas, &c.; what if the reverend ones were to assemble also on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month." Well, Lord, let the reverend ones assemble also on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month.'

4. Then the Blessed One taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra by religious discourse; and the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra, having been taught . . . and gladdened by the Blessed One by religious discourse, rose from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, passed round him with his right side towards him, and went away.

In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you assemble on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each month.'

2.

At that time the Bhikkhus, considering that the Blessed One had ordered them to assemble on the fourteenth &c. day of each half month, assembled on the fourteenth &c. day of each half month and sat there silent. The people went to them in order to hear the Dhamma. They were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can the Sakya-puttiya Samanas, when they have assembled on the fourteenth &c. day of each half month, sit there silent, like the dumb, or like hogs? Ought they not to recite the Dhamma, when they have assembled?' Some Bhikkhus heard those people that were annoyed, murmured, and had become angry; these Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One. In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you recite the Dhamma, when you have assembled on the fourteenth &c. day of each half month.'

3.

1. Now when the Blessed One was alone and had retired into solitude, the following consideration presented itself to his mind: 'What if I were to prescribe that the Bhikkhus recite as the Pâtimokkha¹ the precepts which I have promulgated to

¹ On the origin and the meaning of the title 'Pâtimokkha,' see our Introduction, p. xxvii.

them; this will be their Uposatha service (service of the fast-day).'

2. And the Blessed One, having left the solitude in the evening, in consequence of that and on this occasion, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'When I was alone, O Bhikkhus, and had retired into solitude, the following consideration, &c., this will be their Uposatha service. I prescribe you, O Bhikkhus, to recite the Pātimokkha.

3. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to recite it in this way: Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. To-day it is Uposatha, the fifteenth (of the half month). If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* hold the Uposatha service and recite the Pātimokkha. What ought to be first done by the *Samgha*? Proclaim the *pārisuddhi*¹, Sirs. I will recite the Pātimokkha."

"We hear it well and fix well the mind on it all of us²."

"He who has committed an offence, may confess it; if there is no offence, you should remain silent; from your being silent I shall understand that the reverend brethren are pure (from offences). As a single person that has been asked a question, answers it, the same is the matter if before an

¹ See chap. 22. If a Bhikkhu is prevented by disease from assisting to the Pātimokkha ceremony, he is to charge another Bhikkhu with his *pārisuddhi*, i.e. with the solemn declaration that he is pure from the offences specified in the Pātimokkha.

² These words are evidently the answer of the Bhikkhus then present to the proclamation of the *pātimokkhuddesaka*.

assembly like this a question has been solemnly proclaimed three times : if a Bhikkhu, after a three-fold proclamation, does not confess an existing offence which he remembers, he commits an intentional falsehood. Now, reverend brethren, an intentional falsehood has been declared an impediment¹ by the Blessed One. Therefore, by a Bhikkhu who has committed (an offence), and remembers it, and desires to become pure, an existing offence should be confessed; for if it has been confessed, it is treated duly.”

4.² ‘Pâtimokkham:’ it is the beginning, it is the face (*mukham*), it is the principal (*pamukham*) of good qualities; therefore it is called ‘pâtimokkham³.’

‘Âyasmanto:’ this word ‘âyasmanto’ is an expression of friendliness, an expression of respect, an appellation that infers respectfulness and reverence.

‘Uddisissâmi:’ I will pronounce, I will show, I will proclaim, I will establish, I will unveil, I will distinguish, I will make evident, I will declare.

‘Tam’ (it): this refers to the Pâtimokkha.

‘Sabbe va santâ’ (all of us): as many as are present in that assembly, aged, young, and middle-aged (Bhikkhus), are denoted by ‘sabbe va santâ⁴.’

‘Sâdhukam sunoma’ (we hear it well): admit-

¹ See § 7.

² §§ 4–8 contain an explanation, word by word, of the formula given in § 3. This explanation is a portion of the ancient commentary on the Pâtimokkha which at the time of the redaction of the Vinaya Piṭaka has been admitted into it in its full extent (see the Introduction, p. xv seq.).

³ See p. 241, note 1.

⁴ See p. 1, note 5.

ting its authority, fixing our minds on it, we repeat the whole of it in our thoughts.

‘Manasikaroma’ (we fix our minds on it): we listen to it with concentrated, not perplexed, not confused thoughts.

5. ‘Yassa siyâ âpatti’ (he who has committed an offence): he who, whether an aged or young or middle-aged Bhikkhu, has committed some offence belonging to the five classes of offences or to the seven classes of offences¹.

‘So âvikareyya.’ he may show it, unveil it, make it evident, declare it before the Samgha (the full chapter of Bhikkhus), or before a small number, or before one person.

‘Asanti âpatti’ (a non-existing offence): an offence which has not been committed, or which has been committed and atoned for.

‘Tunhi bhavitabbam’ (he ought to remain silent): he ought to accept (the recitation of the Pâtimokkha without any answer), he ought not to utter anything.

‘Parisuddhâ’ti vedissâmi’ (I shall understand that they are pure): I shall infer, I shall know.

6. ‘Yathâ kho pana pakkekaputtassa veyyâkaranam hoti’ (as a single person that has been asked a question answers it): as a single person that has been asked a question by another one, would answer it, thus (those who are present) in that assembly ought to understand: ‘He asks me.’

¹ The five classes of offences are, the pārâgika, samghâdisesa, pâkittiya, pâidesaniya, dukkaṭa offences; the seven classes, the pārâgika, samghâdisesa, thullaṭṭhaya, pâkittiya, pâidesaniya, dukkaṭa, dubbhâsita offences. See, for instance, Kullavagga IX, 3, 3.

‘Evarûpâ parisâ’ (an assembly like this): this refers to the assembly of Bhikkhus.

‘Yâvatatīyam anussâvitam hoti’ (it has been solemnly proclaimed three times): it has been solemnly proclaimed once, and the second time, and the third time.

‘Saramâno’ (remembering it): knowing it, being conscious of it.

‘Santī âpatti’ (an existing offence): an offence which has been committed, or which has been committed and not been atoned for.

‘Nâvikareyya:’ he does not show it, he does not unveil it, he does not make it evident, he does not declare it before the Samgha, or before a small chapter, or before one person.

7. ‘Sampagânamusâvâd’ assa hoti’ (he commits an intentional falsehood): what is intentional falsehood? It is a sin¹.

‘Antarâyiko dhammo vutto bhagavatâ’ (it has been declared an impediment by the Blessed One): an impediment to what? An impediment to the attainment of the first *Ghâna*, an impediment to the attainment of the second . . . third . . . fourth *Ghâna*, an impediment to the attainment of the *Ghânas*, *Vimokkhas*², *Samâdhis* (states of self-concentration), *Samâpattis* (the eight attainments of the four *Ghânas* and four of the eight *Vimokkhas*),

¹ The Pâli text has ‘dukka/a.’ We cannot interpret here *dukka/a* in the technical sense of a *dukka/a* offence (see the Introduction, p. xxiv), for intentional falsehood belongs to the class of the *pâkittiya* offences, among which it occupies the first place.

² See the note on I, 78, 5.

the states of renunciation, of escape (from the world), of seclusion, of (all) good qualities.

‘Tasmā:’ for that reason.

‘Saramānena’ (by him who remembers it): by him who knows it and is conscious of it.

‘Visuddhāpekkhena’ (by him who desires to become pure): by him who wishes to atone for it and to make himself pure of it.

8. ‘Santī āpatti’ . . . (see § 6).

‘Āvikātabbā’ (it is to be confessed): it is to be confessed before the Saṃgha, or before a small chapter, or before one person.’

‘Āvikatā hi ’ssa phāsu hoti’ (for if it has been confessed, it is treated duly): duly for what purpose? In the due way for the attainment of the first *Ġhāna* (and so on, as in § 7, down to:) of (all) good qualities.

4.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus, considering that the Pātimokkha recitation had been instituted by the Blessed One, recited the Pātimokkha every day.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘The Pātimokkha, O Bhikkhus, is not to be recited every day. He who recites it (every day), commits a dukkaṭa offence. I ordain, O Bhikkhus, to recite the Pātimokkha on the Uposatha day.’

2. At that time the Bhikkhus, considering that it had been prescribed by the Blessed One to recite the Pātimokkha on the Uposatha day, recited the Pātimokkha three times each half month, on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘The Pâtimokkha, O Bhikkhus, is not to be recited three times each half month. He who recites it (three times), commits a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you recite the Pâtimokkha once each half month, on the fourteenth or on the fifteenth day.’

5.

1. At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus recited the Pâtimokkha according as they lived together, every one before his own companions.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘The Pâtimokkha, O Bhikkhus, is not to be recited according as (the Bhikkhus) live together, by every one before his own companions. He who recites it (in that way), commits a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the Uposatha service is to be held by the complete fraternity.’

2. Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘The Blessed One has prescribed that the Uposatha service is to be held by the complete fraternity. How far does completeness extend, as far as one residence (or one district), or all over the earth?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that completeness is to extend as far as one residence.’

3. At that time the reverend Mahâ Kappina dwelt near Râgagaha, in the deer park of Madda-kukki. Now (one day) when the reverend Mahâ Kappina was alone and had retired into solitude, the following consideration presented itself to his mind: ‘Shall I go to the Uposatha service or shall I not go? Shall I go to the functions of the Order

or shall I not go? Indeed I have become pure by the highest purity (i. e. I have reached Arahatsip or Nirvâṇa).'

4. Then the Blessed One, understanding by the power of his mind the reflection which had arisen in Mahâ Kappina's mind, disappeared from the Giggḥakûṭa mountain and appeared in the deer park of Maddakukêḥi, before the reverend Mahâ Kappina (as quickly) as a strong man might stretch his bent arm out, or draw his outstretched arm back. The Blessed One sat down on a seat laid out for him, and the reverend Mahâ Kappina, after having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, sat down also near him.

5. When the reverend Mahâ Kappina was seated near him, the Blessed One said to him: 'When you were alone, Kappina, and had retired into solitude, has not the following consideration presented itself to your mind: "Shall I go (&c., as in § 3 down to:) by the highest purity?"'

'Even so, Lord.'

'If you Brâhmaṇas do not honour, do not regard, do not revere, do not pay reverence to the Uposatha, who will then honour, regard, revere, pay reverence to the Uposatha? Go to the Uposatha, O Brâhmaṇa, do not neglect to go; go to the functions of the Order, do not neglect to go.' The reverend Mahâ Kappina promised the Blessed One to do so (by saying), 'Even so, Lord.'

6. Then, having taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the reverend Mahâ Kappina by a religious discourse, the Blessed One disappeared from the deer park of Maddakukêḥi, from the presence of the reverend Mahâ Kappina, and appeared on the

Gigghakûta mountain (as quickly) as a strong man might stretch his bent arm out, or draw his out-stretched arm back.

6.

Now the Bhikkhus thought: 'The Blessed One has prescribed that completeness (of the assembled fraternity) is to extend as far as one residence¹. Now how far does one residence extend?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you determine a boundary. And it ought to be determined, O Bhikkhus, in this way: First the landmarks are to be proclaimed: a landmark consisting in a mountain, in a rock, in a wood, in a tree, in a path, in an ant-hill, in a river, in a piece of water. The landmarks having been proclaimed, let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha*, as the landmarks have been proclaimed all around, by these landmarks determine the boundary for common residence and communion of Uposatha. This is the *ñatti*. Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. The *Samgha* determines the boundary (&c., as above). Thus I understand.'"

7.

1. At that time the *Khābbaggiya* Bhikkhus, considering that fixing of boundaries had been

¹ See chap. 5. 2.

prescribed by the Blessed One, fixed boundaries of excessive extension, of four yoganas, five yoganas, six yoganas. The Bhikkhus who came to the Uposatha, arrived when the Pâtimokkha was being recited, or when it had just been recited, or they were obliged to stay the night on the way.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, determine a boundary of excessive extension, of four, five, or six yoganas. He who determines (such a boundary), commits a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you determine boundaries of three yoganas’ extent at most.’

2. At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus determined a boundary which extended to the opposite side of a river. The Bhikkhus who came to the Uposatha, were carried down (by the river), and their alms-bowls and robes were carried away.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, determine a boundary which extends to the opposite side of a river. He who determines (such a boundary), commits a dukkaṭa offence. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, if there is a regular communication by a ferry boat or a dike, at such places to determine a boundary which extends also to the opposite side of the river.’

8.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus recited the Pâtimokkha in their successive cells without appointing (a certain place for doing so). The Bhikkhus who

arrived (from distant places), did not know where the Uposatha was to be held that day.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, recite the Pâtimokkha in the successive cells without appointing a certain place for it. He who recites it (in this way), commits a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, the holding of Uposatha after having fixed upon an Uposatha hall, wherever the Saṃgha likes, a Vihâra, or an Addhayoga, or a storied building, or a house, or a cave¹. And you ought to appoint it in this way:

2. ‘Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following ñatti before the Saṃgha: “Let the Saṃgha, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the Saṃgha is ready, let the Saṃgha appoint the Vihâra called N. N. to be our Uposatha hall. This is the ñatti. Let the Saṃgha, reverend Sirs, hear me. The Saṃgha appoints, &c. Thus I understand.”’

3. At that time there were in a certain residence (or district) two Uposatha halls fixed upon. The Bhikkhus assembled in both places, because (some of them) thought, ‘The Uposatha will be held here;’ (and some), ‘It will be held there.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, fix upon two Uposatha halls in one district. He who does so, commits a dukkaṭa offence. I ordain, O Bhikkhus, the abolishing of one of them², and the holding of Uposatha (only) in one place.

4. ‘And you ought to abolish it, O Bhikkhus, in this way: Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu pro-

¹ See the note on I, 30, 4.

² I. e. to abolish the character of uposathâgâra, conferred on the Vihâra &c. by the act of sammuti.

claim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the *Samgha* is ready, the *Samgha* may abolish the Uposatha hall called N.N. This is the *ñatti*. Let the *Samgha*, &c. Thus I understand."

9.

1. At that time in a certain district too small an Uposatha hall had been appointed. On the day of Uposatha a great assembly of Bhikkhus met together. The Bhikkhus heard the Pâtimokkha sitting outside the site fixed upon. Now those Bhikkhus thought: 'The Blessed One has promulgated the precept that Uposatha is to be held after an Uposatha hall has been fixed upon, and we have heard the Pâtimokkha sitting outside the site fixed upon. Have we therefore (duly) held Uposatha or have we not held it?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Whether (a Bhikkhu) be seated inside or outside the site fixed upon, provided he hears the Pâtimokkha, Uposatha has been duly held by him.

2. 'Therefore, O Bhikkhus, let the *Samgha* determine as large an uposatha-pamukha¹ as it desires. And it ought to be determined, O Bhikkhus, in this way: First the landmarks are to be proclaimed. The landmarks having been proclaimed, let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti*

¹ Uposatha-pamukha (literally, that which has the Uposatha at its head, or, that which is situated in front of the Uposatha) evidently means the place around the uposathâgâra, in which the Pâtimokkha recitation may be heard as well as in the uposathâgâra itself.

before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha*, as the landmarks have been proclaimed all around, determine an uposathapamukha by these landmarks. This is the *ñatti*. Let the *Samgha*, &c. Thus I understand."

10.

At that time in a certain district on the day of Uposatha the young Bhikkhus, who had assembled first, thought: 'The Theras do not come yet,' and went away. The Uposatha service was held after the right time.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that on the Uposatha day the Theras ought to assemble first.'

11.

At that time there were at Râgagaha several residences (of Bhikkhus) within the same boundary. Now the Bhikkhus quarrelled: (some of them said), 'The Uposatha shall be held in our residence;' (others said), 'It shall be held in our residence.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'There are, O Bhikkhus, several (Bhikkhu) residences within the same boundary; now the Bhikkhus quarrel: (some of them say), "The Uposatha shall be held in our residence;" (others say), "It shall be held in our residence." Let those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, assemble in one place all of them and hold Uposatha there, or let them assemble where

the senior Bhikkhu dwells and hold Uposatha there. But in no case is Uposatha to be held by an incomplete congregation. He who holds it (in that way), commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

12.

1. At that time the reverend Mahā Kassapa, when going to the Uposatha from Andhakavinda to Rāgagaha, and crossing a river on his way, was nearly¹ being carried away (by the river)²; and his robes got wet. The Bhikkhus said to the reverend Mahā Kassapa: 'How have your robes got wet, friend?' (He replied): 'As I was going, friends, to the Uposatha from Andhakavinda to Rāgagaha, and crossing a river on my way, I was nearly being carried away (by the river); thus my robes have become wet.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let the Saṃgha, O Bhikkhus, confer on the boundary which it has determined for common

¹ 'Manam vulho ahoṣi.' Buddhaghosa: 'īsakam appattavulhabhāvo ahoṣi.' Manam is evidently the equivalent of Sanskrit manāk.

² Buddhaghosa's note on this passage contains some details regarding the way which Mahā Kassapa went. Andhakavinda is three gāvuta distant from Rāgagaha. There were eighteen (?) the MS. reads: aṭṭhāra mahāvihārā) great Vihāras around Rāgagaha included by the same boundary which Buddha himself had consecrated. The Uposatha service for this whole district was performed in the Veḷuvana monastery. The river which Mahā Kassapa crossed on his way to the Veḷuvana was the Sappinī, which rises in the Giggḥakūṭa mountain.

residence and for communion of Uposatha, the character of *tiḷivarena avippavâsa*¹.

2. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to confer on it this character in this way: Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* confer on the boundary which the *Samgha* has determined for common residence and for communion of Uposatha, the character of *tiḷivarena avippavâsa*. This is the *ñatti*. Let the *Samgha* (&c., as above). Thus I understand."'

3. At that time the Bhikkhus, considering that the Blessed One had ordained the conferring of the character of *tiḷivarena avippavâsa* (on the boundaries), deposited their robes in a house. Those robes were lost, burnt, or eaten by rats; the Bhikkhus were badly dressed and had coarse robes. (Other) Bhikkhus said: 'How comes it that you are badly dressed, friends, and that you have coarse robes?' (They replied): 'Considering, friends, that the Blessed One had ordained the conferring (on the boundaries) of the character of *tiḷivarena avippavâsa*, we deposited our robes in a house; the robes have been lost, burnt, or eaten by rats;

¹ *Tiḷivarena avippavâsa* means not parting with the three robes which belong to the usual '*parikkhârâ*' (requisites) of a Bhikkhu. Bhikkhus were not allowed to part with their *ḷivaras*, excepting under special circumstances and for a limited time (see the *Pâtimokkha*, 29th *nissaggiya dhamma*). Conferring the character of *tiḷivarena avippavâsa* on a boundary means, we believe, to determine that it should be free to Bhikkhus residing within this boundary, to keep a set of robes wherever they liked within the same boundary (excepting in a village, § 3), and that such an act should not be considered as parting with the robes.

therefore we are badly dressed and have coarse robes.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let¹ the Saṃgha, O Bhikkhus, confer on the boundary which it has determined for common residence and for communion of Uposatha, the character of tiḷḷivarena avippavâsa, excepting villages and the neighbourhood of villages².

4. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to confer on it this character in this way, &c.³

5. 'Let him who determines a boundary, O Bhikkhus, first determine the boundary for common residence and for communion of Uposatha, and afterwards decree about the tiḷḷivarena avippavâsa. Let him who abolishes a boundary, O Bhikkhus, first abolish the decree about the tiḷḷivarena avippavâsa, and afterwards abolish the boundary for common residence and for communion of Uposatha.

'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to abolish the

¹ Buddhaghosa observes that this rule applies to Bhikkhus only, and not to Bhikkhunîs. For Bhikkhunîs reside only in villages; there would be no ḷivaraparihâra at all for Bhikkhunîs, if they were to use the kammavâkâ given in § 4. Buddhaghosa also observes at this occasion that the boundaries of the Bhikkhusaṃgha and of the Bhikkhunîsaṃgha are quite independent from each other, and that the rules given in chap. 13 do not refer to boundaries the one of which belongs to the Bhikkhusaṃgha, the other to the Bhikkhunîsaṃgha.

² As to the extent attributed to the 'gâmûpaḷâra' (neighbourhood of the village), see the Vibhaṅga, quoted by Minayeff, Prâtim. p. 66, l. 1.

³ This formula is identical with that given in § 2. The only difference is that after the words 'the character of tiḷḷivarena avippavâsa,' the words 'excepting villages and the neighbourhood of villages' are inserted.

ti $\acute{k}$ ivarena avippavâsa in this way: Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following ñatti before the Samgha: "Let the Samgha, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the Samgha is ready, let the Samgha abolish the ti $\acute{k}$ ivarena avippavâsa, which the Samgha has decreed. This is the ñatti. Let the Samgha, &c."

6. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to abolish the boundary in this way: Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following ñatti before the Samgha: "Let the Samgha, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the Samgha is ready, let the Samgha abolish the boundary for common residence and for communion of Uposatha which it has determined. This is the ñatti. Let the Samgha, &c."

7. 'If there is no boundary determined nor fixed, O Bhikkhus, the village boundary of that village, or the nigama boundary of that nigama (market town) near which village or nigama (a Bhikkhu) dwells, is to be considered as boundary for common residence and for the communion of Uposatha. If (he lives), O Bhikkhus, in a forest where no villages are, community of residence and Uposatha extends to a distance of seven abbhantaras¹ all around. A river, O Bhikkhus, cannot be a boundary, a sea cannot be a boundary, a natural lake cannot be a boundary. In a river, O Bhikkhus, or in a sea, or in a natural lake, community of residence and Uposatha extends as far as an average man can spirt water all around.'

¹ 1 abbhantara=28 hattha (Buddhaghosa and Abhidhânappadî-pikâ, v. 197). See Rh. D., 'Coins and Measures,' &c., p. 15.

13.

1. At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus made one boundary overlap another one (which had been determined before by other Bhikkhus).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘The act of those who have determined their boundary first is lawful, unobjectionable, and valid. The act of those who have determined their boundary afterwards is unlawful, objectionable, and invalid. Let no one, O Bhikkhus, make one boundary overlap another one. He who does, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.’

2. At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus made one boundary encompass another one (which had been determined before by other Bhikkhus).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘The act of those, &c. (see § 1). Let no one, O Bhikkhus, make one boundary encompass another one. He who does, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that he who determines a boundary, is to determine it so as to leave an interstice¹ between the boundaries.’

14.

1. Now the Bhikkhus thought : ‘How many Upasatha (days) are there?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

¹ Buddhaghosa prescribes to leave an interstice of one *hattha*, and he adds that the ancient Sinhalese commentaries differ as to the measure required for this interstice: the *Kurundī* requires one *vidatthi*, the *Mahāpakkāri* four *aṅgula*.

‘There are the following two Uposatha (days), O Bhikkhus, the fourteenth and the fifteenth (of the half month); these are the two Uposatha (days), O Bhikkhus.’

2. Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘How many Uposatha services are there?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘There are the following four Uposatha services, O Bhikkhus: the Uposatha service which is held unlawfully (by an) incomplete (congregation)¹, the Uposatha service which is held unlawfully (by a) complete (congregation), the Uposatha service which is held lawfully (by an) incomplete (congregation), the Uposatha service which is held lawfully (by a) complete (congregation).

3. ‘Now, O Bhikkhus, the Uposatha service which is held unlawfully (by an) incomplete (congregation), such an Uposatha service, O Bhikkhus, ought not to be held, nor is such an Uposatha service allowed by me. Now, O Bhikkhus, the Uposatha service which is held unlawfully (by a) complete (congregation), such an Uposatha service, O Bhikkhus, ought not to be held, nor is such an Uposatha service allowed by me. Now, O Bhikkhus, the Uposatha service which is held lawfully (by an) incomplete (congregation), such an Uposatha service, O Bhikkhus, ought not to be held, nor is such an Uposatha service allowed by me. Now, O Bhikkhus, the Uposatha service which is held lawfully (by a) complete (congregation), such an Uposatha service, O Bhikkhus, ought to be held, and such an Upo-

¹ For a definition of lawfulness and unlawfulness of the official functions of the Order as well as of completeness and incompleteness of the congregation by which such acts are performed, see IX, 3.

satha service is allowed by me. Therefore, O Bhikkhus, you ought to train yourselves thus: "The Uposatha service which is held lawfully (by a) complete (congregation), such an Uposatha service will we hold."

15.

1. Now the Bhikkhus thought: 'How many ways are there of reciting the Pâtimokkha?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'There are the following five ways of reciting the Pâtimokkha: The introduction¹ having been recited, as to the rest, it may be proclaimed: "Such and such rules are known (to the fraternity²)."' This is the first way of reciting the Pâtimokkha. The introduction having been recited, the four pārâgikâ dhammâ having been recited, as to the rest, it may be proclaimed: "Such and such rules are known (to the fraternity)."' This is the second way of reciting the Pâtimokkha. The introduction having been recited, the four pārâgikâ dhammâ having been recited, the thirteen saṃghâdisesâ dhammâ having been recited, . . . the introduction having been recited, the four pārâgikâ dhammâ having been recited, the thirteen saṃghâdisesâ dhammâ having been recited, the two aniyatâ dhammâ having been recited, as to the rest, it may be pro-

¹ The introduction (nidâna) of the Pâtimokkha is the formula given above, chap. 3. 3.

² 'Avasesam sutena sâvetabbam,' i.e. it is to be proclaimed: 'The four pārâgikâ dhammâ, &c., are known to the reverend brethren (literally, have been heard by the reverend brethren).'

claimed: "Such and such rules are known (to the fraternity)." This is the fourth way of reciting the Pâtimokkha. The fifth way is (to recite it) in its full extent. These, O Bhikkhus, are the five ways of reciting the Pâtimokkha.'

2. At that time the Bhikkhus, considering that the Blessed One had allowed to recite the Pâtimokkha abridged, always recited the Pâtimokkha abridged.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to recite the Pâtimokkha abridged. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

3. At that time a certain residence (of Bhikkhus) in the Kosala country was menaced on the day of Uposatha by savage people. The Bhikkhus were not able to recite the Pâtimokkha in its full extent.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, in the case of danger to recite the Pâtimokkha abridged.'

4. At that time the *Kḥ*abbaggiya Bhikkhus recited the Pâtimokkha abridged also when there was no danger.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'You ought not to recite the Pâtimokkha abridged, O Bhikkhus, if there is no danger. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, in the case of danger only to recite the Pâtimokkha abridged. The cases of danger are the following: danger from kings, from robbers, from fire, from water, from human beings, from non-human beings, from beasts of prey, from creeping things, danger of life, danger against chastity. I ordain, O Bhikkhus, the recitation in such cases of danger

of the Pâtimokkha abridged; if there is no danger, in its full extent.'

5. At that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus preached the Dhamma before the *Samgha* without being called upon (by the Thera).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, preach the Dhamma before the *Samgha* without being called upon. He who does, commits a *dukkata* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the Thera is either to preach the Dhamma himself or to call upon another (Bhikkhu to do so).'

6. At that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus put questions about the Vinaya before the *Samgha* without being appointed thereto.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, put questions about the Vinaya before the *Samgha* without being appointed thereto. He who so questions, commits a *dukkata* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that an appointed (Bhikkhu) is to put questions about the Vinaya before the *Samgha*. And (this Bhikkhu) is to be appointed, O Bhikkhus, in this way: One may either appoint himself, or one may appoint another person.

7. 'And how is (a Bhikkhu) to appoint himself? Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the *Samgha* is ready, I will question N. N. about the Vinaya." Thus one may appoint himself. And how is (a Bhikkhu) to appoint another person? Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, &c. If the *Samgha* is

ready, let N. N. question N. N. about the Vinaya." Thus one may appoint another person.'

8. At that time appointed, clever Bhikkhus put questions about the Vinaya before the *Samgha*. The *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus conceived anger (towards those Bhikkhus), conceived discontent, and threatened them with blows.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe you, O Bhikkhus, that even he who has been appointed shall (not) put questions about the Vinaya before the *Samgha* (without) having looked at the assembly and weighed (with the mind each) person (present).'

9, 10. At that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus answered questions about the Vinaya before the *Samgha* without being appointed thereto.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, answer questions about the Vinaya before the *Samgha* without being appointed thereto. He who does, commits a *dukkata* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that questions about the Vinaya are to be answered before the *Samgha* (only) by an appointed (Bhikkhu). And (this Bhikkhu) is to be appointed¹, &c.'

11. At that time appointed, clever Bhikkhus answered questions about the Vinaya before the *Samgha*. The *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus², &c.

¹ See §§ 6, 7. Read: '... I will answer the questions of N. N. about the Vinaya.' And, '... let N. N. answer the questions of N. N. about the Vinaya.'

² See § 8. Read: '... shall (not) answer questions about the Vinaya ...'

16.

1. At that time the *Khābbaggiya* Bhikkhus reproved for an offence a Bhikkhu who had not given them leave.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘No Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who has not given leave, may be reproved for an offence. He who reproves (such a Bhikkhu), commits a *dukkāṭa* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you reprove (Bhikkhus) for an offence (only) after having asked for leave (by saying), “Give me leave, reverend brother, I wish to speak to you.”’

2. At that time clever Bhikkhus reproved the *Khābbaggiya* Bhikkhus for an offence after having asked for leave. The *Khābbaggiya* Bhikkhus conceived anger (towards those Bhikkhus), conceived discontent, and threatened them with blows.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you are (not) to reprove (a Bhikkhu) for an offence, even if he has given leave, (without) having weighed (with your mind) the person (concerned).’

3. At that time the *Khābbaggiya* Bhikkhus, who thought: ‘Otherwise clever Bhikkhus might ask us for leave (and reprove us for an offence),’ themselves asked beforehand pure Bhikkhus who had committed no offence, for leave without object and reason.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no pure Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, who have committed no offence, be asked for leave without object and reason. He who does, commits a *dukkāṭa* offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you

are (not) to ask for leave (without) having weighed (with your mind) the person (concerned).'

4. At that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus performed an unlawful official act before the *Samgha*.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, perform unlawful acts before the *Samgha*. He who does, commits a dukkata offence.'

They performed an unlawful act nevertheless.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you should protest, if an unlawful act is being performed.'

5. At that time clever Bhikkhus protested at an unlawful act being performed by the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus. The *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus conceived anger, conceived discontent, and threatened (those Bhikkhus) with blows.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to express your opinion only (instead of protesting formally).'

They expressed their opinion in the presence of the said (Bhikkhus). The *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus conceived anger, conceived discontent, and threatened (them) with blows.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that four or five persons may protest, that two or three may express their opinion, and that one person may determine (in his mind): "I do not think this right."'

6. At that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus, when reciting the Pâtimokkha before the *Samgha*, intentionally recited it so that it could not be heard.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let not him who is to recite the Pâtimokkha,

O Bhikkhus, intentionally recite it so that it cannot be heard. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

7. At that time the reverend Udāyi, who had a crow's voice, had the duty to recite the Pātimokkha before the Saṃgha. Now the reverend Udāyi thought: 'It has been prescribed by the Blessed One that he who is to recite the Pātimokkha, ought to recite it so that it may be heard; but I have a crow's voice. Well, how am I to act?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that he who is to recite the Pātimokkha may endeavour to make it audible. If he endeavours (to do so), he is free from offence.'

8. At that time Devadatta recited the Pātimokkha before an assembly in which laymen were present.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, recite the Pātimokkha before an assembly in which laymen are present. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

9. At that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus recited the Pātimokkha before the Saṃgha without being called upon (by the Thera).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, recite the Pātimokkha before the Saṃgha without being called upon. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the Thera is master of the Pātimokkha¹.'

End of the Bhānavāra of the Aññatitthiyas².

¹ I. e. of reciting the Pātimokkha himself or causing another Bhikkhu to do so.

² I. e. Samanas belonging to other schools. See chap. 1.

17.

1. Then the Blessed One, after having dwelt near Râgagaha as long as he thought fit, went forth on his pilgrimage to Koda-nâvatthu. Going from place to place on his pilgrimage, he came to Koda-nâvatthu. At that time there dwelt in a certain residence many Bhikkhus, the eldest of whom was an ignorant, unlearned person: he neither knew Uposatha, nor the Uposatha service, nor the Pâtimokkha, nor the recital of the Pâtimokkha.

2. Now those Bhikkhus thought: 'It has been prescribed by the Blessed One that the eldest Bhikkhu is master of the Pâtimokkha, and here the eldest of us is an ignorant, unlearned person: he neither knows Uposatha . . . nor the recital of the Pâtimokkha. Well, how are we to act?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that (in such a case) that Bhikkhu who is (most) learned and competent, is to be made master of the Pâtimokkha.'

3. At that time there dwelt in a certain residence on the day of Uposatha many ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus: they neither knew Uposatha . . . nor the recital of the Pâtimokkha. They called upon the Thera: 'May it please the Thera, reverend Sir, to recite the Pâtimokkha.' He replied: 'I am not competent to do so.' They called upon the next eldest, &c. He also replied, &c. They called upon the third eldest, &c. In this manner they called upon (all Bhikkhus) down to the youngest one: 'May it please the reverend brother to recite the Pâtimokkha.' He also replied: 'I am not competent, venerable Sirs, to do so.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

4, 5. 'When, O Bhikkhus, in a certain residence, &c.¹; in that case, O Bhikkhus, these Bhikkhus are instantly to send one Bhikkhu to the neighbouring residence (of Bhikkhus): "Go, friend, and come back when you have learnt the Pâtimokkha abridged or in its full extent."'

6. Now the Bhikkhus thought: 'By whom is (this Bhikkhu) to be sent?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the Thera is to give order to a young Bhikkhu.'

The young Bhikkhus, having received that order from the Thera, did not go.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one who has been ordered by the Thera forbear to go, unless he be sick. He who does not go, commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

18.

1. Then the Blessed One, after having dwelt at Kōdanāvattthu as long as he thought fit, went back again to Râgagaha. At that time the people asked the Bhikkhus who went about for alms: 'What day of the half month is this, reverend Sirs?' The Bhikkhus replied: 'We do not know, friends.' The people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'Those Sakyaputtiya Samanas do not even know how to count (the days of) the half month; what good things else will they know?'

¹ Here follows an exact repetition of the story told in § 3, which is given here, of course, in the present tense.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you learn how to count (the days of) the half month.’

2. Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘Who ought to learn to count (the days of) the half month?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you learn all of you to count (the days of) the half month.’

3. At that time the people asked the Bhikkhus who went about for alms: ‘How many Bhikkhus are there, reverend Sirs?’ The Bhikkhus replied: ‘We do not know, friends.’ The people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: ‘Those Sakyaputtiya Samanas do not even know each other; what good things else will they know?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you count the Bhikkhus.’

4. Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘At what time ought we to count the Bhikkhus?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you count (the Bhikkhus) on the day of Uposatha, either by way of (counting the single) troops (of which the assembly is composed)¹, or that you take (each of you) a ticket (and count those tickets).’

19.

At that time Bhikkhus who did not know that it was Uposatha day, went for alms to a distant village.

¹ This appears to be the meaning of *ganamaggena ganetum*; Buddhaghosa has no note on this passage.

They came back when the Pâtimokkha was being recited, or when it just had been recited.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you proclaim: “To-day is Uposatha.”’

Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘Who is to proclaim so?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the Thera is to proclaim (the day of Uposatha) in due time.’

At that time a certain Thera did not think of it in due time.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to proclaim it also at meal time.’

(The Thera) did not think of it at meal time either.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, to proclaim it whenever (the Thera) thinks of it.’

20.

1. At that time the Uposatha hall in a certain residence was full of sweepings. The Bhikkhus who arrived there were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: ‘How can the Bhikkhus neglect to sweep the Uposatha hall?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you sweep the Uposatha hall.’

2. Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘Well, who is to sweep the Uposatha hall?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the Thera is to order a young Bhikkhu (to sweep the Uposatha hall).’

The young Bhikkhus, having received that order from the Thera, did not sweep it.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘He who has been ordered by the Thera, ought not to forbear to sweep it, unless he be sick. He who does not sweep it, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

3. At that time there were no seats prepared in the Uposatha hall. The Bhikkhus sat down on the ground. Their bodies and their robes became full of dust.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you prepare seats in the Uposatha hall.’

Now the Bhikkhus thought, &c. (see § 2).

‘He who does not prepare (seats), commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

4. At that time there was no lamp in the Uposatha hall. The Bhikkhus in the darkness trod upon (each other’s) bodies and robes.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you light a lamp in the Uposatha hall.’

Now the Bhikkhus thought, &c. (see § 2).

‘He who does not light (the lamp), commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

5. At that time the resident Bhikkhus in a certain residence did not provide drink (i.e. water), nor did they provide food. The incoming Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: ‘How can the resident Bhikkhus neglect to provide for drink and to provide for food?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you provide drink and food.’

Now the Bhikkhus thought, &c. (see § 2).

‘He who does not provide for it, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

21.

1. At that time many ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus who travelled to the (four) quarters (of the world) did not ask leave of their ākariyas and upagghāyas (when going away).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, there are many ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus who travel to the (four) quarters without asking leave of their ākariyas and upagghāyas; such Bhikkhus ought to be asked by their ākariyas and upagghāyas: “Where will you go? with whom will you go?” If those ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus name other ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus, their ākariyas and upagghāyas ought not to allow them (to go); if they allow them, they commit a dukkaṭa offence. If those ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus go without the permission of their ākariyas and upagghāyas, they commit a dukkaṭa offence.

2. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, there dwell in a certain residence many ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus who neither know Uposatha, nor the Uposatha service, nor the Pātimokkha, nor the recital of the Pātimokkha: now there arrives (at that place) another Bhikkhu who is erudite, who has studied the āgamas (i. e. the collections of Suttas), who knows

the Dhamma, the Vinaya, the *mâtikâ*¹, who is wise, learned, intelligent, modest, conscientious², anxious for training; let those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, kindly receive that Bhikkhu, let them show attention to him, exchange (friendly) words with him, provide him with powder, clay³, a tooth-cleanser, and water to rinse his mouth with. If they do not receive him kindly, or show no attention to him, or do not exchange (friendly) words with him, or do not provide him with powder, clay, a tooth-cleanser, and water to rinse his mouth with, they commit a *dukkata* offence.

3. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there dwell in a certain residence on the day of Uposatha many ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus who neither know Uposatha . . . nor the recital of the Pâtimokkha; let those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, instantly send one Bhikkhu to the neighbouring residence (of Bhikkhus, saying), "Go, friend, and come back when you have learnt the Pâtimokkha abridged or in its full extent." If they succeed in this way, well and good. If they do not succeed, those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, ought all to go to a residence where they (the Bhikkhus there) know Uposatha or the Uposatha service or the Pâtimokkha or the recital of the Pâtimokkha.

¹ Enumerations of terms indicating the different cases that come under a Vinaya rule or a dogmatical proposition are called *mâtikâ*; for instance, in discussing the first *pârâgika* rule the Vibhaṅga gives the following *mâtikâpadâni*: *tisso itthiyo manussitthi amanussitthi tirakkhânagatiitthi, tayo ubhatovyañṇanakâ manussubhatovyañṇanako amanussubh. tirakkhânagatubh., &c.* Most of the works belonging to the Abhidhamma Piṭaka are based on and opened by such *mâtikâ* lists.

² Or 'scrupulous,' in good sense.

³ See I, 25, 12, with our note.

If they do not go, they commit a dukkaṭa offence.

4. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, many ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhus keep vassa¹ in a certain residence who neither know, &c.² If they succeed in this way, well and good. If they do not succeed, they ought to send away one Bhikkhu for seven days' time (saying), "Go, friend, and come back when you have learnt the Pâtimokkha abridged or in its full extent." If they succeed in this way, well and good. If they do not succeed, those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, ought not to keep vassa in that residence. If they do, they commit a dukkaṭa offence.'

22.

1. Then the Blessed One thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Assemble, O Bhikkhus, the Saṃgha will hold Uposatha.' When he had spoken thus, a certain Bhikkhu said to the Blessed One: 'There is a sick Bhikkhu, Lord, who is not present.'

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that a sick Bhikkhu is to declare (lit. to give) his pârisuddhi³. And let it be declared, O Bhikkhus, in this way: Let that sick Bhikkhu go to one Bhikkhu, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say: "I declare my pârisuddhi, take my pârisuddhi, proclaim my pârisuddhi (before the fraternity)." Whether he

¹ See III, 1 seq.

² See § 3.

³ Pârisuddhi, literally, means purity. He declares that he is pure from the offences specified in the Pâtimokkha, and charges another Bhikkhu with proclaiming his declaration before the assembled chapter.

express this by gesture (lit. by his body), or by word, or by gesture and word, the pârisuddhi has been declared. If he does not express this by gesture, &c., the pârisuddhi has not been declared.

2. 'If (the sick Bhikkhu) succeeds in doing so, well and good. If he does not succeed, let them take that sick Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, on his bed or his chair to the assembly, and (then) let them hold Uposatha. If, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus who are nursing the sick, think: "If we move this sick person from his place, the sickness will increase, or he will die," let them not move the sick, O Bhikkhus, from his place; let the Samgha go there and hold there Uposatha. But in no case are they to hold Uposatha with an incomplete congregation. If (a Bhikkhu) does so, he commits a dukkaṭa offence.

3. 'If he who has been charged with the pârisuddhi, O Bhikkhus, leaves the place at once¹, after the pârisuddhi has been entrusted (to him), the pârisuddhi ought to be declared to another. If he who has been charged with the pârisuddhi, O Bhikkhus, after the pârisuddhi has been entrusted to him, returns to the world² at once¹; or dies; or admits that he is a sâmaṇera; or that he has abandoned the precepts³; or that he has become

¹ Literally, on the spot, i. e. without setting out on his way to the assembly.

² We have no doubt that this is the correct translation of vibbhamati (see I, 39, 5). The difference between vibbhamati (he returns to the world) and sikkham paṭṭakkhâtī (he abandons the precepts) seems to be that the former is an informal, and the latter a formal, renunciation of the Order.

³ The precepts are abandoned (sikkhâ paṭṭakkhâtâ hoti) by declaring that one abandons the Buddha, or the Dhamma, or the

guilty of an extreme offence¹; or that he is mad; or that his mind is unhinged; or that he suffers (bodily) pain; or that expulsion has been pronounced against him for his refusal to see an offence (committed by himself); or to atone for such an offence; or to renounce a false doctrine; or that he is a eunuch; or that he has furtively attached himself (to the *Samgha*); or that he is gone over to the *Titthiyas*; or that he is an animal²; or that he is guilty of matricide; or that he is guilty of parricide; or that he has murdered an *Arahat*; or that he has violated a *Bhikkhuni*; or that he has caused a schism among the *Samgha*; or that he has shed (a Buddha's) blood; or that he is a hermaphrodite: (in these cases) the *pârisuddhi* ought to be entrusted to another one.

4. 'If he who has been charged with the *pârisuddhi*, O *Bhikkhus*, after the *pârisuddhi* has been entrusted to him, and whilst he is on his way (to the assembly), leaves the place, or returns to the world, or dies, or admits that he is a *sāmanera*, &c., or admits that he is a hermaphrodite, the *pârisuddhi* has not been conveyed (to the *Samgha*). If he who has been charged with the *pârisuddhi*, O *Bhikkhus*, after the *pârisuddhi* has been entrusted to him, having arrived with the fraternity, leaves the place, or dies, &c., the *pârisuddhi* has

Samgha, or the *Vinaya*, &c. By such a declaration a *Bhikkhu* who wishes to return to a layman's life, or to go over to a *Titthiya* sect, gives up his character as a member of the Buddhist fraternity. The rules about the *sikkhâpakkakkhâna* are given in the *Vibhaṅga*, in the explanation of the first *pârâgika* rule (chap. 8, § 2).

¹ Most probably *antimavattthu* refers to the *pârâgika* offences which require excommunication.

² See the story given in I, 63.

been conveyed. If he who has been charged with the pârisuddhi, O Bhikkhus, after the pârisuddhi has been entrusted to him, though he reaches the assembly, does not proclaim (the pârisuddhi he is charged with) because he falls asleep, or by carelessness, or because he attains (meditation), the pârisuddhi has been conveyed, and there is no offence on the part of him who has been charged with the pârisuddhi. If he who has been charged, &c., intentionally omits to proclaim (the pârisuddhi), the pârisuddhi has been conveyed, but he who has been charged with the pârisuddhi is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

23.

Then the Blessed One thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Assemble, O Bhikkhus, the Saṃgha will perform an (official) act.' When he had spoken thus, a certain Bhikkhu said to the Blessed One: 'There is a sick Bhikkhu, Lord, who is not present.'

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that a sick Bhikkhu is to declare (lit. to give) his consent (to the act to be performed), &c.¹ I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that on the day of Uposatha he who declares his pârisuddhi is to declare his consent (to official acts to be performed eventually) also, for (both declarations) are required for the Saṃgha (and for the validity of its acts).

¹ The rules given here regarding the *kāṇḍa* (declaration of consent of an absentee) that is required for the performance of official acts are word for word the same as those set out in chap. 22. 1-4, regarding the pârisuddhi required at the Uposatha service.

24.

1. At that time relations of a certain Bhikkhu seized him on the day of Uposatha.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a certain Bhikkhu is seized on the day of Uposatha by relations of his, let the Bhikkhus say to those relations: “Pray, friends, let this Bhikkhu free for a moment until this Bhikkhu has held Uposatha.”

2. ‘If they succeed in this way, well and good. If they do not succeed, let the Bhikkhus say to those relations: “Pray, friends, stand apart for a moment, until this Bhikkhu has declared his *pârisuddhi*.” If they succeed, well and good. If they do not succeed, let the Bhikkhus say to those relations: “Pray, friends, take this Bhikkhu for a moment outside the boundary, until the *Samgha* has held Uposatha.” If they succeed, well and good. If they do not succeed, in no case is Uposatha to be held by an assembly that is incomplete. Should it be so held, (each Bhikkhu in the assembly) is guilty of a *dukkata* offence.

3. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a certain Bhikkhu is seized on the day of Uposatha by kings, by robbers, by rascals, by hostile Bhikkhus, &c.¹

25.

1. Then the Blessed One thus addressed the Bhikkhus: ‘Assemble, O Bhikkhus, the *Samgha*

¹ See §§ 1, 2.

has duties (official acts) to perform.' When he had spoken thus, a certain Bhikkhu said to the Blessed One: 'There is a mad Bhikkhu, Lord, called Gagga, who is not present.' 'There are, O Bhikkhus, two sorts of madmen: There is one mad Bhikkhu who now remembers the Uposatha, now does not remember it, who now remembers official acts (of the Order), now does not remember them, (and) there is (another mad Bhikkhu) who does not remember them; one who now goes to Uposatha, now does not go, who now goes to official acts, now does not go, (and another) who does not go.

2. 'Now, O Bhikkhus, that madman that now remembers, &c., that now goes to, &c., to such a madman I prescribe that you grant ummattakasammuti (i. e. the madman's leave).

3. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to grant it in this way: Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. Gagga, a mad Bhikkhu, now remembers the Uposatha, now does not remember, &c., now goes to, &c.; if the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* grant ummattakasammuti to the mad Bhikkhu Gagga: let the Bhikkhu Gagga remember or not remember Uposatha, remember or not remember official acts (of the Order), let him go to Uposatha or not go, let him go to official acts or not go: (in every case) it may be free to the *Samgha* to hold Uposatha and to perform official acts with Gagga as well as without Gagga. This is the *ñatti*.

4. "'Let the *Samgha*, &c. Gagga, a mad Bhikkhu, &c.; the *Samgha* grants, &c. Thus I understand.'"

26.

1. At that time four Bhikkhus dwelt in a certain residence (of Bhikkhus) on the day of Uposatha. Now these Bhikkhus thought: 'The Blessed One has prescribed the holding of Uposatha, and we are (only) four persons¹. Well, how are we to hold Uposatha?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that four (Bhikkhus) may recite the Pâtimokkha.'

2. At that time three Bhikkhus dwelt in a certain residence (of Bhikkhus) at the day of Uposatha. Now these Bhikkhus thought: 'The Blessed One has prescribed to four (Bhikkhus) the reciting of the Pâtimokkha, and we are (only) three persons,' &c.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that three Bhikkhus may hold pârisuddhi-uposatha².

3. 'And it ought to be held in this way: Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before those Bhikkhus: "Let the reverend brethren hear me. To-day is Uposatha, the fifteenth (day of the half month). If the reverend brethren are ready, let us hold pârisuddhi-uposatha with each other." Let the senior Bhikkhu adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say to those Bhikkhus: "I am pure, friends, understand that I am pure, &c.³"

4. 'Let (each) younger Bhikkhu (in his turn) adjust

¹ The quorum for several official acts of the Order was five or more Bhikkhus; see IX, 4.

² Uposatha by mutual declaration of purity from the offences specified in the Pâtimokkha; see § 3 seq.

³ The same phrase is repeated twice more.

his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say to those Bhikkhus: "I am pure, reverend Sirs, &c."'

5. At that time two Bhikkhus dwelt in a certain residence on the day of Uposatha. Now these Bhikkhus thought: 'The Blessed One has prescribed to four (Bhikkhus) the reciting of the Pâtimokkha, to three (Bhikkhus) the holding of pârisuddhi-uposatha, and we are (only) two persons,' &c.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that two persons may hold pârisuddhi-uposatha.'

6, 7. 'And it ought to be held in this way: Let the senior Bhikkhu, &c.'¹

8. At that time there dwelt a single Bhikkhu in a certain residence on the day of Uposatha. Now this Bhikkhu thought, &c.

9. 'In case there dwell, O Bhikkhus, in a certain residence on the day of Uposatha a single Bhikkhu; let that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, sweep the place which the Bhikkhus used to frequent, the refectory, or hall, or place at the foot of a tree; let him (then) provide water and food, prepare seats, put a lamp there, and sit down. If other Bhikkhus come, let him hold Uposatha with them; if they do not come, let him fix his mind upon the thought: "To-day is my Uposatha." If he does not fix his mind upon this thought, he commits a dukkaṭa offence.

10. 'Now, O Bhikkhus, where four Bhikkhus dwell (together), they must not convey the pârisuddhi² of one (to their assembly), and recite the

¹ See §§ 3, 4. The ñatti prescribed in the preceding case does not apply to this case.

² See chap. 22.

Pâtimokkha by three. If they do, they commit a dukkaṭa offence.

‘Now, O Bhikkhus, where three Bhikkhus dwell (together), they must not convey the pārisuddhi of one (to their assembly), and hold pārisuddhi-uposatha by two. If they do, they commit a dukkaṭa offence.

‘Now, O Bhikkhus, where two Bhikkhus dwell, one of them must not convey the pārisuddhi of the other one, and fix (only) his thoughts (upon the Uposatha). If he does, he commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

27.

1. At that time a certain Bhikkhu was guilty of an offence on the day of Uposatha. Now this Bhikkhu thought: ‘The Blessed One has prescribed: “Uposatha is not to be held by a Bhikkhu who is guilty of an offence¹.” Now I am guilty of an offence. What am I to do?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a certain Bhikkhu be guilty of an offence on the day of Uposatha; let that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, go to one Bhikkhu, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say: “I have committed, friend, such and such an offence; I confess that offence.” Let the other say: “Do you see it?” “Yes, I see it.” “Refrain from it in future.”

2. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, there be a Bhikkhu on the day of Uposatha who feels doubt with regard

¹ See Kullavagga IX, 2.

to an offence; let this Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, go to one Bhikkhu, &c. (§ 1), and say: "I feel doubt, friend, with regard to such and such an offence. When I shall feel no doubt, then I will atone for that offence." Having spoken thus, let him hold Uposatha and hear the Pâtimokkha. But in no case must there be any hindrance to holding Uposatha from such a cause.'

3. At that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus confessed in common an offence (shared by them all).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to confess an offence in common. He who does so, commits a *dukkata* offence.'

At that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus accepted the common confession of an offence (shared by several Bhikkhus).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to accept the common confession of an offence. He who does so, commits a *dukkata* offence.'

4. At that time a certain Bhikkhu remembered an offence, while Pâtimokkha was being recited. Now this Bhikkhu thought: 'The Blessed One has prescribed: "Uposatha is not to be held by (a Bhikkhu) who is guilty of an offence." Now I am guilty of an offence. What am I to do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, there be a Bhikkhu who remembers an offence, while Pâtimokkha is being recited; let this Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, say to his neighbour Bhikkhu: "I have committed such and such an offence, friend; when I have arisen from this (assembly), I will atone for that offence." Having spoken thus, &c. (§ 2).

5. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there be a Bhikkhu who feels doubt with regard to an offence, while Pâtimokkha is being recited, &c. (§§ 2, 4).'

6. At that time the whole *Samgha* in a certain residence was guilty of a common offence on the day of Uposatha. Now these Bhikkhus thought: 'The Blessed One has prescribed that offences (shared by many Bhikkhus) are not to be confessed in common, and that the common confession of such offences is not to be accepted. Now this whole *Samgha* is guilty of a common offence. What are we to do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, the whole *Samgha* in a certain residence is guilty of a common offence on the day of Uposatha; let those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, send instantly one Bhikkhu to the neighbouring residence of Bhikkhus (saying), "Go, friend, and come back when you have atoned for that offence (for yourself); we will (then) atone for the offence before you."

7. 'If they succeed in this way, well and good. If they do not succeed, let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. This whole *Samgha* is guilty of a common offence. When it shall see another pure, guiltless Bhikkhu, it will atone for the offence before him." (One of the Bhikkhus) having spoken thus, let them hold Uposatha and recite the Pâtimokkha. But in no case must there be any hindrance to holding Uposatha from such a cause.

8. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the whole *Samgha* in a certain residence feels doubt with regard to a

common offence on the day of Uposatha; (in this case) let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. This whole *Samgha* feels doubt with regard to a common offence. When it will feel no doubt, it will atone for that offence." (One of the Bhikkhus) having spoken thus, &c.

9. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, in a certain residence the *Samgha* that has entered (there) upon vassa is guilty of a common offence. Those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, are instantly, &c. (§§ 6, 7). If they do not succeed, let them send away one Bhikkhu for seven days' time: "Go, friend, and come back when you have atoned for that offence (for yourself); we will (then) atone for the offence before you."'

10. At that time the whole *Samgha* in a certain residence was guilty of a common offence, and did not know the name nor the class to which that offence belonged. Now there arrived (at that place) another Bhikkhu, &c. (see chap. 21. 2), anxious for training. To that Bhikkhu one of the Bhikkhus went, and having gone to him, he said to him: 'He who does such and such a thing, friend, what sort of offence does he commit?'

11. He replied: 'He who does such and such a thing, friend, commits such and such an offence. If you have committed such an offence, friend, atone for that offence.' The other replied: 'Not I myself alone, friend, am guilty of that offence; this whole *Samgha* is guilty of that offence.' He said: 'What is it to you, friend, whether another is guilty or guiltless? Come, friend, atone for your own offence.'

12. Now this Bhikkhu, after having atoned for

that offence by the advice of that Bhikkhu, went to those Bhikkhus (to his brethren who shared in the same offence); having gone to them, he said to those Bhikkhus: 'He who does such and such a thing, friends, commits such and such an offence. As you have committed such an offence, friends, atone for that offence.' Now those Bhikkhus refused to atone for that offence by that Bhikkhu's advice.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

13, 14. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the whole *Samgha* in a certain residence is guilty of a common offence, &c. (§§ 10, 11)—

15. 'If this Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, after having atoned for that offence by the advice of that Bhikkhu, goes to those Bhikkhus, and having gone to them, says to those Bhikkhus: "He who does, &c.," and if those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, atone for that offence by that Bhikkhu's advice, well and good; if they do not atone for it, that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, need not say anything (further) to those Bhikkhus, if he does not like.'

End of the *Bhāṇavāra* on *Kodanāvatthu*.

28.

1. At that time there assembled in a certain residence (of Bhikkhus) at the day of Uposatha a number of resident Bhikkhus, four or more. They did not know that there were other resident Bhikkhus absent. Intending to act according to Dhamma and Vinaya, thinking themselves to be complete while (really) incomplete, they held Uposatha and

recited the Pâtimokkha. While they were reciting the Pâtimokkha, other resident Bhikkhus, a greater number (than the first ones), arrived.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble in a certain residence at the day of Uposatha, &c. (§ 1); while they are reciting the Pâtimokkha, other resident Bhikkhus, a greater number, arrive; let those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, recite the Pâtimokkha again; they who have recited it, are free from guilt.

3. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble, &c.; while they are reciting the Pâtimokkha, other resident Bhikkhus, exactly the same number (as the first ones), arrive; in that case (the part of the Pâtimokkha) that has been recited, has been correctly recited; let those (who have arrived late), hear the rest; they who have recited it, are free from guilt.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble, &c.; while they are reciting the Pâtimokkha, other resident Bhikkhus, a smaller number, arrive, &c.¹

4. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble, &c.; when they have just finished the recital of the Pâtimokkha, other resident Bhikkhus, &c.²

¹ The decision given for the case of a smaller number of Bhikkhus arriving late, is here, and invariably throughout the following exposition, identical with the decision of the case of the number of Bhikkhus being equal on the two sides.

² The same three cases are distinguished here as in §§ 2, 3, according as the number of Bhikkhus who are late, is greater, the same, or smaller than that of the other Bhikkhus. The first case is decided by Buddha as above; in the decision of the second and third cases, instead of 'let those (who have arrived late) hear the rest,' read: 'let those (who have arrived late) proclaim their pârissuddhi in the presence (of the other brethren).'

5. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble, &c.; when they have just finished the recital of the Pâtimokkha, and the assembly has not yet risen, other resident Bhikkhus, &c.¹

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble, &c.; when they have just finished the recital of the Pâtimokkha, and a part of the assembly has risen, &c.¹

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble, &c.; when they have just finished the recital of the Pâtimokkha, and the whole assembly has risen, &c.¹'

End of the fifteen cases in which there is no offence.

29.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble in a certain residence on the day of Uposatha a number of resident Bhikkhus, four or more; they know that there are other resident Bhikkhus absent; intending to act according to Dhamma and Vinaya, incomplete, conscious of their incompleteness, they hold Uposatha and recite the Pâtimokkha, &c.²'

End of the fifteen cases of the incompletely assembled Bhikkhus who are conscious of their incompleteness.

¹ The three triads of §§ 5, 6, 7 agree exactly with the triad of § 4.

² Here follow fifteen cases which are arranged exactly as in chap. 28. Instead of 'they who have recited it, are free from guilt,' read: 'they who have recited it, have committed a dukkaṭṭa offence.'

30.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble, &c.; they know that there are other resident Bhikkhus absent. Feeling doubt as to whether they are competent to hold Uposatha or not competent, they hold Uposatha and recite the Pâtimokkha, &c.’¹

End of the fifteen cases of the Bhikkhus who
feel doubt.

31.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble, &c.; they know that there are other resident Bhikkhus absent. (Thinking): “We are competent to hold Uposatha, we are not incompetent,” they abandon themselves to misbehaviour, hold Uposatha, and recite the Pâtimokkha, &c.’¹

End of the fifteen cases of the Bhikkhus abandoning
themselves to misbehaviour.

32.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble, &c.; they know that there are other resident Bhikkhus absent. They perish and become ruined², saying, “What are those people to us?” and risking a schism

¹ The decision of these fifteen cases is the same as in chap. 29.

² I. e. they destroy their own welfare by their wickedness.

(among the fraternity), they hold Uposatha and recite the Pâtimokkha, &c.¹

End of the fifteen cases of the Bhikkhus risking
a schism.

End of the seventy-five² cases.

33.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, there assemble in a certain residence on the day of Uposatha a number of resident Bhikkhus, four or more; they know that other resident Bhikkhus are about to enter the boundary. They know that other resident Bhikkhus have entered within the boundary. They see other resident Bhikkhus who are about to enter, &c., who have entered within the boundary. They hear that other resident Bhikkhus are about to enter, &c., have entered within the boundary.’

Thus³ a hundred and seventy-five systems of triads are produced which refer to resident and resident

¹ The decisions as in chap. 29; only read instead of ‘dukka/a offence,’ ‘thullaṅkāya offence’ (grave sin).

² Five times fifteen cases, in chaps. 28–32.

³ Remarks like this, which indicate the rules for supplying abbreviated passages, do not belong, strictly speaking, to the text of the Vinaya itself, but form a posterior addition, as is shown also by grammatical peculiarities. In chaps. 28–32 we have seventy-five cases, or twenty-five triads; all of these triads contain the words: ‘They know that there are other resident Bhikkhus absent.’ By successively varying these words six times, as is indicated in chap. 33, we obtain a hundred and seventy-five triads.

Bhikkhus¹. (Then follow the same cases with regard to) resident and incoming Bhikkhus, incoming and resident Bhikkhus, incoming and incoming Bhikkhus. By putting these words (successively) into the peyyâla², seven hundred triads are produced.

34.

1. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the resident Bhikkhus count the day as the fourteenth (of the pakkha), the incoming Bhikkhus as the fifteenth³; if the number of the resident Bhikkhus is greater, the incoming Bhikkhus ought to accommodate themselves to the resident Bhikkhus. If their number is equal, the incoming Bhikkhus ought to accommodate themselves to the resident Bhikkhus. If the number of the incoming Bhikkhus is greater, the resident Bhikkhus ought to accommodate themselves to the incoming Bhikkhus.

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the resident Bhikkhus count the day as the fifteenth, the incoming Bhikkhus as the fourteenth; if, &c. (§ 1).

¹ I. e. the assembled Bhikkhus as well as the incoming reside in the same âvâsa.

² 'Peyyâla' is identical in meaning and, we believe, etymologically with 'pariyâya.' See Childers s. v.; H. O.'s remarks in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, vol. xxv, 324; Trenckner, *Pali Miscellany*, p. 66.

³ Buddhaghosa: 'They who count the day as the fifteenth, arrive from a distant kingdom, or they have held the preceding Uposatha on the fourteenth.' It seems to follow from this remark of Buddhaghosa that after an Uposatha on the fourteenth invariably an Uposatha on the fifteenth must follow, i. e. the Uposatha may not be held on the fourteenth *ad libitum*, but only in the second pakkha of the short months. Compare chap. 4 and the note on chap. 1. 1.

3. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the resident Bhikkhus count the day as the first (of the pakkha), the incoming Bhikkhus as the fifteenth (of the preceding pakkha); if the number of the resident Bhikkhus is greater, the resident Bhikkhus need not, if they do not like, admit the incoming ones to their communion; let the incoming Bhikkhus go outside the boundary and hold (there) Uposatha. If their number is equal, &c. (as in the preceding case). If the number of the incoming Bhikkhus is greater, let the resident Bhikkhus either admit the incoming ones to their communion or go outside the boundary.

4. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the resident Bhikkhus count the day as the fifteenth, the incoming Bhikkhus as the first (of the following pakkha); if the number of the resident Bhikkhus is greater, let the incoming Bhikkhus either admit the resident Bhikkhus to their communion or go outside the boundary. If their number is equal, &c. (as in the preceding case). If the number of the incoming Bhikkhus is greater, the incoming Bhikkhus need not, if they do not like, admit the resident Bhikkhus to their communion; let the resident Bhikkhus go outside the boundary and hold Uposatha (there).

5. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the incoming Bhikkhus see the signs, the tokens, the marks, the characteristics of (the presence of) resident Bhikkhus, well prepared beds and chairs and mats and pillows, food and water well provided for, well swept cells; seeing this, they begin to doubt: "Are there here any resident Bhikkhus or are there not?"—

6. 'Being doubtful they do not search, having not searched they hold Uposatha: this is a dukkaṭa offence. Being doubtful they search, searching they

do not see them, not seeing them they hold Uposatha : (in this case) they are free from offence. Being doubtful they search, searching they see them, seeing them they hold Uposatha together : (in this case) they are free from offence. Being doubtful they search, searching they see them, seeing them they hold Uposatha apart : this is a dukkaṭṭa offence. Being doubtful they search, searching they see them, seeing them they perish and become ruined¹, saying, "What are those people to us?" and risking a schism, they hold Uposatha : this is a thullakkaya (grave) offence.

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the incoming Bhikkhus hear the signs &c. of (the presence of) resident Bhikkhus, the sound of their footsteps when they are walking, the sound of their rehearsal (of the Dhamma), of their clearing the throat and sneezing; hearing this they begin to doubt, &c. (§§ 5, 6).

8. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the resident Bhikkhus see the signs &c. of (the presence of) incoming Bhikkhus, unknown bowls, unknown robes, unknown seats, (the traces of) foot-washing, water sprinkled about; seeing this they begin to doubt, &c.

9. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the resident Bhikkhus hear the signs &c. of (the presence of) incoming Bhikkhus, the sound of their footsteps when they are arriving, the sound of their shaking out their shoes, clearing the throat, and sneezing; hearing this, &c.

10. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the incoming Bhikkhus see resident Bhikkhus belonging to a different district; they take them as belonging to the same district; taking them as belonging to the same district

¹ See chap. 32.

they do not ask; having not asked, they hold Uposatha together: (in this case) they are free from offence. They ask; having asked, they do not go through the matter; having not gone through the matter, they hold Uposatha together: this is a dukkaṭa offence. They ask, &c. (as in the last case), they hold Uposatha apart: (in this case) they are free from offence.

11. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the incoming Bhikkhus see resident Bhikkhus belonging to the same district. They take them as belonging to a different district; taking them, &c. they do not ask; having not asked, they hold Uposatha together: this is a dukkaṭa offence. They ask; having asked, they go through the matter; having gone through the matter, they hold Uposatha apart: this is a dukkaṭa offence. They ask, &c. (as in the last case), they hold Uposatha together: (in this case) they are free from offence.

12. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the resident Bhikkhus see incoming Bhikkhus belonging to a different district, &c. (see § 10).

13. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the resident Bhikkhus see incoming Bhikkhus belonging to the same district, &c. (see § 11).'

35.

1. 'You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to go on the day of Uposatha from a residence in which Bhikkhus are, to a residence in which no Bhikkhus are, except with a Saṃgha¹ or in a case of danger². You ought not,

¹ I.e. with a number of Bhikkhus sufficient for holding Uposatha.

² See chap. 15. 4.

O Bhikkhus, to go on the day of Uposatha from a residence in which Bhikkhus are, to a non-residence in which no Bhikkhus are, except, &c. You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to go on the day of Uposatha from a residence in which Bhikkhus are, to a residence or non-residence¹ in which no Bhikkhus are, except, &c.

2. 'You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to go on the day of Uposatha from a non-residence in which Bhikkhus are, to a residence, &c., to a non-residence, &c., to a residence or non-residence in which no Bhikkhus are, except, &c.

3. 'You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to go on the day of Uposatha from a residence or non-residence in which Bhikkhus are, to a residence, &c., to a non-residence, &c., to a residence or non-residence in which no Bhikkhus are, except, &c.

4. 'You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to go on the day of Uposatha from a residence in which Bhikkhus are, to a residence in which Bhikkhus are, if these Bhikkhus belong to a different district, except, &c.²

5. 'You may go, O Bhikkhus, on the day of Uposatha from a residence in which Bhikkhus are, to a residence in which Bhikkhus are, if these Bhikkhus belong to the same district, and if you know: "I can attain that place to-day." You may, &c.²'

36.

1. 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, recite the Pâtimokkha in a seated assembly (of Bhikkhus) before a Bhikkhuni. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa

¹ Probably this means a place the quality of which, whether residence or non-residence, is doubtful.

² Nine cases are distinguished here quite as in §§ 1-3.

offence. Let no one, O Bhikkhus, recite the Pâtimokkha in a seated assembly (of Bhikkhus) before a sikkhamânâ¹, a sâmanera, a sâmaneri, one who has abandoned the precepts², one who is guilty of an extreme offence². He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.

2. 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, recite the Pâtimokkha in a seated assembly (of Bhikkhus) before a (Bhikkhu) against whom expulsion has been pronounced for his refusal to see an offence (committed by himself), before a (Bhikkhu) against whom expulsion has been pronounced for his refusal to atone for such an offence, or for his refusal to renounce a false doctrine. He who does, is to be treated according to the law³.

3. 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, recite the Pâtimokkha in a seated assembly (of Bhikkhus) before a eunuch, before one who has furtively attached himself (to the Saṃgha), &c. (see chap. 22. 3), before a hermaphrodite. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.

¹ In the Bhikkhunīkhandhaka (*Kullav. X, 1, 4*) we are told that Buddha, when admitting women to the Order of mendicants, prescribed for them a probationary course of instruction, which should last two years, after which time they were to ask for the upasampadā ordination. During these two years the candidates were called sikkhamânâs. Childers (*Dict. s.v. sikkhati*) has misunderstood the *Mahāvamsa* (p. 37), when he states that in the case of Asoka's daughter *Samghamittā* the training prescribed for the sikkhamânâs was absolved in a single day.

² See the note on chap. 22. 3.

³ The law alluded to most probably is the 69th Pāṭittiya rule, which expressly treats only of the conduct towards Bhikkhus refusing to renounce false doctrines, but it may be extended by analogy also to the two other categories of Bhikkhus mentioned in our passage.

4. 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, hold Uposatha by (accepting) the pârisuddhi declaration¹ of a pâri-vâsika², except if the assembly has not yet risen (at the time when the pârisuddhi is declared). And let no one, O Bhikkhus, hold Uposatha on another day than the Uposatha day, except for the sake of (declaring the re-establishment of) concord among the *Samgha* ³.'

End of the third Bhânavâra in the Uposatha-khandhaka.

¹ See chap. 22.

² I.e. a Bhikkhu subject to the penal discipline of parivâsa, the rules of which are discussed at length in the second and third books of the *Kullavagga*.

³ If a schism among the fraternity has been composed, the reconciled parties hold Uposatha together (X, 5, 14).

THIRD KHANDHAKA.

(RESIDENCE DURING THE RAINY SEASON, VASSA.)

1.

1. At that time the Blessed One dwelt at Râga-gaha, in the Veḷuvana, in the Kalandakanivâpa¹. At that time the retreat during the rainy season had not yet been instituted by the Blessed One for the Bhikkhus. Thus the Bhikkhus went on their travels alike during winter, summer, and the rainy season.

2. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas go on their travels alike during winter, summer, and the rainy season? They crush the green herbs, they hurt vegetable life², they destroy the life of many small living things. Shall the ascetics who belong to Titthiya schools, whose doctrine is ill preached, retire during the rainy season and arrange places for themselves to live in³? shall the birds make their nests on the summits of the trees, and retire during

¹ See the note on I, 22, 17. About the name of Kalandakanivâpa (seeds of Kalandaka? feeding ground for squirrels?), see the story related in Beal, *Romantic Legend, &c.*, p. 315, where this place is said to be the gift of a merchant named Kalandaka. A different account is given by Spence Hardy, *Manual*, p. 194.

² Literally, living creatures which have but one organ of sense; that is, which have only the organ of feeling, viz. the outward form (kâya).

³ Samkâpayissanti = samkappayissanti? Buddhaghosa: appossukka-nibaddha-vâsam vasissanti.

the rainy season, and arrange themselves places to live in; and yet the Sakyaputtiya Samanas go on their travels alike during winter, summer, and the rainy season, crushing the green herbs, hurting vegetable life, and destroying the life of many small things?’

3. Now some Bhikkhus heard those people that were annoyed, murmured, and had become angry.

These Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus:

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you enter upon Vassa¹.’

2.

1. Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘When are we to enter upon Vassa?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you enter upon Vassa in the rainy season.’

2. Then the Bhikkhus thought: ‘How many periods are there for entering upon Vassa?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘There are two periods, O Bhikkhus, for entering upon Vassa, the earlier and the later. The earlier time for entering (upon Vassa) is the day after the

¹ I. e. enter upon the retreat prescribed for the rainy season. Buddhaghosa: ‘They are to look after their Vihâra (if it is in a proper state), to provide food and water for themselves, to fulfil all due ceremonies, such as paying reverence to sacred shrines, &c., and to say loudly once, or twice, or thrice: ‘I enter upon Vassa in this Vihâra for these three months.’ Thus they are to enter upon Vassa.’

full moon of *Āsāḥa* (June–July); the later, a month after the full moon of *Āsāḥa*¹. These, O Bhikkhus, are the two periods for entering upon Vassa.'

3.

1. At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, having entered upon Vassa, went on their travels during the period of Vassa. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas go on their travels alike during winter, summer, and the rainy season, . . . (&c., as in chap. 1. 2, down to :) and destroy the life of many small living things?'

2. Now some Bhikkhus heard those people that were annoyed, murmured, and had become angry. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), 'How can the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, having entered upon Vassa, go on their travels during the period of Vassa?'

These Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

¹ Very probably this double period stands in connection with the double period prescribed in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūtras* for most of the Vedic festivals. Thus the sacrifice of the *varuṇapraghâsâs*, with which the Brahmans began the rainy season, was to be held either on the full moon day of *Āshâḍha* or on the full moon day of the following month, *Srâvâna*, quite in accordance with the Buddhistical rules about the *vassupanâyikâ*. The *Brāhmaṇa* texts begin the year with the full moon day of the (*uttarâ*) *Phâlgunî*; the *Sūtras* mention, besides the *Phâlgunî*, another new-year's day, the *Kaitrî paurnamâsî*, which falls one month later. It was in connection with this dislocation of the beginning of the year that the annual festivals could be postponed accordingly. See Weber, *Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Naxatra*, II, p. 329 seq.

In consequence of that and on this occasion the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus :

‘ Let no one, O Bhikkhus, who has entered upon Vassa, go on his travels before he has kept Vassa during the earlier or during the later three months. He who does so, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

4.

1. At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus were not willing to enter upon Vassa.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘ Let no one, O Bhikkhus, forbear to enter upon Vassa. He who does not enter upon Vassa, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

2. At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, who were not willing to enter upon Vassa on the prescribed day, purposely left the district (where they were living).

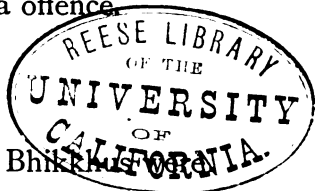
They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘ Let no one, O Bhikkhus, purposely leave the district (where he is living), because he is not willing to enter upon Vassa on the prescribed day. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

3. At that time the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra, who wished that the Vassa period might be postponed, sent a messenger to the Bhikkhus: ‘ What if their reverences were to enter upon Vassa on the next full moon day ?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘ I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you obey kings.’



5.

1. And the Blessed One, after having resided at Rāgagaha as long as he thought fit, went forth to Sāvatti. Wandering from place to place he came to Sāvatti. There, at Sāvatti, the Blessed One dwelt in the *Getavana*, the garden of Anāthapindika.

At that time an upāsaka (lay devotee) named Udena, in the Kosala country, had a Vihāra built for the *Samgha*. He sent a messenger to the Bhikkhus (saying), 'Might their reverences come hither; I desire to bestow gifts (on the *Samgha*) and to hear the Dhamma and to see the Bhikkhus.'

2. The Bhikkhus replied: 'The Blessed One has prescribed, friend, that no one who has entered upon Vassa, may go on a journey before he has kept Vassa during the earlier or during the later three months. Let the upāsaka Udena wait so long as the Bhikkhus keep their Vassa residence; when they have finished Vassa, they will go. But if there is any urgent necessity, let him dedicate the Vihāra in presence of the Bhikkhus who reside there.'

3. The upāsaka Udena was annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), 'How can their reverences, when I send for them, refuse to come? I am a giver and a doer (of good works), and do service to the fraternity.' Some Bhikkhus heard the upāsaka Udena, who was annoyed, &c.

These Bhikkhus told the thing to the Blessed One.

4. In consequence of that the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus:

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to go (even during

the rainy season), if the affair for which you go can be accomplished in seven days, and if you are sent for, but not if you are not sent for, by a person of one of the following seven classes: Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunis, sikkhamânâs¹, sâmañeras, sâmañeris, lay devotees, female lay devotees. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to go, if the thing (you go for) can be accomplished in seven days, and if you are sent for, but not if you are not sent for, by a person of one of these seven classes. Within seven days you ought to return.

5. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, an upâsaka has built a Vihâra for the Samgha. If he sends a messenger to the Bhikkhus (saying), "Might their reverences come hither; I desire to bestow gifts (on them) and to hear the Dhamma and to see the Bhikkhus," you ought to go, O Bhikkhus, if the affair for which you go can be accomplished in seven days, and if he sends for you, but not if he does not send for you. Within seven days you ought to return.

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, an upâsaka has built for the Samgha an *addhayoga*², has built a storied house, has built an attic, has constructed a cave, a cell, a store-room, a refectory, a fire-room, a warehouse³, a privy, a place to walk in, a house to walk in, a well, a well house, a *gantâghara*⁴, a *gantâghara* room⁵, a lotus-pond, a pavilion, a park, or

¹ See the note on II, 36, 1.

² See the note on I, 30, 4.

³ This translation of *kappiyaku*/î is merely conjectural; comp. *kappiyabhûmi* VI, 33.

⁴ See the note on I, 25, 12.

⁵ See *Kullavagga* V, 16, 1.

has prepared the site for a park. If he sends a messenger to the Bhikkhus, (&c., as in § 5, down to the end of the section).

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, an upāsaka has built for a number of Bhikkhus an *addhayoga* (&c., as in § 6 to the end of the section), for one Bhikkhu a Vihāra, an *addhayoga*, a storied house (&c., as in § 6 to the end).

8. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, an upāsaka has built for the sisterhood of Bhikkhūṇī, &c., for a number of Bhikkhūṇī, for one Bhikkhūṇī, for a number of sikkhamānās, for one sikkhamānā, for a number of sāmāneras, for one sāmānera, for a number of sāmānerī, for one sāmānerī a Vihāra, &c.¹ If he sends a messenger to the Bhikkhus, &c.

9. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, an upāsaka has built for his own use a residence, a sleeping room, a stable², a tower, a one-peaked building³, a shop, a boutique, a storied house, an attic, a cave, a cell, a store-room, a refectory, a fire-room, a kitchen, a privy, a place to walk in, a house to walk in, a well, a well house, a *gantāghara*, a *gantāghara* room, a lotus-pond, a pavilion, a park, or has prepared the site for a park; or that his son is to choose a consort; or that his daughter is to choose a consort; or that he is sick; or that he knows how

¹ The enumeration of edifices is identical with that given in § 6, but in the cases beginning with that of the sisterhood of Bhikkhūṇī (according to Buddhaghosa; we believe that the two cases referring to sāmāneras ought to be excepted) three of the edifices are left out, viz. the privy, the *gantāghara*, and the *gantāghara* room, the use of which is forbidden to nuns; see *Kullavagga* X, 27, 3, 4.

² See *Abhidhānapp.* v. 213, and compare *assabhaṇḍa*, *hatthibhaṇḍa* (*Mahāvagga* I, 61, 1).

³ See *Abhidhānapp.* v. 209.

to recite a celebrated *suttanta*. If he sends a messenger to the *Bhikkhus* (saying), "Might their reverences come and learn this *suttanta*; otherwise this *suttanta* will fall into oblivion;"—or if he has any other business or any work to be done; and if he sends a messenger to the *Bhikkhus* (saying), "Might their reverences come hither" (&c.) then you ought to go (&c., as in § 5, down to:) you ought to return.

10-12. 'In case, O *Bhikkhus*, an *upâsikâ* has built a *Vihâra* for the *Samgha* (&c., as in §§ 5-9¹).

13. 'In case, O *Bhikkhus*, a *Bhikkhu* has built, &c., a *Bhikkhunî*, a *sikkhamânâ*, a *sâmanera*, a *sâmaneri* has built for the *Samgha*, for a number of *Bhikkhus*, for one *Bhikkhu*, for the sisterhood of *Bhikkhunis*, for one *sâmaneri*, for his own use, a *Vihâra* (&c., as in § 8).'

6.

1. At that time a certain *Bhikkhu* was sick. He sent a messenger to the *Bhikkhus* (saying), 'I am sick; might the *Bhikkhus* come to me; I long for the *Bhikkhus*' coming.'

The told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O *Bhikkhus*, to go (even during the rainy season), if the affair for which you go can be accomplished in seven days, even if you are not sent for, and much more if you are sent for, by a

¹ Only it is said here of the *Bhikkhus*, *ayyâ*, 'the noble ones,' instead of *bhaddantâ*, 'their reverences.'

person of one of the following five classes: Bhikkhus, Bhikkhuns, sikkhamânâs, sâmaṇeras, and sâmaṇeris. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to go, if the affair for which you go can be accomplished in seven days, even if you are not sent for, and much more if you are sent for, by a person of one of these five classes. Within seven days you ought to return.

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu is sick. If he sends a messenger to the Bhikkhus (saying), "I am sick; might the Bhikkhus come to me; I long for the Bhikkhus' coming," you ought to go, O Bhikkhus, if the thing can be accomplished in seven days, even if he had not sent for you, much more when he has sent (saying to yourselves): "I will try to get food for the sick, or food for the tender of the sick, or medicine for the sick, or I will ask him (questions referring to the Dhamma), or nurse him." Within seven days you ought to return.

3. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, inward struggles have befallen a Bhikkhu. If he sends a messenger to the Bhikkhus: "Inward struggles have befallen me; might the Bhikkhus come to me; I long for the Bhikkhus' coming," you ought to go . . . (&c., as in § 2, down to): (saying to yourselves): "I will try to appease those struggles, or cause them to be appeased (by another), or compose him by religious conversation." Within seven days you ought to return.

4. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu in whose mind doubts of conscience have arisen sends . . . (&c., as in § 3, down to): (saying to yourselves): "I will try to dispel those doubts, or cause

them to be dispelled, or compose him by religious conversation." Within seven days you ought to return.

5. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu takes to a false doctrine. If he sends . . . (&c., down to): (saying to yourselves): "I will discuss that false doctrine, or cause another to discuss it, or compose (that Bhikkhu) by religious conversation." Within seven days you ought to return.

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu is guilty of a grave offence and ought to be sentenced to parivâsa discipline. If he sends . . . (&c., down to): (saying to yourselves): "I will take care that he may be sentenced to parivâsa discipline, or I will propose the resolution (to the assembly), or I will help to complete the quorum (required for passing the sentence of parivâsa)." Within seven days you ought to return.

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu ought to be sentenced to recommence penal discipline. If he sends . . . (&c., as in § 6, down to the end of the section).

8. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu ought to have the mânatta discipline imposed upon him. If he sends . . . (&c., as in § 6, down to the end of the section).

9. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu (having duly undergone penal discipline) ought to be rehabilitated. If he sends . . . (&c., as in § 6).

10. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the *Samgha* is going to proceed against a Bhikkhu by the *tagganiyakamma*, or the *nissaya*, or the *pabbâganiyakamma*, or the *patisâraṇiyakamma*, or the *ukkhapaniyakamma*. If that Bhikkhu sends a messenger to the Bhikkhus (saying), "The *Samgha*

is going to proceed against me ; might the Bhikkhus come to me ; I long for the Bhikkhus' coming," you ought to go (&c., as in § 2, down to): (saying to yourselves): "What can be done in order that the *Samgha* may not proceed (against that Bhikkhu) or may mitigate the proceeding?" Within seven days you ought to return.

11. 'Or the *Samgha* has instituted a proceeding against him, the *tagganiyakamma* (&c., down to): or the *ukkhepaniyakamma* ; if he sends a messenger to the Bhikkhus: "The *Samgha* has instituted a proceeding against me ; might the Bhikkhus come to me ; I long for the Bhikkhus' coming," you ought to go (&c., as in § 3, down to): (saying to yourselves): "What can be done in order that this Bhikkhu may behave himself properly, live modestly, and aspire to get clear of his penance, and that the *Samgha* may revoke its sentence?" Within seven days you ought to return.

12-15. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhunī is sick, &c.¹

16. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhunī is guilty of a grave offence and ought to be sentenced to *mānatta* discipline². If she sends (as in § 3, down to): (saying to yourselves): "I will take care that she may be sentenced to *mānatta* discipline³." Within seven days you ought to return.

¹ See §§ 2-5. Read here and in all cases where the messenger is sent by a woman: 'Might the noble ones (*ayyā*) come to me ; I long for the noble ones' coming.'

² There is no *parivāsa* discipline for the Bhikkhunīs. When a Bhikkhunī has committed a *Samghādisesa* offence, no matter whether she has concealed it or not, she is sentenced to *mānatta* discipline for a fortnight. See *Kullavagga* X, 1, 4 ; 25, 3.

³ The phrases, 'Or I will propose the resolution to the assembly,

17. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhunī ought to be sentenced to recommence penal discipline . . . (&c., as in § 7).

18. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhunī who is to be rehabilitated . . . (&c., as in § 9).

19. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the Saṃgha is going to proceed against a Bhikkhunī by the tagganiyakamma . . . (&c., as in § 10).

20. 'Or the Saṃgha has instituted a proceeding against her . . . (&c., as in § 11).

21, 22. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a sikkhamānā is sick (&c., see §§ 2-5).

'In case, O Bhikkhus, a sikkhamānā has violated¹ the precepts (in which she is trained). If she sends . . . (&c., as in § 3, down to): (saying to yourselves): "I will take care that she may take upon herself the precepts (again)." Within seven days you ought to return.

23. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a sikkhamānā desires to receive the upasampadā ordination. If she sends, &c., . . . you ought to go (saying to yourselves): "I will take care that she may receive the upasampadā ordination, or I will proclaim the formula (of ordination before the assembly), or I will help to complete the quorum." Within seven days you ought to return.

24, 25. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a sāmānera is sick (&c., as in §§ 2-5) . . . , a sāmānera desires

or I will help to complete the quorum' (see § 6 seq.), of course are omitted here, because, if the proceeding is directed against a Bhikkhunī, this is to be done by a Bhikkhunī and not by a Bhikkhu. See *Kullavagga* X, 6, 3.

¹ This translation of sikkhā kupitā hoti is merely conjectural; Buddhaghosa has no note here. Comp. kuppā and akuppā.

to ask concerning Vassa¹. If he sends (saying to yourselves): "I will ask him or I will tell it to him." Within seven days you ought to return.

26. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a *sāmaṇera* who desires to receive the upasampadā ordination (&c., see § 23).

27, 28. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a *sāmaṇerī* is sick (&c., see §§ 24-25).

29. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a *sāmaṇerī* desires to take upon herself the precepts. If she sends &c., you should go (saying to yourselves): "I will take care that she may take upon herself the precepts." Within seven days you ought to return.'

7.

1. At that time the mother of a Bhikkhu was sick. She sent a messenger to her son (saying), 'I am sick ; might my son come to me ; I long for my son's coming.' Now that Bhikkhu thought : 'The Blessed One has allowed (a Bhikkhu) to go, if the affair for which he goes can be accomplished within seven days, and if he is sent for, but not if he is not sent for, by a person of any one of the seven classes ; (and he has also allowed to go), if the thing he goes for can be accomplished within seven days, even if he is not sent for, and much more if he is sent for, by a person of any one of the five classes. Now my mother is sick ; she is not a lay-devotee (*upasikā*). What am I, therefore, to do ?'

¹ The technical meaning of *vassam pukkhitum* (to ask after Vassa?) is unknown to us.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

2. 'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to go (even during the rainy season), if the thing you go for can be accomplished within seven days, even if you are not sent for, and much more if you are sent for, by a person of any one of the following seven classes: Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunis, sikkhamânâs, sâmaṇeras, sâmaṇeris, the mother, and the father. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to go, if the thing you go for can be accomplished within seven days, even if you are not sent for, and much more if you are sent for, by a person of any one of these seven classes. Within seven days you ought to return.

3. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu's mother is sick. If she sends a messenger to her son (saying), "I am sick; might my son come to me; I long for my son's coming (&c., see chap. 6. 2)."

4. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu's father is sick (&c., as in § 3).

5. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu's brother is sick. If he sends a messenger to his brother (saying), "I am sick; might my brother come to me; I long for my brother's coming," he ought to go, O Bhikkhus, if the affair can be accomplished within seven days, and if he sends for him, but not if he does not send for him. Within seven days he ought to return.

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu's sister is sick (&c., see § 5).

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a relation of a Bhikkhu is sick. If he sends a messenger to that Bhikkhu (saying), "I am sick; might his reverence come to me" (&c., as in § 5).

8. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a person that used to

live with the Bhikkhus¹ is sick. If he sends a messenger to the Bhikkhus (saying), "I am sick; might the Bhikkhus come to me" . . . (&c., as in § 5).'

8.

At that time a Vihâra belonging to the Samgha went to ruin. A certain upâsaka had a quantity of wood cut in the forest. He sent a messenger to the Bhikkhus (saying), 'If their reverences will fetch that wood, I will give it to them.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to go out on the Samgha's business. Within seven days you ought to return.'

End of the first Bhānavâra about the Vassa residence.

9.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus of a certain district in the Kosala country who had entered upon Vassa, were troubled² by beasts of prey; the beasts carried them off and killed them.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus who have entered upon Vassa, are troubled by beasts of prey, and the beasts carry them off and kill them: this is

¹ Buddhaghosa: bhikkhugatika is a person that dwells in the same Vihâra with the Bhikkhus.

² Compare *Gâtaka* I, 300.

to be considered as a case of danger, and they ought to leave that residence. They are not guilty of interruption of Vassa.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus who have entered upon Vassa, are infested by snakes; they bite them and kill them. This is to be considered as a case of danger, . . . (&c., as in § 1 down to) . . . Vassa.

2. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus who have entered upon Vassa, are troubled by robbers; the robbers plunder them and beat them. This is to be considered . . . (&c., as in § 1) . . . Vassa.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus who have entered upon Vassa, are troubled by demons; the demons enter into them and take their power from them. This is to be considered . . . (&c., as in § 1) . . . Vassa.

3. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the village near which the Bhikkhus have entered upon Vassa, is destroyed by fire; the Bhikkhus suffer from want of food. This is to be considered . . . (&c., as in § 1) . . . Vassa.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the places of rest of the Bhikkhus who have entered upon Vassa, are destroyed by fire; the Bhikkhus suffer from having no place of rest. This is to be considered . . . (&c., as in § 1) . . . Vassa.

4. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the village near which the Bhikkhus have entered upon Vassa, is destroyed by water; the Bhikkhus suffer from want of food, . . . (&c., as in § 1) . . . Vassa.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the places of rest of the Bhikkhus who have entered upon Vassa, are destroyed by water; the Bhikkhus suffer from having no place of rest, . . . (&c., as in § 1) . . . Vassa.’

10.

At that time the village near which the Bhikkhus of a certain district had entered upon Vassa, was transferred to another place through (fear of) robbers.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you go where the village is.’

The village (people) divided themselves in two parts.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you go where the greater part is.’

The greater part were unbelieving, unconverted people.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you go where the believing, converted people are.’



11.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus of a certain district in the Kosala country who had entered upon Vassa, could get (there) neither coarse nor fine food sufficiently as required.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus who have entered upon Vassa, can get neither coarse nor fine food sufficiently as required. This is to be considered as a case of danger, and they ought to leave that residence. They are not guilty of interruption of Vassa.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus who have entered upon Vassa, get food coarse or fine suffi-

ciently as required, but they cannot get sustaining food. This is to be considered . . . (&c., as in § 1) . . . Vassa.

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus who have entered upon Vassa, get food coarse or fine sufficiently as required, they get sustaining food, but they cannot get proper medicine. This is to be considered . . . (&c., as in § 1) . . . Vassa.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus . . . (&c., as § 1, down to) . . . sustaining food, and they can get profitable medicine, but they cannot find suitable laymen to do service to them. This is to be considered . . . (&c., as in § 1) . . . Vassa.

3. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, to a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, a woman makes an offer (in these words): "Come, venerable Sir, I give you gold, or I give you bullion¹, or I give you a field, or I give you a site (for a house or a garden), or I give you an ox, or I give you a cow, or I give you a slave, or I give you a female slave, or I give you my daughter as your wife, or I will be your wife, or I get another wife for you." In that case, if the Bhikkhu thinks: "The Blessed One has said that the mind of men is easily changeable; danger might arise to the purity of my life," he ought to go away from that place. He is not guilty of interruption of Vassa.

4. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, to a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, a harlot makes an offer, &c., an adult girl makes an offer, &c., a eunuch makes an offer, &c., relations make an offer, &c., kings make

¹ See Rh. D.'s 'Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon,' p. 5 ('Numismata Orientalia,' vol. i).

an offer, &c., robbers make an offer, &c., rascals make an offer (in these words): "Come, venerable Sir, we give you gold, . . . (&c., down to) . . . or we give you our daughter as your wife, or we get another wife for you." In that case, . . . (&c., as in § 3) . . . Vassa.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, finds an ownerless treasure. In that case, . . . (&c., as in § 3, down to) . . . Vassa.

5. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, sees a number of Bhikkhus who strive to cause divisions in the *Samgha*. In that case, if that Bhikkhu thinks: "The Blessed One has said that it is a grievous sin to cause divisions in the *Samgha*; may no division arise in the *Samgha* in my presence," let him go away. He is not guilty of interruption of Vassa.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, hears: "A number of Bhikkhus are striving to cause divisions in the *Samgha*." In that case, . . . (&c., as in § 5, down to) . . . Vassa.

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, hears: "In such and such a district a number of Bhikkhus are striving to cause divisions in the *Samgha*." If that Bhikkhu thinks: "Those Bhikkhus are friends of mine; I will say to them: 'The Blessed One, my friends, has said that it is a grievous sin to cause divisions in the *Samgha*; let not divisions in the *Samgha* please you, Sirs;' then they will do what I say, they will obey me and give ear," in that case let him go (to that place). He is not guilty of interruption of Vassa.

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, hears: "In such and such a

district a number of Bhikkhus are striving to cause divisions in the *Samgha*.” If that Bhikkhu thinks: “Those Bhikkhus are not friends of mine, but their friends are friends of mine; to these I will say, and they will say to their friends: ‘The Blessed One, . . . (&c.,’ as in § 6, down to) . . . Vassa.

8. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, hears: “In such and such a district divisions in the *Samgha* have been caused by a number of Bhikkhus.” If that Bhikkhu . . . (&c., as in § 6, down to) . . . Vassa.

9. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, hears: “In such and such a district divisions in the *Samgha* have been caused by a number of Bhikkhus.” If that Bhikkhu . . . (&c., as in § 7) . . . Vassa.

10-13. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has entered upon Vassa, hears: “In such and such a district a number of Bhikkhunis strive to cause divisions in the *Samgha* . . . (&c.¹)”’

12.

1. At that time a Bhikkhu desired to enter upon Vassa in a cattle-pen.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to enter upon Vassa in a cattle-pen.’

The cattle-pen was moved from its place.

¹ See §§ 6-9. Instead of ‘A number of Bhikkhus’ in these paragraphs, the subject is ‘A number of Bhikkhunis.’ Instead of ‘Friends’ or ‘Sirs,’ the address is ‘Sisters.’ In §§ 11, 13 read: ‘Those Bhikkhunis are not friends of mine, but their (female) friends are friends of mine, &c.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to go with the cattle-pen.’

2. At that time a Bhikkhu, when the time for entering upon Vassa approached, desired to go on a journey with a caravan.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to enter upon Vassa in a caravan.’

At that time a Bhikkhu, when the time for entering upon Vassa approached, desired to go on a journey in a ship.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to enter upon Vassa in a ship.’

3. At that time some Bhikkhus entered upon Vassa in a hollow tree. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: ‘(These Bhikkhus behave) like goblins¹.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, enter upon Vassa in a hollow tree. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

4. At that time some Bhikkhus entered upon Vassa on a branch of a tree. People were annoyed, &c.: ‘(These Bhikkhus behave) like huntsmen.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, enter upon Vassa on a branch of a tree. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

5. At that time some Bhikkhus entered upon Vassa in the open air. When it began to rain,

¹ This must be about the sense of *pisāṭṭillika* (comp. *Kullavagga* V, 10, 2; 27, 5), although we are not sure how -illika ought to be explained.

they ran up to the foot of a tree, or to the hollow of a Nimba tree.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, enter upon Vassa in the open air. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

6. At that time some Bhikkhus entered upon Vassa without having a place of rest. They suffered from coldness and heat.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, enter upon Vassa without having a place of rest. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

7. At that time some Bhikkhus entered upon Vassa in a house for keeping dead bodies in. People were annoyed, &c. : ‘(These Bhikkhus are) like those who burn corpses.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, enter upon Vassa in a house for keeping dead bodies. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

8. At that time some Bhikkhus entered upon Vassa under a sun-shade. People were annoyed, &c. : ‘Like cowherds.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, enter upon Vassa under a sun-shade. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

9. At that time some Bhikkhus entered upon Vassa under an earthenware vessel. People were annoyed, &c. : ‘Like Titthiyas.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, enter upon Vassa under an earthenware vessel. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

13.

1. At that time the *Samgha* at *Sâvatthi* had made an agreement that nobody should receive the *pabbaggâ* ordination during the rainy season. A grandson of *Visâkhâ Migâramâtâ*¹ went to the *Bhikkhus* and asked them for the *pabbaggâ* ordination. The *Bhikkhus* said to him: 'The *Samgha*, friend, has made an agreement that nobody shall receive the *pabbaggâ* ordination during the rainy season. Wait, friend, as long as the *Bhikkhus* keep *Vassa*; when they have concluded the *Vassa* residence, they will confer on you the *pabbaggâ* ordination.'

When those *Bhikkhus* had concluded the *Vassa* residence, they said to the grandson of *Visâkhâ Migâramâtâ*: 'Come now, friend, you may receive the *pabbaggâ* ordination.' He replied: 'If I had received the *pabbaggâ* ordination before, reverend *Sirs*, I should remain (in the religious life), but now, reverend *Sirs*, I will not receive the *pabbaggâ* ordination.'

2. *Visâkhâ Migâramâtâ* was annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), 'How can the noble ones make such an agreement that nobody shall receive the *pabbaggâ* ordination during the rainy season? At what time ought the duties of the *Dhamma* not to be performed?'

Some *Bhikkhus* heard *Visâkhâ Migâramâtâ*, who was annoyed, murmured, and had become angry.

¹ *Visâkhâ* was the most distinguished among the *upâsikâs*, and occupied a place among them similar to that which *Anâthapindika*, with whom she is frequently mentioned together, did among the *upâsakas*. See *Dhammapada Aṅgahak. p. 78, &c.*

Those Bhikkhus told the thing to the Blessed One.

‘Such an agreement, O Bhikkhus, ought not to be made—that nobody shall receive the pabbaggâ ordination during the rainy season. He who makes (an agreement like this), commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

14.

1. At that time the venerable Upananda Sakyaputta had promised to king Pasenadi of Kosala to take up his Vassa residence (with him) at the earlier period¹. When he was going to the district (where he had consented to go to), he saw on his way two districts in which there were plenty of robes, and he thought: ‘What if I were to keep Vassa in these two districts; thus shall I obtain many robes.’ And he kept Vassa in those two districts.

King Pasenadi of Kosala was annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), ‘How can the noble Upananda Sakyaputta, after he has promised us to take up his Vassa residence (with us), break his word? Has not falsehood been reproved, and abstinence from falsehood been praised by the Blessed One in many ways?’

2. Some Bhikkhus heard king Pasenadi of Kosala, who was annoyed, &c. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), ‘How can the venerable Upananda Sakyaputta, after he has promised to king Pasenadi of Kosala, &c.? Has not falsehood . . . (&c., as in § 1)?’

3. Those Bhikkhus told the thing to the Blessed One.

¹ See chap. 2, § 2.

In consequence of that, the Blessed One, after having ordered the fraternity of Bhikkhus to assemble, asked the venerable Upananda Sakyaputta : 'Is it true, Upananda, that you have broken your word, having promised to king Pasenadi of Kosala to take up your Vassa residence (with him)?'

'It is true, Lord?'

Then the blessed Buddha rebuked him : 'How can you, O foolish one, break your word, having promised, &c.? Has not falsehood, O foolish one, been reproved, and abstinence from falsehood been praised by me in many ways? This will not do, O foolish one, for converting the unconverted, and for augmenting the number of the converted, but it will result, O foolish one, in the unconverted being repulsed (from the faith) and many of the converted being estranged.'

Having reproved him and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus :

4. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has promised (to a lay-devotee) to take up his Vassa residence (with him) at the earlier period, and when he goes to that district, he sees on his way two districts in which there are plenty of robes, and he thinks : "What if I were to keep Vassa in these two districts ; thus shall I obtain many robes ;" and he keeps Vassa in those two districts. This Bhikkhu's (entering upon Vassa), O Bhikkhus, (at the) earlier period is not valid, and as to his promise he has committed a dukkaṭṭa offence.

5. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has promised (to a lay-devotee) to take up his Vassa residence (with him) at the earlier period, and when going to that district, he holds Uposatha outside (on the last

day of the half month), and on the first day (of the next half month) he goes to the Vihâra, prepares himself a place of rest, gets (water to) drink and food, sweeps the cell, and goes away that same day without having any business. This Bhikkhu's (entering upon Vassa) . . . (&c., as in § 4, down to) . . . offence.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has promised (&c., as in the preceding case, down to :) and goes away that same day having business. This Bhikkhu's (entering upon Vassa) . . . (&c., as in § 4, down to) . . . offence.

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has promised, &c., and having resided there two or three days, he goes away without having any business, &c.; he goes away having business. This Bhikkhu's (entering upon Vassa) . . . (&c., as in § 4, down to) . . . offence.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has promised, &c., and having resided there two or three days, he goes away having a business which can be accomplished within seven days¹; he is absent above those seven days. This Bhikkhu's (entering upon Vassa) . . . (&c., as in § 4, down to) . . . offence.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, &c., he returns within those seven days. This Bhikkhu's (entering upon Vassa), O Bhikkhus, (at the) earlier period is valid, and as to his promise he has committed no offence.

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has promised, &c., and goes away seven days before the Pavâraṇâ² having business. No matter, O Bhikkhus, whether that Bhikkhu comes back to that district or

¹ See chap. 5 seq.

² I. e. before the concluding ceremony of Vassa ; see IV, 1, 13.

does not come back, this Bhikkhu's entering, &c., is valid, and as to his promise he has committed no offence.

8-10. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has promised, &c., and having gone to that district, he holds Uposatha there (on the last day of the half month), and on the first day (of the next half month) he goes to the Vihâra, &c.¹

11. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has promised (to a lay-devotee) to take up his Vassa residence (with him) at the later period, and when going to that district, he holds Uposatha outside, &c.²'

End of the third Khandhaka, which treats of
entering upon Vassa.

¹ Here follows an exact repetition of all the cases given in §§ 5-7; the only difference is, that in the former cases it was said: 'When going to that district, he holds Uposatha outside,' instead of which it is said now: 'Having gone to that district, he holds Uposatha there.'

² The cases given in §§ 5-10 are repeated here; instead of 'Earlier period,' it is said here 'Later period;' instead of 'Before the Pavâraṇâ' (§ 7), 'Before the komudî kâtumâsinî.' The komudî kâtumâsinî is the full moon day in the month Kattika, which is frequently called Kaumuda in the Epic literature; the epithet kâtumâsinî refers to the Vedic Kâturmâsya festival, which falls upon that day (Kâtyâyana, Srautasûtra V, 6, 1). For those who entered upon Vassa at the later period (in the Srâvâna month), the end of Vassa fell on the Komudî day.

FOURTH KHANDHAKA.

(THE PAVÂRANÂ CEREMONY AT THE END OF THE
RAINY SEASON, VASSA).

1.

1. At that time the blessed Buddha dwelt at Sâvatthi, in the *Getavana*, the garden of *Anâthapindîka*. At that time a number of *Bhikkhus*, companions and friends of each other, entered upon *Vassa* in a certain district of the *Kosala* country. Now those *Bhikkhus* thought: 'What shall we do in order that we may keep *Vassa* well, in unity, and in concord, and without quarrel, and that we may not suffer from want of food?'

2. Then those *Bhikkhus* thought: 'If we do not speak to or converse with each other, if he who comes back first from the village, from his alms-pilgrimage, prepares seats, gets water for washing the feet, a foot-stool, and a towel¹, cleans the slop-basin and gets it ready, and puts there (water to) drink and food,—

3. 'And if he who comes back last from the village, from his alms-pilgrimage, eats, if there is any food left (from the dinner of the other *Bhikkhus*) and if he desires to do so; and if he does not desire (to eat), throws it away at a place free from grass, or pours it away into water in which no living things are; puts away the water for washing the feet, the foot-stool, and the towel¹; cleans the slop-basin and

¹ See the note on I, 6, 11.

puts it away, puts the water and the food away, and sweeps the dining-room,—

4. 'And if he who sees a water-pot, or a bowl for food, or a vessel for evacuations, empty and void, puts it (into its proper place), and if he is not able to do so single-handed, calls some one else and puts it away with their united effort ¹ without uttering a word on that account,—thus shall we keep Vassa well, in unity, and in concord, and without quarrel, and not suffer from want of food ².'

5-7. And those Bhikkhus did not speak to or converse with each other. He who came back from the village from his alms-pilgrimage first, prepared seats (&c., as above, § 4, down to) . . . without uttering a word on that account.

8. Now it is the custom of the Bhikkhus who have finished their Vassa residence, to go to see the Blessed One. Thus those Bhikkhus, when they had finished their Vassa residence, and when the three months (of Vassa) had elapsed, set their places of rest in order, took their alms-bowls and robes, and went on their way to Sâvatthi. Wandering from place to place, they came to Sâvatthi, to the *Getavana*, the garden of *Anâthapindika*, to the Blessed One; having approached the Blessed One and respectfully saluted him, they sat down near him.

9. Now it is the custom of the blessed Buddhas

¹ We are not quite sure of the meaning of the compounds *hattha-vikârena* and *hattha-vilaṅghakena*. *Buddhaghosa* says merely *hatthavilaṅghakenâ 'ti hatthukkhepakena*.

² For this whole passage, compare *Kullavagga* VIII, 5, 3. The single actions which these Bhikkhus do, are quite correct, except that they keep silence during the whole time of Vassa, and especially at the end of it, for which time Buddha, on this occasion, prescribes the *Pavâraṇâ* ceremony.

to exchange greeting with incoming Bhikkhus. And the Blessed One said to those Bhikkhus : ‘ Do things go well with you, O Bhikkhus ? Do you get enough to support yourselves with ? Have you kept Vassa well, in unity, and in concord, and without quarrel ? and have you not suffered from want of food ?’

‘ Things go tolerably well with us, Lord ; we get enough, Lord, wherewith to support ourselves ; we have kept Vassa well, in unity, in concord, and without quarrel ; and have not suffered from want of food.’

10. The Tathâgatas sometimes ask about what they know ; sometimes they do not ask about what they know. They understand the right time when to ask, and they understand the right time when not to ask. The Tathâgatas put questions full of sense, not void of sense ; to what is void of sense the bridge is pulled down for the Tathâgatas. For two purposes the blessed Buddhas put questions to the Bhikkhus, when they intend to preach the doctrine, or when they intend to institute a rule of conduct to their disciples.

11. And the Blessed One said to those Bhikkhus : ‘ In what way, O Bhikkhus, have you kept Vassa well, in unity, and in concord, and without quarrel, and not suffered from want of food ?’

‘ We have entered upon Vassa, Lord, a number of Bhikkhus, companions and friends of each other, in a certain district of the Kosala country. Now, Lord, we thought : “ What shall we do (&c., as in § 1) ?” Then we thought, Lord : “ If we do not speak (&c., as in §§ 2-4).” Thus, Lord, we did not speak to or converse with each other (&c., down to :) without uttering a word on that account. In that

way, Lord, we have kept Vassa well, in unity, and in concord, and without quarrel; and have not suffered from want of food.'

12. Then the Blessed One thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Indeed, O Bhikkhus, these foolish men who profess to have kept Vassa well, have kept it badly; indeed, O Bhikkhus, these foolish men who profess to have kept Vassa well, have kept it like a herd of cattle; indeed . . . have kept it like a herd of rams; indeed . . . have kept it like a company of indolent people. How can these foolish persons, O Bhikkhus, take upon themselves the vow of silence, as the Titthiyas do?

13. 'This will not do, O Bhikkhus, for converting the unconverted (&c., as in Book III, chapter 14, § 3).'

And when he had rebuked them and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus:

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, take upon himself the vow of silence, as the Titthiyas do. He who does, commits a dukkaṭṭa offence.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the Bhikkhus, when they have finished their Vassa residence, hold Pavāraṇā with each other¹ in these three ways: by what has been seen, or by what has been heard, or by what is suspected. Hence it will result that you live in accord with each other, that you atone for the offences (you have committed), and that you keep the rules of discipline before your eyes.

14. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to hold Pavāraṇā in this way:

¹ Literally, invite each other; i. e. every Bhikkhu present invites his companions to tell him if they believe him guilty of an offence, having seen that offence, or having heard of it, or suspecting it.

‘Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: “Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. To-day is the Pavâranâ day. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* hold Pavâranâ.”

‘Then let the senior Bhikkhu adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say: “I pronounce my Pavâranâ, friends, before the *Samgha*, by what has been seen, or by what has been heard, or by what is suspected¹; may you speak to me, Sirs, out of compassion towards me; if I see (an offence), I will atone for it. And for the second time, &c. And for the third time I pronounce my Pavâranâ.... (&c., down to) . . . if I see (an offence), I will atone for it.”

‘Then let (each) younger Bhikkhu adjust his upper robe . . . (&c.)²’

2.

1. At that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, while the senior Bhikkhus were crouching down and were performing their Pavâranâ, remained on their seats. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: ‘How can the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus remain on their seats, while the senior

¹ I. e. I invite the *Samgha* to charge me with any offence they think me guilty of, which they have seen, or heard of, or which they suspect.

² As in the preceding sentence, except that the younger Bhikkhus do not address the *Samgha*, ‘Friends,’ but, ‘Reverend Sirs.’

Bhikkhus crouch down, and perform their Pavâranâ?’

Those Bhikkhus told the thing to the Blessed One.

‘Is it true, O Bhikkhus, that the *Khaggaggiya* Bhikkhus, &c.?’

‘It is true, O Lord.’

Then the blessed Buddha rebuked them: ‘How can these foolish men, O Bhikkhus, remain on their seats (&c., as above)? This will not do, O Bhikkhus, for converting the unconverted (&c., as in chap. I, § 13).’

Having rebuked them and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: ‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, remain on his seat, while the senior Bhikkhus crouch down, and perform their Pavâranâ. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that all of you crouch down while Pavâranâ is being performed.’

2. At that time a certain Bhikkhu weak from age, who waited crouching till all had finished their Pavâranâ, fell down fainting.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that (every Bhikkhu) crouches down the whole while till he has performed his Pavâranâ, and sits down on his seat when he has performed it.’

3.

1. Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘How many Pavâranâ (days) are there?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘There are the two following Pavâranâ (days),

O Bhikkhus: the fourteenth and the fifteenth (of the half month)¹; these are the two Pavâranâ (days), O Bhikkhus.'

2. Now the Bhikkhus thought: 'How many Pavâranâ services are there?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'There are the four following Pavâranâ services, O Bhikkhus, &c.'²

3. Then the Blessed One thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Assemble, O Bhikkhus, the *Samgha* will hold Pavâranâ.' When he had spoken thus, a certain Bhikkhu said to the Blessed One: 'There is a sick Bhikkhu, Lord, who is not present.'

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that a sick Bhikkhu shall declare (lit. give) his Pavâranâ. And let him declare it, O Bhikkhus, in this way: Let that sick Bhikkhu go to some Bhikkhu, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, sit down squatting, raise his joined hands, and say: "I declare my Pavâranâ, take my Pavâranâ, perform the Pavâranâ for me." If he expresses this by gesture, or by word, or by gesture and word, the Pavâranâ has been declared. If he does not express this by gesture, &c., the Pavâranâ has not been declared.

4-5. 'If (the sick Bhikkhu) succeeds in doing so, well and good. If he does not succeed, let them take that sick Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, on his bed or his chair to the assembly, &c.'³

¹ Comp. II, 14, 1, and the note on II, 34, 1.

² This passage is exactly identical with II, 14, 2. 3, replacing 'Uposatha service' by 'Pavâranâ service.'

³ This passage is a repetition of II, 22, 2-4, the words, 'Hold Uposatha,' 'Declare the Pârisuddhi,' &c., being replaced respectively by 'Hold Pavâranâ,' 'Declare the Pavâranâ,' &c.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that on the day of Pavâraṇā he who declares his Pavâraṇā, is to declare also his consent¹ (to acts to be performed eventually by the Order), for (both declarations) are required for the Saṃgha (and for the validity of its acts)².’

4.

At that time relations of a certain Bhikkhu kept him back on the day of Pavâraṇā, &c.³

5.

1. At that time five Bhikkhus dwelt in a certain district (or, in a certain residence of Bhikkhus) on the day of Pavâraṇā.

Now these Bhikkhus thought : ‘The Blessed One has prescribed the holding of Pavâraṇā by the Saṃgha, and we are (only) five persons⁴. Well, how are we to hold Pavâraṇā?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that five Bhikkhus should hold Pavâraṇā in a (regular) chapter⁵.’

2. At that time four Bhikkhus dwelt in a certain

¹ See II, 23.

² Comp. the finishing clause of II, 23.

³ This is a repetition of II, 24, but instead of ‘Upasatha’ and ‘Pârisuddhi’ read ‘Pavâraṇā.’

⁴ As a general rule five Bhikkhus were sufficient to form the quorum; but for the performance of several among the official acts of the Order the presence of more than five members was required; see IX, 4, 1 seq.

⁵ See IX, 4, 1.

district on the day of Pavâranâ. Now these Bhikkhus thought : ' The Blessed One has prescribed that five Bhikkhus shall hold Pavâranâ in a (regular) chapter, and we are (only) four persons. Well, how are we to hold Pavâranâ ?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

' I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that four Bhikkhus should hold Pavâranâ with each other.

3. ' And let them hold Pavâranâ, O Bhikkhus, in this way : Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before those Bhikkhus : " Hear me, Sirs. To-day is Pavâranâ day. If you are ready, Sirs, let us hold Pavâranâ with each other."

' Then let the senior Bhikkhu adjust his upper robe, &c., and say to those Bhikkhus : " I pronounce my Pavâranâ, friends, before you, by what has been seen, or by what has been heard, or by what is suspected ; may you speak to me, Sirs, out of compassion towards me ; if I see (an offence), I will atone for it. And for the second time, &c. ; and for the third time, &c."

' Then let each younger Bhikkhu, &c.'

4. At that time three Bhikkhus dwelt in a certain district on the day of Pavâranâ. Now these Bhikkhus thought : ' The Blessed One has prescribed that five Bhikkhus shall hold Pavâranâ in a (regular) chapter, that four Bhikkhus shall hold Pavâranâ with each other, and we are (only) three persons. Well, how are we to hold Pavâranâ ?'

' I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that three Bhikkhus should hold Pavâranâ with each other. And let them hold Pavâranâ (&c., see § 3).'

5. At that time two Bhikkhus dwelt in a certain

district on the day of Pavâraṇā. Now these Bhikkhus thought : ‘ The Blessed One has prescribed that five Bhikkhus, &c., that four Bhikkhus, &c., that three Bhikkhus, &c., and we are (only) two persons. Well, how are we to hold Pavâraṇā ?’

‘ I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that two Bhikkhus should hold Pavâraṇā with each other.

6. ‘ And let them hold Pavâraṇā, O Bhikkhus, in this way : Let the senior Bhikkhu adjust his upper robe, &c., and say to the junior Bhikkhu : “ I pronounce my Pavâraṇā, friend, &c.”

‘ Then let the junior Bhikkhu, &c.’

7. At that time there dwelt a single Bhikkhu in a certain district on the day of Pavâraṇā. Now this Bhikkhu thought : ‘ The Blessed One has prescribed that five Bhikkhus, &c., &c., and I am only one person. Well, how am I to hold Pavâraṇā ?’

8. ‘ In case there dwell, O Bhikkhus, in a certain district on the day of Pavâraṇā, a single Bhikkhu : Let that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, sweep the place which the Bhikkhus use to frequent,—the refectory, or hall, or place at the foot of a tree ; let him (then) provide water and food, prepare seats, put a lamp there, and sit down. If other Bhikkhus come, let him hold Pavâraṇā with them ; if they do not come, let him fix his mind upon the thought : “ To-day is my Pavâraṇā.” If he does not fix his mind upon this thought, he commits a dukkaṭa offence.

9. ‘ Now, O Bhikkhus, where five Bhikkhus dwell (together), they must not convey the Pavâraṇā¹ of one (to their assembly) and hold Pavâraṇā by

¹ See chap. 3, § 3. Compare II, chap. 22, and chap. 26, § 10.

four (as) in a (regular) chapter. If they do, they commit a dukkaṭa offence.

‘Now, O Bhikkhus, where four Bhikkhus dwell (together), they must not convey the Pavâranâ of one (to their assembly) and hold Pavâranâ with each other by three. If they do, they commit a dukkaṭa offence.

‘Now, O Bhikkhus, where three Bhikkhus (&c., as in the last clause).

‘Now, O Bhikkhus, where two Bhikkhus dwell, one of them must not convey the Pavâranâ of the other one, and fix (only) his thoughts (upon the Pavâranâ). If he does, he commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

6.

1. At that time a certain Bhikkhu was guilty of an offence on the day of Pavâranâ. Now this Bhikkhu thought: ‘The Blessed One has prescribed: “Pavâranâ is not to be held by a Bhikkhu who is guilty of an offence¹.” Now I am guilty of an offence. What am I to do?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a certain Bhikkhu be guilty of an offence on the day of Pavâranâ (&c., as in II, 27. 1, 2, down to:) “When I shall feel no doubt, then I will atone for that offence.” Having spoken thus, let him hold Pavâranâ. But in no case must there any hindrance arise to holding Pavâranâ from such a cause.’

2-3. At that time a certain Bhikkhu remembered

¹ See chap. 16, § 1.

an offence, while Pavâranâ was being held (&c., see II, 27. 4-8).

End of the first Bhānavāra.

7-13.

7. 1. At that time there assembled in a certain residence (or district) on the day of Pavâranâ a number of resident Bhikkhus, five or more. They did not know that there were other resident Bhikkhus absent. Intending to act according to Dhamma and Vinaya, thinking themselves to be complete while (really) incomplete, they held Pavâranâ. While they were holding Pavâranâ, other resident Bhikkhus, a greater number (than the first ones), arrived.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

2. 'In case there assemble, O Bhikkhus, in a certain residence on the day of Pavâranâ (&c., as in § 1, down to) they hold Pavâranâ. While they are holding Pavâranâ, other resident Bhikkhus, a greater number, arrive. Let (all) those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, hold Pavâranâ again; they who have held Pavâranâ, are free from guilt.

3. 'In case there assemble, &c. . . . While they are holding Pavâranâ, other resident Bhikkhus, exactly the same number (as the first ones), arrive. Those who have held Pavâranâ, have held it correctly; let the other ones hold Pavâranâ; they who have held Pavâranâ, are free from guilt.'

.

¹

¹ The following paragraphs and chapters exactly follow the course indicated by II, 28-35. The alterations to be made are

14.

1-3. 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, hold Pavâranâ in a seated assembly (of Bhikkhus) before a Bhikkhunî, . . . (&c.¹)

4. 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, hold Pavâranâ by (accepting) the Pavâranâ declaration of a pârivâsika², except if the assembly has not yet risen (at the time when the Pavâranâ is declared). And let no one, O Bhikkhus, hold Pavâranâ on another day than the Pavâranâ day, except for the sake of (preserving) concord among the Samgha³.'

15.

1. At that time a certain residence (of Bhikkhus) in the Kosala country was menaced on the day of Pavâranâ by savage people. The Bhikkhus were not able to perform Pavâranâ with the threefold formula.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

obvious and sufficiently indicated by §§ 1-3; instead of, 'Let them proclaim their Pârisuddhi' (II, 28, 4, &c.), read here, 'Let them pronounce their Pavâranâ.'

¹ See II, 36, 1-3.

² Comp. II, 36, 4, with the note.

³ See, for instance, the cases in chap. 17. Buddhaghosa's explanation is different; he says: 'Concord among the Samgha is to be understood of such cases as that of Kosambî.' It is said in the account of the schism of Kosambî that, if concord has been re-established, the reconciled parties hold Uposatha together (X, 5, 14; comp. II, 36, 4); Buddhaghosa apparently extends this to holding Pavâranâ also.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to perform Pavâraṇā with the twofold formula¹.’

The danger from savage people became still more urgent. The Bhikkhus were not able to perform Pavâraṇā with the twofold formula.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to perform Pavâraṇā with the onefold formula¹.’

The danger from savage people became still more urgent. The Bhikkhus were not able to perform Pavâraṇā with the onefold formula.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, that all the Bhikkhus who have kept Vassa together, perform Pavâraṇā (by one common declaration).’

2. At that time in a certain district on the day of Pavâraṇā the greater part of the night had passed away while (lay-)people were offering gifts (to the Bhikkhus). Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘The greater part of the night has passed away while the people were offering gifts. If the Saṃgha performs Pavâraṇā with the threefold formula, it will not have finished the Pavâraṇā when day breaks. Well, what are we to do?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

3. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, in a certain district on the day of Pavâraṇā the greater part of the night has passed away while people were offering gifts (to the Bhikkhus). Now if those Bhikkhus think: “The greater part (&c., down to :) when day breaks,”

¹ This means apparently that the Bhikkhus were not obliged to pronounce the formula of Pavâraṇā (chap. 1, 14) thrice, but twice or once respectively.

let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. While people were offering gifts, the greater part of the night has passed away. If the *Samgha* performs Pavâranâ with the threefold formula, it will not have finished the Pavâranâ when day breaks. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* hold Pavâranâ with the twofold formula, or with the onefold formula, or by common declaration of all the Bhikkhus who have kept Vassa together."

4. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, in a certain district on the day of Pavâranâ the greater part of the night has passed away while the Bhikkhus were in confusion: the Bhikkhus were reciting the Dhamma, those versed in the Suttantas were propounding the Suttantas, those versed in the Vinaya were discussing the Vinaya, the Dhamma preachers were talking about the Dhamma. Now if those Bhikkhus think: "The greater part of the night has passed away while the Bhikkhus were in confusion. If the *Samgha* performs Pavâranâ with the threefold formula, it will not have finished the Pavâranâ when day breaks," let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, &c. The greater part of the night has passed away while the Bhikkhus were in confusion. If the *Samgha* performs Pavâranâ (&c. as in § 3)."

5. At that time in a certain district in the Kosala country a great assembly of Bhikkhus had come together on the day of Pavâranâ, and there was but a small place protected from rain, and a great cloud was in the sky. Now the Bhikkhus thought: 'A great assembly of Bhikkhus has come together

here, and there is but a small place protected from rain, and a great cloud is in the sky. If the *Samgha* performs *Pavâraṇā* with the threefold formula, it will not have finished the *Pavâraṇā* when this cloud will begin to rain. Well, what are we to do ?

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, in a certain district a great assembly of Bhikkhus has come together on the day of *Pavâraṇā*, and there is but a small place protected from rain, and a great cloud is in the sky. Now if those Bhikkhus think (&c., as in § 3 to the end).

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, in a certain district on the day of *Pavâraṇā* danger arises from kings, danger from robbers, danger from fire, danger from water, danger from human beings, danger from non-human beings, danger from beasts of prey, danger from creeping things, danger of life, danger against chastity. Now if those Bhikkhus think: "Here is danger for our chastity. If the *Samgha* performs *Pavâraṇā* with the threefold formula, it will not have finished the *Pavâraṇā* when this danger for chastity will arise," let a learned, competent Bhikkhu' (&c., as in § 3 to the end).

16.

1. At that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus held *Pavâraṇā* being guilty of an offence.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, hold *Pavâraṇā* who is guilty of an offence. He who does, commits a

dukkatā offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you ask a Bhikkhu who holds Pavâranâ being guilty of an offence, for his leave¹ and reprove him for that offence.'

2. At that time the *Khaggaggiya* Bhikkhus, when asked for leave, were not willing to give leave (to Bhikkhus who were going to reprove them for an offence).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you inhibit the Pavâranâ of a Bhikkhu who does not give leave. And you ought to inhibit it, O Bhikkhus, in this way: Let (a Bhikkhu) say on the day of Pavâranâ, on the fourteenth or on the fifteenth day (of the half month), in presence of that person, before the assembled *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. Such and such a person is guilty of an offence; I inhibit his Pavâranâ; Pavâranâ must not be held in his presence." Thus his Pavâranâ is inhibited.'

3. At that time the *Khaggaggiya* Bhikkhus, who thought: 'Otherwise good Bhikkhus might inhibit our Pavâranâ,' themselves inhibited beforehand, without object and reason, the Pavâranâ of pure Bhikkhus who had committed no offence, and they also inhibited the Pavâranâ of Bhikkhus who had already performed their Pavâranâ.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, inhibit, without object and reason, the Pavâranâ of pure Bhikkhus who have committed no offence. He who does, commits a dukkatā offence. And further, O Bhikkhus, let no

¹ Comp. II, 16, 1.

one inhibit the Pavâraṇā of Bhikkhus who have already performed their Pavâraṇā. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.

4. 'And thus, O Bhikkhus, (you may discern whether) the Pavâraṇā is (duly) inhibited or not inhibited.

'In what cases is the Pavâraṇā, O Bhikkhus, not inhibited? When Pavâraṇā, O Bhikkhus, is pronounced, declared, and finished with the threefold formula, and if (a Bhikkhu then) inhibits the Pavâraṇā (of another Bhikkhu), the Pavâraṇā is not inhibited. When Pavâraṇā, O Bhikkhus, is pronounced, declared, and finished with the twofold formula, with the onefold formula, by common declaration of all Bhikkhus who have kept Vassa together, and if (a Bhikkhu then) inhibits, . . . (&c., as before). In these cases, O Bhikkhus, the Pavâraṇā is not inhibited.

5. 'And in what cases, O Bhikkhus, is the Pavâraṇā inhibited? When Pavâraṇā, O Bhikkhus, is pronounced, declared, but not finished¹ with the threefold formula, and if (a Bhikkhu then) inhibits the Pavâraṇā (of another Bhikkhu), the Pavâraṇā is inhibited, . . . (&c.²). In these cases, O Bhikkhus, the Pavâraṇā is inhibited.

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, one Bhikkhu, on the day of Pavâraṇā, inhibits the Pavâraṇā of another Bhikkhu: then if the other Bhikkhus know with regard to that (inhibiting) Bhikkhu: "This vene-

¹ Correct in the Pāli text pariyositāya into apariyositāya.

² The paragraph is repeated with the phrases, 'With the twofold formula,' 'with the onefold formula,' and 'by common declaration of all the Bhikkhus who have kept Vassa together,' respectively, instead of 'with the threefold formula.'

rable brother is not of a pure conduct in his deeds, nor in his words, nor as regards his means of livelihood, he is ignorant, unlearned, unable to give explanation when he is questioned," (let them say to him): "Nay, friend, let not quarrel arise, nor strife, nor discord, nor dispute," and having thus put him to silence, let the *Samgha* hold *Pavâranâ*.

7-9. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, &c.¹

10. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, one Bhikkhu on the day of *Pavâranâ* inhibits the *Pavâranâ* of another Bhikkhu: then if the other Bhikkhus know with regard to that (inhibiting) Bhikkhu: "This venerable brother is of a pure conduct in his deeds and in his words and with regard to his means of livelihood, he is clever, learned, and able to give explanation when he is questioned," let them say to him: "If you inhibit, friend, the *Pavâranâ* of this Bhikkhu, on what account do you inhibit it, on account of a moral transgression, or on account of a transgression against the rules of conduct, or on account of heresy?"

11. 'If he replies: "I inhibit it on account of a moral transgression, I inhibit it on account of a transgression against the rules of conduct, I inhibit it on account of heresy," let them say to him: "Well, do you know, Sir, what a moral transgression is, what a transgression against the rules of conduct is, what heresy is?" If he replies, "I

¹ As in § 6. But instead of 'Not of a pure conduct in his deeds, nor in his words, nor as regards his means of livelihood,' read respectively, 'Of a pure conduct in his deeds, but not in his words, nor as regards his means of livelihood' (§ 7); 'Of a pure conduct in his deeds and in his words, but not with regard to his means of livelihood' (§ 8); 'Of a pure conduct in his deeds and in his words and with regard to his means of livelihood' (§ 9).

know, friends, what a moral transgression is, &c.," let them say to him : " And what is, friend, a moral transgression, &c.?"

12. ' If he replies : " The four *pârâgika* offences and the thirteen *saṃghâdisesa* offences are the moral transgressions; *thullakkaya* offences, *pâkittiya* offences, *pâtidesanīya* offences, *dukkata* offences, and wicked language are the transgressions against the rules of conduct; false doctrine and . . . doctrine¹ are heresy," let them say to him : " If you inhibit, friend, the *Pavâraṇâ* of this *Bhikkhu*, do you inhibit it on account of what you have seen, or of what you have heard, or of what you suspect?"

13. ' If he replies : " I inhibit it on account of what I have seen, or on account of what I have heard, or on account of what I suspect," let them say to him : " If you inhibit, friend, the *Pavâraṇâ* of this *Bhikkhu* on account of what you have seen, what have you seen? What is it that you have seen? When have you seen it? Where have you seen it? Have you seen him committing a *pârâgika* offence? Have you seen him committing a *saṃghâdisesa* offence? Have you seen him committing a *thullakkaya* offence, a *pâkittiya* offence, a *pâtidesanīya* offence, a *dukkata* offence, or making himself guilty of wicked language? And where were you? And where was this *Bhikkhu*? And what did you do? And what did this *Bhikkhu* do?"

¹ The meaning of *antaggâhikâ diṭṭhi* (Sanskrit *ântagrahikâ drīṣhṭi*? *ântagrahikâ drīṣhṭi*?) is unknown to us; *Budhaghosa* gives no explanation. Perhaps it may mean doctrine partly false and partly correct (eclectic).

14. 'If he then replies: "I do not inhibit, friends, the Pavâranâ of this Bhikkhu on account of what I have seen, but I inhibit it on account of what I have heard," let them say to him: "If you inhibit, friend, the Pavâranâ of this Bhikkhu on account of what you have heard, what have you heard? What is it that you have heard? When have you heard it? Where have you heard it? Have you heard that he has committed a pâ râgika offence, . . . (&c., down to) . . . or that he has made himself guilty of wicked language? Have you heard it from a Bhikkhu? Have you heard it from a Bhikkhunî? Have you heard it from a sikkhamânâ, from a sâmanera, from a sâmaneri, from an upâsaka, from an upâsikâ, from kings, from royal officers, from Tithiyas, from Tithiya disciples?"

15. 'If he then replies: "I do not inhibit, friends, the Pavâranâ of this Bhikkhu on account of what I have heard, but I inhibit it on account of what I suspect," let them say to him: "If you inhibit, friend, the Pavâranâ of this Bhikkhu on account of what you suspect, what do you suspect? What is it that you suspect? When do you suspect it? Where do you suspect it? Do you suspect that he has committed a pâ râgika offence, . . . (&c., down to) . . . wicked language? Does your suspicion come from what you have heard from a Bhikkhu, . . . (&c., down to) . . . from Tithiya disciples?"

16. 'If he then replies: "I do not inhibit, friends, the Pavâranâ of this Bhikkhu on account of what I suspect; I do not know the reason why I inhibit the Pavâranâ of this Bhikkhu," and if that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who reproves (the other one), being questioned by intelligent fellow Bhikkhus, is not able

to convince their minds, you are right in saying that in such case the Bhikkhu who has been reproved is blameless. But if that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who reproves (the other one), being questioned by intelligent fellow Bhikkhus, is able to convince their minds, you are right in saying that in such case the Bhikkhu who has been reproved is blamable.

17. 'If that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who reproves (another one), admits that he has charged him unfoundedly with a *pârâgika* offence, let the *Samgha* enter upon the *saṃghâdisesa* proceedings¹ (against the accuser) and then hold *Pavâraṇâ*.

'If that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who reproves (another one), admits that he has charged him unfoundedly with a *saṃghâdisesa* offence, let the *Samgha* treat (the accuser) according to the law² and then hold *Pavâraṇâ*.

'If that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who reproves (another one), admits that he has charged him unfoundedly with a *thullaṅkaya* offence, or with a *pâkittiya* offence, or with a *pâtidesanīya* offence, or with a *dukkaṭa* offence, or with having used wicked language, let the *Samgha* treat (the accuser) according to the law³ and then hold *Pavâraṇâ*.

18. 'If that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who has been reproved, admits that he has committed a *pârâgika* offence, let the *Samgha* expel him and then hold *Pavâraṇâ*.

'If that Bhikkhu, &c., admits that he has com-

¹ See the 8th *Samghâdisesa* rule.

² See the 76th *Pâkittiya* rule.

³ According to Buddhaghosa, the Bhikkhu who brings such an unfounded charge against a fellow Bhikkhu, is guilty of a *dukkaṭa* offence.

mitted a *saṃghâdisesa* offence, let the *Samgha* enter upon the *saṃghâdisesa* proceedings (against him) and then hold *Pavâranâ*.

‘If that *Bhikkhu*, &c., admits that he has committed a *thullaṅkaya* offence, or a *pâḷittiya* offence, . . . (&c., down to) . . . wicked language, let the *Samgha* treat him according to the law and then hold *Pavâranâ*.

19. ‘In case, O *Bhikkhus*, a *Bhikkhu* on the day of *Pavâranâ* is guilty of a *thullaṅkaya* offence. Some *Bhikkhus* believe that it is a *thullaṅkaya* offence, other *Bhikkhus* believe that it is a *saṃghâdisesa* offence. In that case, O *Bhikkhus*, let those *Bhikkhus* who take it for a *thullaṅkaya* offence, take that *Bhikkhu*, O *Bhikkhus*, aside, treat him according to the law, go back to the *Samgha*, and say: “The offence, friends, which this *Bhikkhu* has committed, he has atoned for according to the law. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* hold *Pavâranâ*.”

20. ‘In case, O *Bhikkhus*, a *Bhikkhu* on the day of *Pavâranâ* is guilty of a *thullaṅkaya* offence. Some *Bhikkhus* believe that it is a *thullaṅkaya* offence, other *Bhikkhus* believe that it is a *pâḷittiya* offence. Some *Bhikkhus* believe that it is a *thullaṅkaya* offence, other *Bhikkhus* believe that it is a *pâtidesanīya* offence; a *thullaṅkaya* offence; a *dukkata* offence; a *thullaṅkaya* offence, an offence by wicked language. In that case (&c., as in § 19, down to the end).

21, 22. ‘In case, O *Bhikkhus*, a *Bhikkhu* on the day of *Pavâranâ* is guilty of a *pâḷittiya* offence, of a *pâtidesanīya* offence, of a *dukkata* offence, of an offence by wicked language. Some *Bhikkhus* believe

that it is an offence by wicked language, other Bhikkhus believe that it is a *saṃghādisesa* offence, &c. Some Bhikkhus believe that it is an offence by wicked language, other Bhikkhus believe that it is a *dukkaṭṭa* offence. In that case, O Bhikkhus, let those Bhikkhus who take it for an offence by wicked language, take that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, aside (&c., see § 19).

23. 'If, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu speaks thus before the assembly on the day of Pavâraṇâ: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. Here this deed is known (to me), but not the (guilty) person. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* hold Pavâraṇâ excluding this deed," (the Bhikkhus) ought to reply: "The Blessed One, friend, has prescribed that they who hold Pavâraṇâ, ought to be pure. If a deed is known, but not the (guilty) person, report it (to us) now."

24. 'If, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu speaks thus before the assembly on the day of Pavâraṇâ: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. Here a person is known (to me as guilty), but not his deed. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* hold Pavâraṇâ excluding this person," (the Bhikkhus) ought to reply: "The Blessed One, friend, has prescribed that they who hold Pavâraṇâ, ought to be complete. If a person is known to you (as guilty), but not his deed, report it (to us) now."

25. 'If, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu speaks thus before the assembly on the day of Pavâraṇâ: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. Here a deed is known (to me) as well as the (guilty) person. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* hold Pavâraṇâ excluding this deed and this person," (the

Bhikkhus) ought to reply: "The Blessed One, friend, has prescribed that they who hold Pavâranâ, ought to be pure as well as complete. If the deed and the (guilty) person are known to you, report it (to us) now."

26. 'If, O Bhikkhus, a deed becomes known before the Pavâranâ, and the (guilty) person afterwards (i. e. after the Pavâranâ), it is right to bring it forward (then)¹.

'If, O Bhikkhus, the (guilty) person becomes known before the Pavâranâ, and his deed afterwards, it is right to bring it forward (then).

'If, O Bhikkhus, the deed as well as the (guilty) person becomes known before the Pavâranâ, and if (a Bhikkhu) raises up that matter again after the Pavâranâ, he makes himself guilty of a pâkittiya offence for raising up (a matter that has been settled)².'

17.

1. At that time a number of Bhikkhus, companions and friends of each other, entered upon Vassa in a certain district of the Kosala country. In their neighbourhood other Bhikkhus, litigious, contentious, quarrelsome, disputatious persons, who used to raise questions before the Samgha, entered upon Vassa with the intention of inhibiting, on the Pavâranâ day, the Pavâranâ of those Bhikkhus when

¹ 'Because it had not been possible to decide the matter at the Pavâranâ' (Buddhaghosa).

² See the 63rd Pâkittiya rule.

they should have finished their Vassa residence. Now those Bhikkhus heard: 'In our neighbourhood other Bhikkhus, &c. Well, what are we to do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a number of Bhikkhus, companions and friends of each other, enter upon Vassa in a certain district. In their neighbourhood other Bhikkhus, . . . (&c., § 1). I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that those Bhikkhus hold Uposatha twice or thrice on the fourteenth day (of the half-month)¹ in order that they may be able to hold Pavâraṇâ before those (other) Bhikkhus. If those litigious, contentious, . . . (&c., § 1) Bhikkhus approach that district, let the resident Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, quickly assemble and hold Pavâraṇâ; having held Pavâraṇâ, let them say to them: "We have held our Pavâraṇâ, friends; do you do, Sirs, as you think fit."

3. 'If those litigious, . . . (&c., § 1) Bhikkhus come to that residence unexpectedly, let the resident Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, prepare seats (for them), get water for the washing of their feet, foot-stools, and towels², then let them go to meet them, take their bowls and their robes, and offer them (water) to drink; having thus looked after those Bhikkhus, let them go outside the boundary and hold Pavâraṇâ; having held Pavâraṇâ, let

¹ In this way, when the inimical Bhikkhus are arriving about the time of Pavâraṇâ, the resident Bhikkhus count the day which is the thirteenth or fourteenth to the other Bhikkhus, as the fifteenth, and thus they are enabled to finish their Pavâraṇâ before they can be prevented.

² See I, 6, 11.

them say: "We have held our Pavâranâ, friends, do you do, Sirs, as you think fit."

4. 'If they succeed in this way, well and good; if they do not succeed, let a learned, competent, resident Bhikkhu proclaim the following ñatti before the resident Bhikkhus: "Let the resident Bhikkhus hear me, Sirs. If you are ready, Sirs, let us now hold Uposatha and recite the Pâtimokkha, and let us hold Pavâranâ on the next new-moon day." If, O Bhikkhus, the litigious, . . . (&c., § 1) Bhikkhus say to those Bhikkhus: "Well, friends, hold Pavâranâ with us now," let them reply: "You are not masters, friends, of our Pavâranâ; we will not hold Pavâranâ now."

5. 'If, O Bhikkhus, those litigious, . . . (&c., § 1) Bhikkhus stay there till that new-moon day, let a learned, competent, resident Bhikkhu, . . .¹

6. 'If, O Bhikkhus, those litigious, . . . (&c., § 1) Bhikkhus stay there still till that full-moon day, those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, ought to hold Pavâranâ all of them, no matter whether they like it or not, on the next full-moon day, on the day of the komudî kâtumâsini².

7. 'If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, hold Pavâranâ, and a sick Bhikkhu inhibits the Pavâranâ of a healthy Bhikkhu, let them say (to the inhibiting Bhikkhu): "You are sick, Sir, and the Blessed One has said that a sick person cannot endure being questioned. Wait, friend, until you have recovered;

¹ As in § 4, down to the end of the paragraph; instead of, 'On the next new-moon day,' it is to be read here, 'On the next full-moon day.'

² See the note on III, 14, 11.

having recovered, you may reprove him, if you like." If they speak to him thus, and he reproves (that Bhikkhu) notwithstanding, he makes himself guilty of the *pāṭittiya* offence of disregard¹.

8. 'If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, hold *Pavāranā*, and a healthy Bhikkhu inhibits the *Pavāranā* of a sick Bhikkhu, let them say (to the inhibiting Bhikkhu): "This Bhikkhu is sick, friend, and the Blessed One has said that a sick person cannot endure being questioned. Wait, friend, until this Bhikkhu has recovered; when he has recovered you may reprove him, if you like." If they speak to him thus, . . . (&c., as in § 7).

9. 'If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, hold *Pavāranā*, and a sick Bhikkhu inhibits the *Pavāranā* of another sick Bhikkhu, let them say (to the inhibiting Bhikkhu): "You are sick, Sirs, and the Blessed One has said that a sick person cannot endure being questioned. Wait, friend, until you have recovered; when he has recovered² you may reprove him, if you like." If they speak to him thus, . . . (&c., as in § 7).

10. 'If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, hold *Pavāranā*, and a healthy Bhikkhu inhibits the *Pavāranā* of another healthy Bhikkhu, let the *Samgha* question and examine them both and treat them according to the law, and then hold *Pavāranā*.'

¹ See the 54th *Pāṭittiya* rule.

² Probably we should read in the Pāli text, 'ārogo ārogam ākaṅkhamāno kodessasīti.' Then the translation would be: 'When you have recovered and he has recovered, &c.'

18.

1. At that time a number of Bhikkhus, companions and friends of each other, entered upon Vassa in a certain district of the Kosala country. These Bhikkhus, living in unity, and concord, and without quarrel, had found a comfortable place to dwell in. Now those Bhikkhus thought: 'Living in unity, &c., we have found a comfortable place to dwell in. If we hold Pavâranâ now, (other Bhikkhus) might come on a journey, having held their Pavâranâ, (and might occupy this place); thus we should lose this place which is comfortable to dwell in. Well, what are we to do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a number of Bhikkhus, companions and friends of each other, have entered upon Vassa in a certain district. These Bhikkhus, . . . (&c., § 1).

'If these Bhikkhus think: "Living in unity, . . . (&c., § 1, down to:) thus we should lose this place which is comfortable to dwell in," I allow, O Bhikkhus, these Bhikkhus to agree upon pavâranâ-samgaha¹.

3. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to agree upon it in this way: Let them all assemble together. When

¹ Literally this word means, we believe, 'Keeping back one's own Pavâranâ.' Buddhaghosa says: 'When the decree of pavâranâsamgaha has been issued, the Bhikkhus (who have issued it) ought to live as in the rainy season. Incoming Bhikkhus are not allowed to take possession of their places of rest. On the other side, they ought not to interrupt their Vassa residence.'

they have assembled, let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. Living in unity, . . . (&c., § 1, down to :) thus we should lose this place which is comfortable to dwell in. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* agree upon *pavâranâsamgaha*; let it now hold *Upasatha* and recite the *Pâtimokkha*, and let the *Samgha* hold *Pavâranâ* on the next *komudî kâtumâsini* day. This is the *ñatti*."

4. "Let the *Samgha*, &c.¹"

5. 'If, O Bhikkhus, after those Bhikkhus have agreed upon *pavâranâsamgaha*, a Bhikkhu should say: "I wish, friends, to go on my travels through the country; I have a business in the country," let them reply to him: "Good, friend, hold *Pavâranâ* and go." If that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, when holding *Pavâranâ* inhibits the *Pavâranâ* of another Bhikkhu, let (that other Bhikkhu) say to him: "You are not master of my *Pavâranâ*, friend; I will not hold *Pavâranâ* now."

'If, O Bhikkhus, when that Bhikkhu holds *Pavâranâ*, another Bhikkhu inhibits his *Pavâranâ*, let the *Samgha* question and examine them both and treat them according to the law.

6. 'If that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, has finished that business in the country and comes back to that district before the day of *komudî kâtumâsini*, and if a Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, when the Bhikkhus hold *Pavâranâ*, inhibits the *Pavâranâ* of that Bhikkhu (who has been absent), let him say (to the

¹ Here follows the usual formula of a *ñattidutiya kamma* as in Book II, chap. 6. Comp. the note on Book I, chap. 28, § 3.

inhibiting Bhikkhu): "You are not master of my Pavâraṇâ, friend; I have held my Pavâraṇâ."

‘If, O Bhikkhus, when the Bhikkhus hold Pavâranâ, this Bhikkhu inhibits the Pavâranâ of another Bhikkhu, let the Saṃgha question and examine them both and treat them according to the law, and then hold Pavâranâ.’

End of the Pavâraṇâ-Khandhaka.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	..	..	क	𐬕	𐬕	ک	ك	𐤀	k	
2 " aspirata	kh	..	..	ख	𐬖	𐬖	کھ	کھ	𐤁	kh	
3 Media	g	..	..	ग	𐬗	𐬗	گ	گ	𐤂	..	
4 " aspirata	gh	..	..	घ	𐬘	𐬘	گھ	گھ	𐤃	..	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	..	..	...	𐬙	𐬙	ق	ق	𐤄	..	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	..	..	...	{ 𐬚 (ng) 𐬛 (N) 𐬜 (lvhv) }	...	...	...	...	...	
7 Spiritus asper	h	..	..	ह	𐬞	𐬞	ه	ه	𐤅	h, hs	
8 " lenis	,	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
9 " asper faucalis	'h	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
11 " asper fricatus	'h	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
12 " lenis fricatus	'h	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	k	..	..	च	𐬠	𐬠	چ	چ	𐤆	k	
14 " aspirata	kh	..	..	छ	𐬡	𐬡	چھ	چھ	𐤇	kh	
15 Media	g	..	..	ज	𐬢	𐬢	ج	ج	𐤈	..	
16 " aspirata	gh	..	..	झ	𐬣	𐬣	جھ	جھ	𐤉	..	
17 " Nasalis	ñ	..	..	ञ	𐬤	𐬤	...	...	...	...	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	...	...	य	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper	...	(y)	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
20 " lenis	...	(y)	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
21 " asper assibilatus	...	s	...	श	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
22 " lenis assibilatus	...	z	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	...	...	त	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	t
24 " aspirata	th	...	...	थ	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	th
25 " assibilata	...	...	TH	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
26 Media	d	...	...	द	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
27 " aspirata	dh	...	...	ध	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
28 " assibilata	...	...	DH	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
29 Nasalis	n	...	...	न	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	n
30 Semivocalis	l	...	...	ल	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	l
31 " mollis 1	...	l	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2	...	...	L	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	...	...	स	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	s
34 " asper 2	...	s (ʃ)	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
35 " lenis	z	...	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z
36 " asperimus 1	...	z (ʒ)	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
37 " asperimus 2	...	z (ʒ)	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	ə
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē	ē	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	ā
3 " labialis	ō	ō	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	ā
4 Gutturalis brevis	ā	ā	.	अ	अ	𐭠	ا	ا	א	ā
5 " longa	ā	(a)	.	आ	𐭡	𐭡	آ	آ	א	ā
6 Palatalis brevis	i	.	.	इ	𐭢	𐭢	ی	ی	י	i
7 " longa	ī	(i)	.	ई	𐭣	𐭣	ی	ی	י	i
8 Dentalis brevis	ī	.	.	उ	𐭤	𐭤	و	و	ו	ū
9 " longa	ū	.	.	ऊ	𐭥	𐭥	و	و	ו	ū
10 Lingualis brevis	ri	.	.	र	𐭦	𐭦	.	.	.	ū
11 " longa	rī	.	.	ॠ	𐭧	𐭧	.	.	.	ū
12 Labialis brevis	u	.	.	उ	𐭨	𐭨	و	و	ו	ū
13 " longa	ū	(u)	.	ऊ	𐭩	𐭩	و	و	ו	ū
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e	.	.	ए	𐭪	𐭪	ه	ه	ה	ē
15 " longa	é (ai)	(e)	.	ऐ	𐭫	𐭫	ه	ه	ה	ē
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)	.	आइ	𐭬	𐭬	ه	ه	ה	āi
17 " "	ei (ēi)	.	.	ऐ	𐭭	𐭭	ه	ه	ה	ei, ēi
18 " "	oi (ōu)	.	.	औ	𐭮	𐭮	و	و	ו	ō
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o	.	.	ओ	𐭯	𐭯	و	و	ו	ō
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)	.	औ	𐭰	𐭰	و	و	ו	ō
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)	.	आउ	𐭱	𐭱	و	و	ו	āu
22 " "	eu (ēu)	.	.	औ	𐭲	𐭲	و	و	ו	ē
23 " "	ou (ōu)	.	.	औ	𐭳	𐭳	و	و	ו	ō
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä	.	.	अ	𐭴	𐭴	.	.	.	ā
25 Palatalis fracta	ī	.	.	इ	𐭵	𐭵	.	.	.	ā
26 Labialis fracta	ū	.	.	उ	𐭶	𐭶	.	.	.	ū
27 " "	ō	.	.	ऊ	𐭷	𐭷	.	.	.	ū

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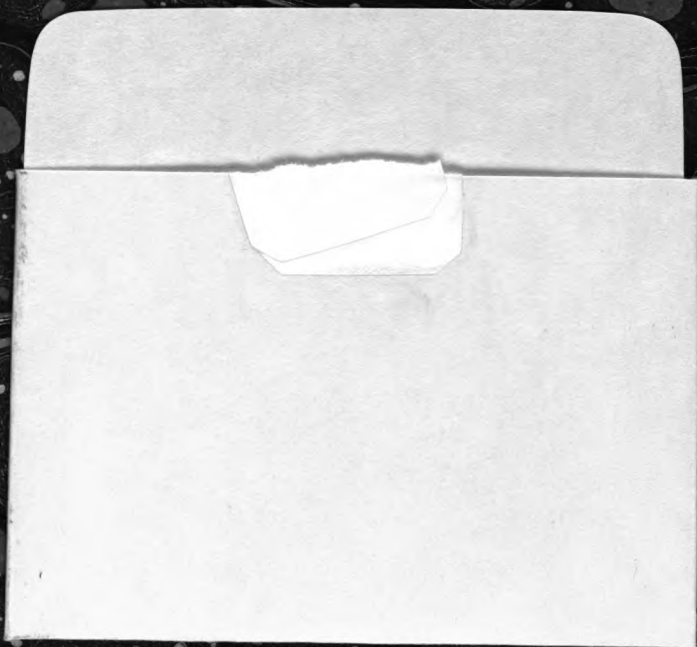
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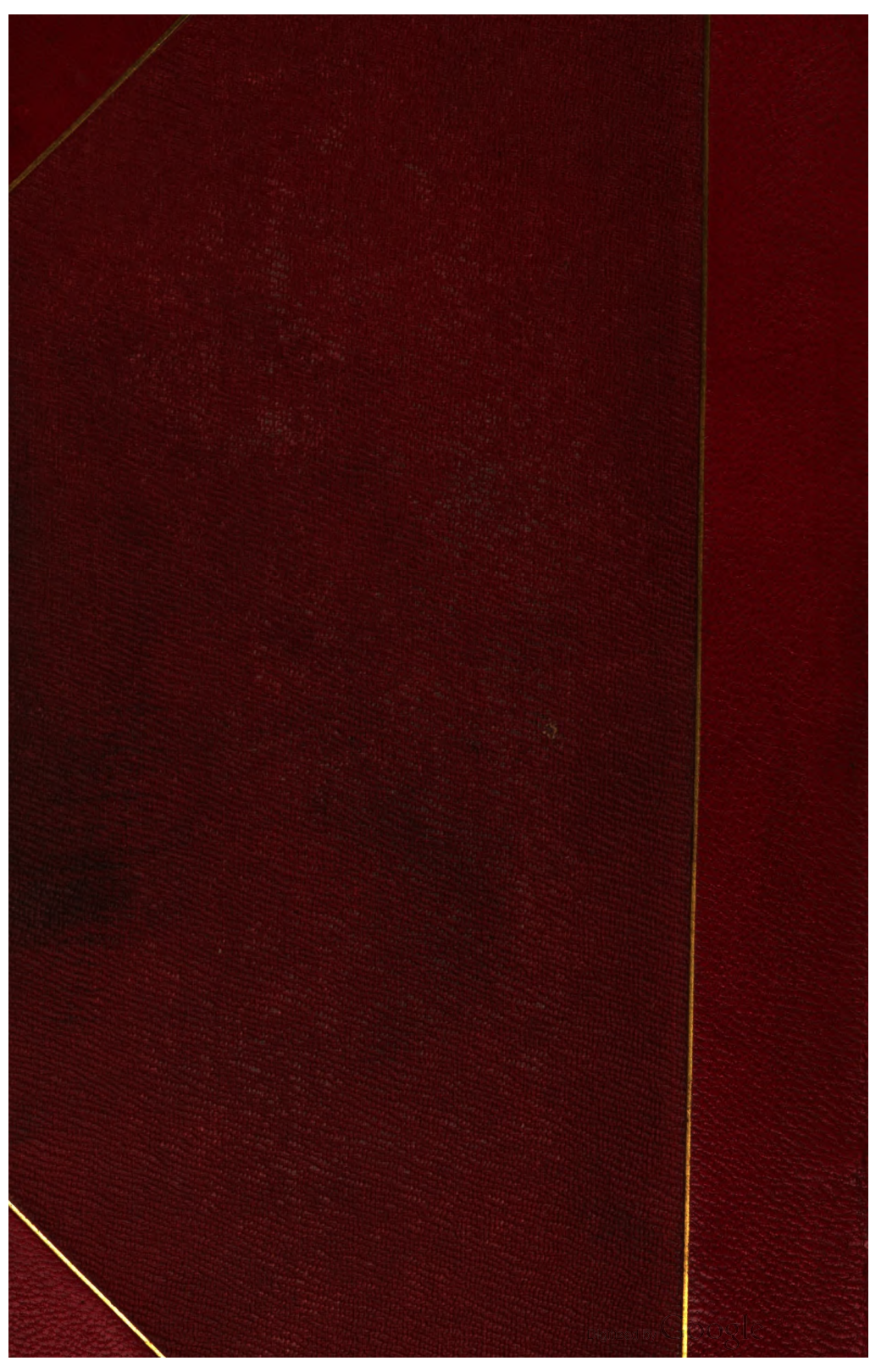
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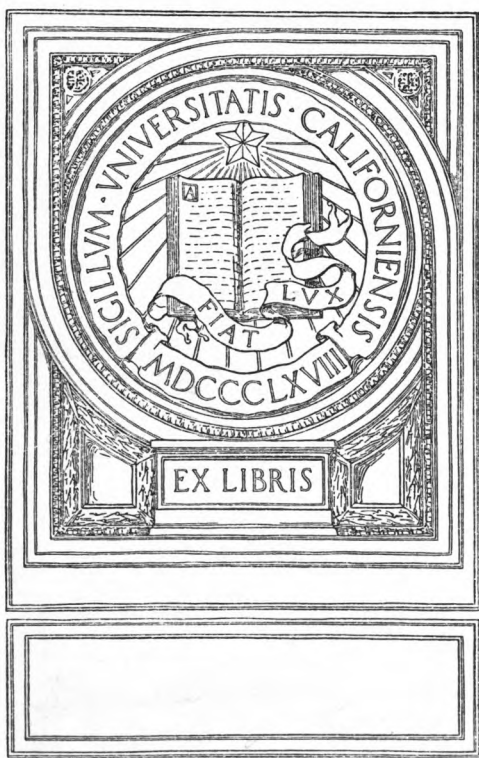
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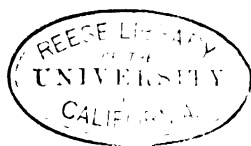
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TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

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F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XV



• Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1884

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THE UPANISHADS

TRANSLATED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

PART II

THE KATHA-UPANISHAD

THE MUNDAKA-UPANISHAD

THE TAITTIRĪYAKA-UPANISHAD

THE BRĪHADĀRAṆYAKA-UPANISHAD

THE SVETĀSVATARA-UPANISHAD

THE PRASŌA-UPANISHAD

THE MAITRĀYANA-BRĀHMAṆA-UPANISHAD



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1884

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS second volume completes the translation of the principal Upanishads to which Śaṅkara appeals in his great commentary on the Vedānta-Sūtras¹, viz. :

1. *Khândogya*-upanishad,
- 2. *Talavakâra* or *Kena*-upanishad,
3. *Aitareya*-upanishad,
4. *Kaushîtaki*-upanishad,
- 5. *Vâgasaneyi* or *Îsâ*-upanishad,
6. *Katha*-upanishad, ✓
- 7. *Mundaka*-upanishad, ✓
8. *Taittirîyaka*-upanishad, ✓
9. *Bṛihadâraṇyaka*-upanishad, ✓
10. *Svetâsvatara*-upanishad,
11. *Prasṇa*-upanishad.

These eleven have sometimes² been called the old and genuine Upanishads, though I should be satisfied to call them the eleven classical Upanishads, or the fundamental Upanishads of the Vedānta philosophy.

Vidyâranya³, in his 'Elucidation of the meaning of all the Upanishads,' Sarvopaniṣhadarthânubhûti-prakâsa, confines himself likewise to those treatises, dropping, however, the *Îsâ*, and adding the *Maitrâyaṇa*-upanishad, of which I have given a translation in this volume, and the *Nṛsiṃhottara-tapanîya*-upanishad, the translation of which had to be reserved for the next volume.

¹ See Deussen, Vedānta, Einleitung, p. 38. Śaṅkara occasionally refers also to the *Pañḍgi*, *Agnirahasya*, *Gâbâla*, and *Nârâyana* Upanishads.

² Deussen, loc. cit. p. 82.

³ I state this on the authority of Professor Cowell. See also Fitzedward Hall, Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems, pp. 116 and 236.

It is more difficult to determine which of the Upanishads were chosen by Saṅkara or deserving the honour of a special commentary. We possess his commentaries on the eleven Upanishads mentioned before¹, with the exception of the Kaushîtaki²-upanishad. We likewise possess his commentary on the Mândûkya-upanishad, but we do not know for certain whether he left commentaries on any of the other Upanishads. Some more or less authoritative statements have been made that he wrote commentaries on some of the minor Upanishads, such as the Atharvasiras, Atharva-sikhâ, and the Nṛisimhatâpani³. But as, besides Saṅkarâkârya, the disciple of Govinda, there is Saṅkarânanda, the disciple of Ânandâtman, another writer of commentaries on the Upanishads, it is possible that the two names may have been confounded by less careful copyists⁴.

With regard to the Nṛisimhatâpani all uncertainty might seem to be removed, after Professor Râmamaya Tarkaratna has actually published its text with the commentary of Saṅkarâkârya in the Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1871. But some uncertainty still remains. While at the end of each Khandâ of the Nṛisimha-pûrvatâpani we read that the Bhâshya was the work of the Paramahansa-parivrâgakâkârya Srî-Saṅkara, the pupil of Govinda, we have no such information for the Nṛisimha-uttaratâpani, but are told on the contrary that the words Srî-Govindabhagavat &c. have been added at the end by the editor, because he thought fit to do so. This is, to say the least, very suspicious, and we must wait for further confirmation. There is another commentary on this Upanishad by Nârâyanabhaṭṭa, the son of Bhaṭṭa Ratnâkara⁵, who is well known as the author of Dîpikâs on several Upanishads.

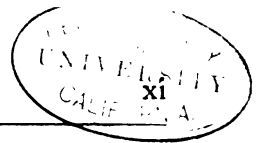
¹ They have been published by Dr. Roer in the Bibliotheca Indica.

² Dr. Weber's statement that Saṅkara wrote a commentary on the Kaushîtaki-upanishad has been corrected by Deussen, loc. cit. p. 39.

³ See Deussen, loc. cit. p. 39.

⁴ A long list of works ascribed to Saṅkara may be seen in Regnaud, Philosophie de l'Inde, p. 34, chiefly taken from Fitzedward Hall's Index of Indian Philosophical Systems.

⁵ See Tarkaratna's Vigñâpana, p. 3, l. 5.



I subjoin a list of thirty of the smaller Upanishads, published by Professor Rāmamaya Tarkaratna in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, with the commentaries of Nārāyaṇabhṭṭa.

1. Sira-upanishad, pp. 1-10; Dīpikā by Nārāyaṇa, pp. 42-60.
2. Garbha-upanishad, pp. 11-15; " pp. 60-73.
3. Nāḍavindu-upanishad, pp. 15-17; " pp. 73-78.
4. Brahmavindu-upanishad, pp. 18-20; " pp. 78-82.
5. Amṛtavindu-upanishad, pp. 21-25; " pp. 83-101.
6. Dhyānavindu-upanishad, pp. 26-28; " pp. 102-114.
7. Tegovindu-upanishad, pp. 29-30; " pp. 114-118.
8. Yogasikhā-upanishad, pp. 31-32; " pp. 118-122.
9. Yogatattva-upanishad, pp. 33-34; " pp. 122-127.
10. Sannyāsa-upanishad, pp. 35-39; " pp. 128-184.
11. Āruneya-upanishad, pp. 39-41; " pp. 184-196.
12. Brahmayidyā-upanishad, pp. 197-203; " ibidem.
13. Kshurikā-upanishad, pp. 203-218; " "
14. Kūlikā-upanishad, pp. 219-228; " "
15. Atharvasikhā-upanishad, pp. 229-238; " "
16. Brahma-upanishad, pp. 239-259; " "
17. Prāṇāgnihotra-upanishad, pp. 260-271; " "
18. Nīlarudra-upanishad, pp. 272-280; " "
19. Kanthasruti-upanishad, pp. 281-294; " "
20. Pinda-upanishad, pp. 295-298; " "
21. Ātma-upanishad, pp. 299-303; " "
22. Rāmapūrvatāpanīya-upanishad,
pp. 304-358; " "
23. Rāmottaratāpanīya-upanishad,
pp. 359-384; " "
24. Hanumadukta-Rāma-upanishad,
pp. 385-393; " "
25. Sarvopanishat-sāraḥ, pp. 394-404; " "
26. Hamsa-upanishad, pp. 404-416; " "
27. Paramahamsa-upanishad, pp. 417-436; " "
28. Gābāla-upanishad, pp. 437-455; " "
29. Kaivalya-upanishad, pp. 456-464; " "
- Kaivalya-upanishad, pp. 465-479; Dīpikā by
 Saṅkarānanda, "
30. Garuḍa-upanishad, pp. 480 seq.; Dīpikā by
 Nārāyaṇa, "

We owe to the same editor in the earlier numbers of the Bibliotheca the following editions :

Nṛisimhapûrvatâpanî-upanishad, with commentary.

Nṛisimhottaratâpanî-upanishad, with commentary.

Shatākra-upanishad, with commentary by Nârâyana.

Lastly, Haraṅdra Vidyâbhûṣhaṇa and Visvanâtha Sâstrî have published in the Bibliotheca Indica an edition of the Gopâlatâpanî-upanishad, with commentary by Visvesvara.

These editions of the text and commentaries of the Upanishads are no doubt very useful, yet there are many passages where the text is doubtful, still more where the commentaries leave us without any help.

Whatever other scholars may think of the difficulty of translating the Upanishads, I can only repeat what I have said before, that I know of few Sanskrit texts presenting more formidable problems to the translator than these philosophical treatises. It may be said that most of them had been translated before. No doubt they have been, and a careful comparison of my own translation with those of my predecessors will show, I believe, that a small advance, at all events, has now been made towards a truer understanding of these ancient texts. But I know full well how much still remains to be done, both in restoring a correct text, and in discovering the original meaning of the Upanishads ; and I have again and again had to translate certain passages tentatively only, or following the commentators, though conscious all the time that the meaning which they extract from the text cannot be the right one.

As to the text, I explained in my preface to the first volume that I attempted no more than to restore the text, such as it must have existed at the time when Saṅkara wrote his commentaries. As Saṅkara lived during the ninth century A.D.¹, and as we possess no MSS. of so early a date, all reasonable demands of textual criticism would thereby seem to be satisfied. Yet, this is not quite so. We may draw such a line, and for the present keep within it, but scholars who hereafter take up the study of the

¹ India, What can it teach us? p. 360.

Upanishads will probably have to go beyond. Where I had an opportunity of comparing other commentaries, besides those of Saṅkara, it became quite clear that they often followed a different text, and when, as in the case of the Maitrâyaṇa-brâhmaṇa-upanishad, I was enabled to collate copies which came from the South of India, the opinion which I have often expressed of the great value of Southern MSS. received fresh confirmation. The study of Grantha and other Southern MSS. will inaugurate, I believe, a new period in the critical treatment of Sanskrit texts, and the text of the Upanishads will, I hope, benefit quite as much as later texts by the treasures still concealed in the libraries of the Dekhan.

The rule which I have followed myself, and which I have asked my fellow translators to follow, has been adhered to in this new volume also, viz. whenever a choice has to be made between what is not quite faithful and what is not quite English, to surrender without hesitation the idiom rather than the accuracy of the translation. I know that all true scholars have approved of this, and if some of our critics have been offended by certain unidiomatic expressions occurring in our translations, all I can say is, that we shall always be most grateful if they would suggest translations which are not only faithful, but also idiomatic. For the purpose we have in view, a rugged but faithful translation seems to us more useful than a smooth but misleading one.

However, we have laid ourselves open to another kind of censure also, namely, of having occasionally not been literal enough. It is impossible to argue these questions in general, but every translator knows that in many cases a literal translation may convey an entirely wrong meaning. I shall give at least one instance.

My old friend, Mr. Nehemiah Goreh—at least I hope he will still allow me to call him so—in the ‘Occasional Papers on Missionary Subjects,’ First Series, No. 6, quotes, on p. 39, a passage from the *Khândogya*-upanishad, translates it into English, and then remarks that I had not translated it accurately. But the fault seems to me to lie

entirely with him, in attempting to translate a passage without considering the whole chapter of which it forms a part. Mr. Nehemiah Goreh states the beginning of the story rightly when he says that a youth by name Sveta-ketu went, by the advice of his father, to a teacher to study under him. After spending twelve years, as was customary, with the teacher, when he returned home he appeared rather elated. Then the father asked him:

Uta tam âdesam aprâksho¹ yenâsrutam srutam bhavaty amatam matam avigñâtam vigñâtam iti?

I translated this: 'Have you ever asked for that instruction by which we hear what cannot be heard, by which we perceive what cannot be perceived, by which we know what cannot be known?'

Mr. Nehemiah Goreh translates: 'Hast thou asked (of thy teacher) for that instruction by which what is not heard becomes heard, what is not comprehended becomes comprehended, what is not known becomes known?'

I shall not quarrel with my friend for translating man by to comprehend rather than by to perceive. I prefer my own translation, because manas is one side of the common sensory (*antaḥkaraṇa*), buddhi, the other; the original difference between the two being, so far as I can see, that the manas originally dealt with percepts, the buddhi with concepts². But the chief difference on which my critic lays stress is that I translated *asrutam*, *amatam*, and *avigñâtam* not by 'not heard, not comprehended, not known,' but by 'what cannot be heard, what cannot be perceived, what cannot be known.'

Now, before finding fault, why did he not ask himself what possible reason I could have had for deviating from the original, and for translating *avigñâta* by unknowable or

¹ Mr. Nehemiah Goreh writes *aprâkshyo*, and this is no doubt the reading adopted by Roer in his edition of the *Khândogya-upanishad* in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, p. 384. In *Śaṅkara's* commentary also the same form is given. Still grammar requires *aprâksho*.

² The *Pañcadaśī* (I, 20) distinguishes between manas and buddhi, by saying, *mano vimarsarūpam syād buddhiḥ syân nistayātmikā*, which places the difference between the two rather in the degree of certainty, ascribing deliberation to manas, decision to buddhi.

what cannot be known, rather than by unknown, as every one would be inclined to translate these words at first sight? If he had done so, he would have seen in a moment, that without the change which I introduced in the idiom, the translation would not have conveyed the sense of the original, nay, would have conveyed no sense at all. What could Sveta-ketu have answered, if his father had asked him, whether he had not asked for that instruction by which what is not heard becomes heard, what is not comprehended becomes comprehended, what is not known becomes known? He would have answered, 'Yes, I have asked for it; and from the first day on which I learnt the Sikshâ, the A B C, I have every day heard something which I had not heard before, I have comprehended something which I had not comprehended before, I have known something which I had not known before.' Then why does he say in reply, 'What is that instruction?' Surely Mr. Nehemiah Goreh knew that the instruction which the father refers to, is the instruction regarding Brahman, and that in all which follows the father tries to lead his son by slow degrees to a knowledge of Brahman¹. Now that Brahman is called again and again 'that which cannot be seen, cannot be heard, cannot be perceived, cannot be conceived,' in the ordinary sense of these words; can be learnt, in fact, from the Veda only². It was in order to bring out this meaning that I translated *asrutam* not by 'not heard,' but by 'not hearable,' or, in better English, by 'what cannot be heard'³.

¹ In the Vedânta-Sâra, Sadânanda lays great stress on the fact that in this very chapter of the *Khândogya-upanishad*, the principal subject of the whole chapter is mentioned both in the beginning and in the end. *Tatra prakaraṇapratipâdyasyârthasya tadâdyantayor upâdânam upakramasamhâram. Yathâ Khândogyaashashânaprapâhake prakaraṇapratipâdyasyâdvitīyavastuna ekam evâdvitīyam* (VI, 2, 1) *ityâdâv âitadâtmyam idam sarvam* (VI, 16, 3) *ity ante ka pratipâdanam*. 'The beginning with and ending with' imply that the matter to be declared in any given section is declared both at the beginning and at the end thereof:—as, for instance, in the sixth section of the *Khândogya-upanishad*, 'the Real, besides which there is nought else'—which is to be explained in that section—is declared at the outset in the terms, 'One only, without a second,' and at the end in the terms 'All this consists of That.'

² Vedânta-Sâra, No. 118, *tatraivâdvitīyavastuno mânântarâvishayīkaraṇam*.

³ See *Mund. Up.* I, 1, 6, *adresyam agrâhyam*.

Any classical scholar knows how often we must translate *invictus* by *invincible*, and how Latin tolerates even *invictissimus*, which we could never render in English by 'the most unconquered,' but 'the unconquerable.' English idiom, therefore, and common sense required that *avigñāta* should be translated, not by *inconceived*, but by *inconceivable*, if the translation was to be faithful, and was to give to the reader a correct idea of the original.

Let us now examine some other translations, to see whether the translators were satisfied with translating literally, or whether they attempted to translate thoughtfully.

Anquetil Duperron's translation, being in Latin, cannot help us much. He translates: 'Non auditum, auditum fiat; et non scitum, scitum; et non cognitum, cognitum.'

Rajendralal Mitra translates: 'Have you enquired of your tutor about that subject which makes the unheard-of heard, the unconsidered considered, and the unsettled settled?'

He evidently knew that Brahman was intended, but his rendering of the three verbs is not exact.

Mr. Gough (p. 43) translates: 'Hast thou asked for that instruction by which the unheard becomes heard, the unthought thought, the unknown known?'

But now let us consult a scholar who, in a very marked degree, always was a thoughtful translator, who felt a real interest in the subject, and therefore was never satisfied with mere words, however plausible. The late Dr. Ballantyne, in his translation of the *Vedānta-Sāra*¹, had occasion to translate this passage from the *Khândogya-upanishad*, and how did he translate it? 'The eulogizing of the subject is the glorifying of what is set forth in this or that section (of the Veda); as, for example, in that same section, the sixth chapter of the *Khândogya-upanishad*, the glorifying of the Real, besides whom there is nought else, in the following terms: "Thou, O disciple, hast asked for that instruction whereby the unheard-of becomes heard, the inconceiv-

¹ Lecture on the *Vedānta*, embracing the text of the *Vedānta-Sāra*, Allahabad, 1851, p. 69. *Vedāntasāra*, with *Nṛsiṃha-Sarasvatī's* Subodhinī, and Rāmātīrtha's *Vidvanmanoraṅginī*, Calcutta, 1860, p. 89. Here we find the right reading, *aprākṣha*.

able becomes conceived, and the unknowable becomes thoroughly known.”’

Dr. Ballantyne therefore felt exactly what I felt, that in our passage a strictly literal translation would be wrong, would convey no meaning, or a wrong meaning; and Mr. Nehemiah Goreh will see that he ought not to express blame, without trying to find out whether those whom he blames for want of exactness, were not in reality more scrupulously exact in their translation than he has proved himself to be.

Mr. Nehemiah Goreh has, no doubt, great advantages in interpreting the Upanishads, and when he writes without any theological bias, his remarks are often very useful. Thus he objects rightly, I think, to my translation of a sentence in the same chapter of the *Khândogya-upanishad*, where the father, in answer to his son's question, replies: ‘Sad eva, Somya, idam agra âsîd ekam evâdvittiyam.’ I had tried several translations of these words, and yet I see now that the one I proposed in the end is liable to be misunderstood. I had translated: ‘In the beginning, my dear, there was that only which is, one only, without a second.’ The more faithful translation would have been: ‘The being alone was this in the beginning.’ But ‘the being’ does not mean in English that which is, *τὸ ὄν*, and therefore, to avoid any misunderstanding, I translated ‘that which is.’ I might have said, however, ‘The existent, the real, the true (*satyam*) was this in the beginning,’ just as in the *Aitareya-upanishad* we read: ‘The Self was all this, one alone, in the beginning¹.’ But in that case I should have sacrificed the gender, and this in our passage is of great importance, being neuter, and not masculine.

What, however, is far more important, and where Mr. Nehemiah Goreh seems to me to have quite misapprehended the original Sanskrit, is this, that *sat*, *τὸ ὄν*, and *âtâmâ*, the Self, are the subjects in these sentences, and not predicates. Now Mr. Nehemiah Goreh translates: ‘This was the existent one itself before, one only without a second;’ and he

¹ *Âtmâ vâ idam eka evâgra âsîd.*

explains: 'This universe, before it was developed in the present form, was the existent one, Brahma, itself.' This cannot be. If 'idam,' this, i.e. the visible world, were the subject, how could the Upanishad go on and say, tad aikshata bahu syâm pragâyeyeti tat tego 'srigata, 'that thought, may I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth fire.' This can be said of the Sat only, that is, the Brahman¹. Sat, therefore, is the subject, not idam, for a Vedântist may well say that Brahman is the world, or sent forth the world, but not that the world, which is a mere illusion, was, in the beginning, Brahman.

This becomes clearer still in another passage, Maitr. Up. VI, 17, where we read: Brahma ha vâ idam agra âsîd eko 'nantaḥ, 'In the beginning Brahman was all this. He was one, and infinite.' Here the transition from the neuter to the masculine gender shows that Brahman only can be the subject, both in the first and in the second sentence.

In English it may seem to make little difference whether we say, 'Brahman was this,' or 'this was Brahman.' In Sanskrit too we find, Brahma khalv idam vâva sarvam, 'Brahman indeed is all this' (Maitr. Up. IV, 6), and Sarvam khalv idam Brahma, 'all this is Brahman indeed' (Khând. Up. III, 14, 1). But the logical meaning is always that Brahman was all this, i.e. all that we see now, Brahman being the subject, idam the predicate. Brahman becomes idam, not idam Brahman.

Thus the Pañkadasî, I, 18, says:

Ekâdasendriyair yuktyâ sâstrenâpy avagamyate

Yâvat kimkid bhaved etad idamsabdoditam gagat,
which Mr. A. Venis (Pandit, V, p. 667) translates: 'Whatever may be apprehended through the eleven organs, by argument and revelation, i.e. the world of phenomena, is expressed by the word idam, this.' The Pañkadasî then goes on:

Idam sarvam purâ sṛishṭer ekam evâdvitīyakam

Sad evâsîn nâmarûpe nâstâm ity Âruner vakaḥ.

This Mr. Venis translates: 'Previous to creation, all this

¹ Saṅkara says (p. 398, l. 5): ekam evâdvitīyam paramârthata idam buddhi-kâlê 'pi tat sad aikshata.

was the existent (*sat*), one only without a second : name and form were not :—this is the declaration of the son of *Aruṇa*.’

This is no doubt a translation grammatically correct, but from the philosophical standpoint of the Vedānta, what is really meant is that, before the *śrīṣṭā* (which is not creation, but the sending forth of the world, and the sending forth of it, not as something real, but as a mere illusion), the Real alone, i. e. the Brahman, was, instead of this, i. e. instead of this illusory world. The illusion was not, but the Real, i. e. Brahman, was. What became, or what seemed to change, was Brahman, and therefore the only possible subject, logically, is Brahman, everything else being a predicate, and a phenomenal predicate only.

If I were arguing with a European, not with an Indian scholar, I should venture to go even a step further, and try to prove that the *idam*, in this and similar sentences, does not mean this, i. e. this world, but that originally it was intended as an adverb, meaning now, or here. This use of *idam*, unsuspected by native scholars, is very frequent in Vedic literature, and instances may be seen in Boehtlingk’s Dictionary. In that case the translation would be : ‘The real (*rò ṣv*), O friend, was here in the beginning.’ This meaning of *idam*, however, would apply only to the earliest utterances of ancient Brahmvādins, while in later times *idam* was used and understood in the sense of all that is seen, the visible universe, just as *iyam* by itself is used in the sense of the earth.

However, difficulties of this kind may be overcome, if once we have arrived at a clear conception of the general drift of the Upanishads. The real difficulties are of a very different character. They consist in the extraordinary number of passages which seem to us utterly meaningless and irrational, or, at all events, so far-fetched that we can hardly believe that the same authors who can express the deepest thoughts on religion and philosophy with clearness, nay, with a kind of poetical eloquence, could have uttered in the same breath such utter rubbish. Some of the sacrificial technicalities, and their philosophical interpretations with which the Upanishads abound, may perhaps in time assume a clearer meaning, when we shall have more fully mastered

the intricacies of the Vedic ceremonial. But there will always remain in the Upanishads a vast amount of what we can only call meaningless jargon, and for the presence of which in these ancient mines of thought I, for my own part, feel quite unable to account. 'Yes,' a friend of mine wrote to me, after reading some of the Sacred Books of the East, 'you are right, how tremendously ahead of other sacred books is the Bible. The difference strikes one as almost unfairly great.' So it does, no doubt. But some of the most honest believers and admirers of the Bible have expressed a similar disappointment, because they had formed their ideas of what a Sacred Book ought to be, theoretically, not historically. The Rev. J. M. Wilson, in his excellent Lectures on the Theory of Inspiration, p. 32, writes: 'The Bible is so unlike what you would expect; it does not consist of golden sayings and rules of life; give explanations of the philosophical and social problems of the past, the present, and the future; contain teachings immeasurably unlike those of any other book; but it contains history, ritual, legislation, poetry, dialogue, prophecy, memoirs, and letters; it contains much that is foreign to your idea of what a revelation ought to be. But this is not all. There is not only much that is foreign, but much that is opposed, to your preconceptions. The Jews tolerated slavery, polygamy, and other customs and cruelties of imperfect civilisation. There are the vindictive psalms, too, with their bitter hatred against enemies,—psalms which we chant in our churches. How can we do so? There are stories of immorality, of treachery, of crime. How can we read them?' Still the Bible has been and is a truly sacred, because a truly historical book, for there is nothing more sacred in this world than the history of man, in his search after his highest ideals. All ancient books which have once been called sacred by man, will have their lasting place in the history of mankind, and those who possess the courage, the perseverance, and the self-denial of the true miner, and of the true scholar, will find even in the darkest and dustiest shafts what they are seeking for,—real nuggets of thought, and precious jewels of faith and hope.

I.

THE KATHA-UPANISHAD.

THE *Kat̥ha*-upanishad is probably more widely known than any other Upanishad. It formed part of the Persian translation, was rendered into English by Rāmmohun Roy, and has since been frequently quoted by English, French, and German writers as one of the most perfect specimens of the mystic philosophy and poetry of the ancient Hindus.

It was in the year 1845 that I first copied at Berlin the text of this Upanishad, the commentary of Saṅkara (MS. 127 Chambers¹), and the gloss of Gopālayogin (MS. 224 Chambers). The text and commentary of Saṅkara and the gloss of Ānandagiri have since been edited by Dr. Roer in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, with translation and notes. There are other translations, more or less perfect, by Rāmmohun Roy, Windischmann, Poley, Weber, Muir, Regnaud, Gough, and others. But there still remained many difficult and obscure portions, and I hope that in some at least of the passages where I differ from my predecessors, not excepting Saṅkara, I may have succeeded in rendering the original meaning of the author more intelligible than it has hitherto been.

The text of the *Kat̥ha*-upanishad is in some MSS. ascribed to the Yagur-veda. In the Chambers MS. of the commentary also it is said to belong to that Veda², and in the *Muktikopanishad* it stands first among the *Upanishads* of the Black Yagur-veda. According to Colebrooke (*Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 96, note) it is referred to the *Sāma-veda* also. Generally, however, it is counted as one of the *Ātharvāna Upanishads*.

The reason why it is ascribed to the Yagur-veda, is probably because the legend of Naḥiketas occurs in the *Brāhmaṇa* of the *Taittirīya Yagur-veda*. Here we read (III, 1, 8):

Vāgasravasa, wishing for rewards, sacrificed all his

¹ MS. 133 is a mere copy of MS. 127.

² Yagurvede *Kaṭhāvallībhāṣyam*.

wealth. He had a son, called Nāṣiketas. While he was still a boy, faith entered into him at the time when the cows that were to be given (by his father) as presents to the priests, were brought in. He said: 'Father, to whom wilt thou give me?' He said so a second and third time. The father turned round and said to him: 'To Death, I give thee.'

Then a voice said to the young Gautama, as he stood up: 'He (thy father) said, Go away to the house of Death, I give thee to Death.' Go therefore to Death when he is not at home, and dwell in his house for three nights without eating. If he should ask thee, 'Boy, how many nights hast thou been here?' say, 'Three.' When he asks thee, 'What didst thou eat the first night?' say, 'Thy offspring.' 'What didst thou eat the second night?' say, 'Thy cattle.' 'What didst thou eat the third night?' say, 'Thy good works.'

He went to Death, while he was away from home, and he dwelt in his house for three nights without eating. When Death returned, he asked: 'Boy, how many nights hast thou been here?' He answered: 'Three.' 'What didst thou eat the first night?' 'Thy offspring.' 'What didst thou eat the second night?' 'Thy cattle.' 'What didst thou eat the third night?' 'Thy good works.'

Then he said: 'My respect to thee, O venerable sir! Choose a boon.'

'May I return living to my father,' he said.

'Choose a second boon.'

'Tell me how my good works may never perish.'

Then he explained to him this Nāṣiketa fire (sacrifice), and hence his good works do not perish.

'Choose a third boon.'

'Tell me the conquest of death again.'

Then he explained to him this (chief) Nāṣiketa fire (sacrifice), and hence he conquered death again¹.

This story, which in the Brāhmaṇa is told in order to explain the name of a certain sacrificial ceremony called

¹ The commentator explains punar-mṛityu as the death that follows after the present inevitable death.

Nāṭiketa, was used as a peg on which to hang the doctrines of the Upanishad. In its original form it may have constituted one Adhyāya only, and the very fact of its division into two Adhyāyas may show that the compilers of the Upanishad were still aware of its gradual origin. We have no means, however, of determining its original form, nor should we even be justified in maintaining that the first Adhyāya ever existed by itself, and that the second was added at a much later time. Whatever its component elements may have been before it was an Upanishad, when it was an Upanishad it consisted of six Vallīs, neither more nor less.

The name of vallī, lit. creeper, as a subdivision of a Vedic work, is important. It occurs again in the Taittirīya Upanishads. Professor Weber thinks that vallī, creeper, in the sense of chapter, is based on a modern metaphor, and was primarily intended for a creeper, attached to the sākhās or branches of the Veda¹. More likely, however, it was used in the same sense as parvan, a joint, a shoot, a branch, i. e. a division.

Various attempts have been made to distinguish the more modern from the more ancient portions of our Upanishad². No doubt there are peculiarities of metre, grammar, language, and thought which indicate the more primitive or the more modern character of certain verses. There are repetitions which offend us, and there are several passages which are clearly taken over from other Upanishads, where they seem to have had their original place. Thirty-five years ago, when I first worked at this Upanishad, I saw no difficulty in re-establishing what I thought the original text of the Upanishad must have been. I now feel that we know so little of the time and the circumstances when these half-prose and half-metrical Upanishads were first put together, that I should hesitate

¹ History of Indian Literature, p. 93, note ; p. 157.

² Though it would be unfair to hold Professor Weber responsible for his remarks on this and other questions connected with the Upanishads published many years ago (*Indische Studien*, 1853, p. 197), and though I have hardly ever thought it necessary to criticise them, some of his remarks are not without their value even now.

before expunging even the most modern-sounding lines from the original context of these Vedântic essays¹.

The mention of *Dhâtri*, creator, for instance (*Kath. Up.* II, 20), is certainly startling, and seems to have given rise to a very early conjectural emendation. But *dhâtri* and *vidhâtri* occur in the hymns of the *Rig-veda* (X, 82, 2), and in the *Upanishads* (*Maitr. Up.* VI, 8); and *Dhâtri*, as almost a personal deity, is invoked with *Pragâpati* in *Rig-veda* X, 184, 1. *Deva*, in the sense of God (*Kath. Up.* II, 12), is equally strange, but occurs in other *Upanishads* also (*Maitr. Up.* VI, 23; *Svetâsv. Up.* I, 3). Much might be said about *setu*, bridge (*Kath. Up.* III, 2; *Mund. Up.* II, 2, 5), *âdarsa*, mirror (*Kath. Up.* VI, 5), as being characteristic of a later age. But *setu* is not a bridge, in our sense of the word, but rather a wall, a bank, a barrier, and occurs frequently in other *Upanishads* (*Maitr. Up.* VII, 7; *Khând. Up.* VIII, 4; *Brih. Up.* IV, 4, 22, &c.), while *âdarsas*, or mirrors, are mentioned in the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka* and the *Srauta-sûtras*. Till we know something more about the date of the first and the last composition or compilation of the *Upanishads*, how are we to tell what subjects and what ideas the first author or the last collector was familiar with? To attempt the impossible may seem courageous, but it is hardly scholarlike.

With regard to faulty or irregular readings, we can never know whether they are due to the original composers, the compilers, the repeaters, or lastly the writers of the *Upanishads*. It is easy to say that *adresya* (*Mund. Up.* I, 1, 6) ought to be *adrisya*; but who would venture to correct that form? Whenever that verse is quoted, it is quoted with *adresya*, not *adrisya*. The commentators themselves tell us sometimes that certain forms are either Vedic or due to carelessness (*pramâdapâtka*); but that very fact shows that such a form, for instance, as *samîyâta* (*Khând. Up.* I, 12, 3) rests on an old authority.

No doubt, if we have the original text of an author, and can prove that his text was corrupted by later compilers

¹ See Regnaud, *Le Pessimisme Brahmanique*, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 1880; tom. i, p. 101.

or copyists or printers, we have a right to remove those later alterations, whether they be improvements or corruptions. But where, as in our case, we can never hope to gain access to original documents, and where we can only hope, by pointing out what is clearly more modern than the rest or, it may be, faulty, to gain an approximate conception of what the original composer may have had in his mind, before handing his composition over to the safe keeping of oral tradition, it is almost a duty to discourage, as much as lies in our power, the work of reconstructing an old text by so-called conjectural emendations or critical omissions.

I have little doubt, for instance, that the three verses 16-18 in the first Valli of the *Kaṭha-upanishad* are later additions, but I should not therefore venture to remove them. Death had granted three boons to Naṅiketas, and no more. In a later portion, however, of the *Upanishad* (II, 3), the expression *srīṅkā vittamayī* occurs, which I have translated by 'the road which leads to wealth.' As it is said that Naṅiketas did not choose that *srīṅkā*, some reader must have supposed that a *srīṅkā* was offered him by Death. *Srīṅkā*, however, meant commonly a string or necklace, and hence arose the idea that Death must have offered a necklace as an additional gift to Naṅiketas. Besides this, there was another honour done to Naṅiketas by *Mrityu*, namely, his allowing the sacrifice which he had taught him, to be called by his name. This also, it was supposed, ought to have been distinctly mentioned before, and hence the insertion of the three verses 16-18. They are clumsily put in, for after *punar evāha*, 'he said again,' verse 16 ought not to have commenced by *tam abravīt*, 'he said to him.' They contain nothing new, for the fact that the sacrifice is to be called after Naṅiketas was sufficiently indicated by verse 19, 'This, O Naṅiketas, is thy fire which leads to heaven, which thou hast chosen as thy second boon.' But so anxious was the interpolator to impress upon his hearers the fact that the sacrifice should in future go by that name, that, in spite of the metre, he inserted *tavaiva*, 'of thee alone,' in verse 19.

II.

THE MUNDAKA-UPANISHAD.

THIS is an Upanishad of the Atharva-veda. It is a Mantra-upanishad, i. e. it has the form of a Mantra. But, as the commentators observe, though it is written in verse, it is not, like other Mantras, to be used for sacrificial purposes. Its only object is to teach the highest knowledge, the knowledge of Brahman, which cannot be obtained either by sacrifices or by worship (upâsana), but by such teaching only as is imparted in the Upanishad. A man may a hundred times restrain his breath, &c., but without the Upanishad his ignorance does not cease. Nor is it right to continue for ever in the performance of sacrificial and other good works, if one wishes to obtain the highest knowledge of Brahman. The Sannyâsin alone, who has given up everything, is qualified to know and to become Brahman. And though it might seem from Vedic legends that *Grihasthas* also who continued to live with their families, performing all the duties required of them by law, had been in possession of the highest knowledge, this, we are told, is a mistake. Works and knowledge can be as little together as darkness and light.

This Upanishad too has been often translated since it first appeared in the Persian translation of Dârâ Shukoh. My own copy of the text and Saṅkara's commentary from the MS. in the Chambers Collection was made in October 1844. Both are now best accessible in the Bibliotheca Indica, where Dr. Roer has published the text, the commentary by Saṅkara, a gloss by Ânandagñâna, and an English translation with notes.

The title of the Upanishad, *Mundaka*, has not yet been explained. The Upanishad is called *Mundaka-upanishad*, and its three chapters are each called *Mundakam*. Native commentators explain it as the shaving Upanishad, that is, as the Upanishad which cuts off the errors of the mind, like a razor. Another Upanishad also is called *Kshurikâ*, the razor, a name which is explained in the text itself as

meaning an instrument for removing illusion and error. The title is all the more strange because *Mundaka*, in its commonest acceptation, is used as a term of reproach for Buddhist mendicants, who are called 'Shavelings,' in opposition to the Brāhmans, who dress their hair carefully, and often display by its peculiar arrangement either their family or their rank. Many doctrines of the Upanishads are, no doubt, pure Buddhism, or rather Buddhism is on many points the consistent carrying out of the principles laid down in the Upanishads. Yet, for that very reason, it seems impossible that this should be the origin of the name, unless we suppose that it was the work of a man who was, in one sense, a *Mundaka*, and yet faithful to the Brahmanic law.

III.

THE TAITTIRĪYAKA-UPANISHAD.

THE Taittirīyaka-upanishad seems to have had its original place in the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka. This Āraṇyaka consists, as Rajendralal Mitra has shown in the Introduction to his edition of the work in the Bibliotheca Indica, of three portions. Out of its ten Prapâthakas, the first six form the Āraṇyaka proper, or the Karma-kāṇḍa, as Sâyana writes. Then follow Prapâthakas VII, VIII, and IX, forming the Taittirīyaka-upanishad; and lastly, the tenth Prapâthaka, the Yâgñiki or Mahânârâyana-upanishad, which is called a Khila, and was therefore considered by the Brāhmans themselves as a later and supplementary work.

Saṅkara, in his commentary on the Taittirīyaka-upanishad, divides his work into three Adhyâyas, and calls the first Sikshâ-vallî, the second the Brahmânanda-vallî, while he gives no special name to the Upanishad explained in the third Adhyâya. This, however, may be due to a mere accident, for whenever the division of the Taittirīyaka-upanishad into Vallis is mentioned, we always have three¹, the

¹ Saṅkara (ed. Roer, p. 141) himself speaks of two Vallis, teaching the paramâtmagñâna (the Sikshâ-vallî has nothing to do with this), and Anquetil has Anandbli = Ānanda-vallî, and Bharkbli = Bhrigu-vallî.

Sikshâ-vallî, the Brahmananda-vallî, and the Bhrîgu-vallî¹. Properly, however, it is only the second Anuvâka of the seventh Prapâthaka which deserves and receives in the text itself the name of Sikshâdhyâya, while the rest of the first Vallî ought to go by the name of Sâmhîta-upanishad², or Sâmhîti-upanishad.

Sâyana³, in his commentary on the Taittirîya-âraṇyaka, explains the seventh chapter, the Sikshâdhyâya (twelve anuvâkas), as Sâmhîti-upanishad. His commentary, however, is called Sikshâ-bhâshya. The same Sâyana treats the eighth and ninth Prapâthakas as the Vâruṇy-upanishad⁴.

The Ânanda-vallî and Bhrîgu-vallî are quoted among the Upanishads of the Âtharvâna⁵.

At the end of each Vallî there is an index of the Ânuvâkas which it contains. That at the end of the first Vallî is intelligible. It gives the Pratîkas, i. e. the initial words, of each Anuvâka, and states their number as twelve. At the end of the first Anuvâka, we have the final words 'satyam vadishyâmi,' and pañka ka, i. e. five short paragraphs at the end. At the end of the second Anuvâka, where we expect the final words, we have the initial, i. e. śikshâm, and then pañka, i. e. five sections in the Anuvâka. At the end of the third Anuvâka, we have the final words, but no number of sections. At the end of the fourth Anuvâka, we have the final words of the three sections, followed by one paragraph; at the end of the fifth Anuvâka, three final words, and two paragraphs, though the first paragraph belongs clearly to the third section. In the sixth Anuvâka, we have the final words of the two Anuvâkas, and one paragraph. In the seventh Anuvâka, there is the final word

¹ The third Vallî ends with Bhrîgur ity upanishat.

² See Taittirîyaka-upanishad, ed. Roer, p. 12.

³ See M. M., Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der Upanishads, p. 144.

⁴ The Anukramanî of the Âtreya school (see Weber, Indische Studien, II, p. 208) of the Taittirîyaka gives likewise the name of Vâruṇî to the eighth and ninth Prapâthaka, while it calls the seventh Prapâthaka the Sâmhîti, and the tenth Prapâthaka the Yâgñîki-upanishad. That Anukramanî presupposes, however, a different text, as may be seen both from the number of Anuvâkas, and from the position assigned to the Yâgñîki as between the Sâmhîti and Vâruṇî Upanishads.

⁵ See M. M., Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der Upanishads.

sarvam, and one paragraph added. In the eighth Anuvâka, we have the initial word, and the number of sections, viz. ten. In the ninth Anuvâka, there are the final words of one section, and six paragraphs. In the tenth Anuvâka, there is the initial word, and the number of paragraphs, viz. six. In the eleventh Anuvâka, we have the final words of four sections, and seven paragraphs, the first again forming an integral portion of the last section. The twelfth Anuvâka has one section, and five paragraphs. If five, then the *sânti* would here have to be included, while, from what is said afterwards, it is clear that as the first word of the Vallî is *sam naḥ*, so the last is *vaktâram*.

In the second Vallî the index to each Anuvâka is given at the end of the Vallî.

1st Anuvâka : *pratîka* : *brahmavid*, and some other catchwords, *idam*, *ayam*, *idam*. Number of sections, 21.

2nd Anuvâka : *pratîka* : *annâd*, and other catchwords ; last word, *pukkha*. Sections, 26.

3rd Anuvâka : *pratîka* : *prânam*, and other catchwords ; last word, *pukkha*. Sections, 22.

4th Anuvâka : *pratîka* : *yataḥ*, and other catchwords ; last word, *pukkha*. Sections, 18.

5th Anuvâka : *pratîka* : *vigñānam*, and other catchwords ; last word, *pukkha*. Sections, 22.

6th Anuvâka : *pratîka* : *asanneva*, then *atha* (deest in Taitt. Âr. 7). Sections, 28.

7th Anuvâka : *pratîka* : *asat*. Sections, 16.

8th Anuvâka : *pratîka* : *bhîshâsmât*, and other catchwords ; last word, *upasaṅkrâmati*. Sections, 51.

9th Anuvâka : *pratîka* : *yataḥ*—*kutasthana* ; then *tam* (deest in Taitt. Âr.). Sections, 11.

In the third Vallî the *Anukramanî* stands at the end.

1. The first word, *bhrîguḥ*, and some other catchwords. Sections, 13.

2. The first word, *annam*. Sections, 12.

3. The first word, *prânam*. Sections, 12.

4. The first word, *manah*. Sections, 12.

5. The first word, *vigñānam*, and some other words. Sections, 12.

6. The first word, *ânanda*, and some other words. Sections, 10.
7. The first words, *annam na nindyât, prânah, sarîram*. Sections, 11.
8. The first words, *annam na parikakshita, âpo gyoiti*. Sections, 11.
9. The first words, *annam bahu kurvita prithivim âkâsa*. Sections, 11.
10. The first words, *na kañkana*. Sections 61. The last words of each section are given for the tenth Anuvâka.

IV.

THE BRĪHADĀRANYAKA-UPANISHAD.

THIS Upanishad has been so often edited and discussed that it calls for no special remarks. It forms part of the Satapatha-brâhmana. In the Mâdhyandina-sâkhâ of that Brâhmana, which has been edited by Professor Weber, the Upanishad, consisting of six adhyâyas, begins with the fourth adhyâya (or third prapâthaka) of the fourteenth book.

There is a commentary on the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka-upanishad* by Dvivedasrînarâyanasûnu Dvivedagaṅga, which has been carefully edited by Weber in his great edition of the *Satapatha-brâhmana* from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, formerly belonging to Dr. Mill, in which the Upanishad is called *Mâdhyandiniya-brâhmana-upanishad*.

In the *Kânva-sâkhâ* the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka-upanishad* forms the seventeenth book of the *Satapatha-brâhmana*, consisting of six adhyâyas.

As Sâṅkara's commentary and the gloss of Ânandatîrtha, edited by Dr. Roer in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, follow the *Kânva-sâkhâ*, I have followed the same text in my translation.

Besides Dr. Roer's edition of the text, commentary, and gloss of this Upanishad, there is Poley's edition of the text. There is also a translation of it by Dr. Roer, with large extracts from Sâṅkara's commentary.

V.



THE SVETĀSVATARA-UPANISHAD.

THE Svetāsvatara-upanishad has been handed down as one of the thirty-three Upanishads of the Taittirīyas, and though this has been doubted, no real argument has ever been brought forward to invalidate the tradition which represents it as belonging to the Taittirīya or Black Yagur-veda.

It is sometimes called Svetāsvatārāzām Mantropanishad (p. 274), and is frequently spoken of in the plural, as Svetāsvataropanishadaḥ. At the end of the last Adhyāya we read that Svetāsvatara told it to the best among the hermits, and that it should be kept secret, and not be taught to any one except to a son or a regular pupil. It is also called Svetāsva¹, though, it would seem, for the sake of the metre only. The Svetāsvataras are mentioned as a Sākhā², subordinate to the Karakas; but of the literature belonging to them in particular, nothing is ever mentioned beyond this Upanishad.

Svetāsvatara means a white mule, and as mules were known and prized in India from the earliest times, Svetāsvatara, as the name of a person, is no more startling than Svetāsra, white horse, an epithet of Arguna. Now as no one would be likely to conclude from the name of one of the celebrated Vedic Rishis, Syāvāsra, i. e. black horse, that negro influences might be discovered in his hymns, it is hardly necessary to say that all speculations as to Christian influences, or the teaching of white Syro-Christian missionaries, being indicated by the name of Svetāsvatara, are groundless³.

The Svetāsvatara-upanishad holds a very high rank among the Upanishads. Though we cannot say that it is quoted by name by Bādarāyaṇa in the Vedānta-sūtras,

¹ Vākaspatyam, p. 1222.

² Catal. Bodl. p. 271 a; p. 222 a.

³ See Weber, Ind. Stud. I, pp. 400, 421.

it is distinctly referred to as *sruta* or revealed¹. It is one of the twelve Upanishads chosen by Vidyâranya in his *Sarvopaniṣad-arthânabhûtiprakâṣa*, and it was singled out by Saṅkara as worthy of a special commentary.

The *Svetâsvatara-upaniṣad* seems to me one of the most difficult, and at the same time one of the most interesting works of its kind. Whether on that and on other grounds it should be assigned to a more ancient or to a more modern period is what, in the present state of our knowledge, or, to be honest, of our ignorance of minute chronology during the Vedic period, no true scholar would venture to assert. We must be satisfied to know that, as a class, the Upanishads are presupposed by the *Kalpa-sûtras*, that some of them, called *Mantra-upaniṣads*, form part of the more modern *Samhitâs*, and that there are portions even in the *Rig-veda-samhitâ*² for which the name of Upanishad is claimed by the *Anukramanîs*. We find them most frequent, however, during the *Brâhmaṇa*-period, in the *Brâhmaṇas* themselves, and, more especially, in those portions which are called *Âranyakas*, while a large number of them is referred to the *Atharva-veda*. That, in imitation of older Upanishads, similar treatises were composed to a comparatively recent time, has, of course, long been known³.

But when we approach the question whether among the ancient and genuine Upanishads one may be older than the other, we find that, though we may guess much, we can prove nothing. The Upanishads belonged to *Parishads* or settlements spread all over India. There is a stock of ideas, even of expressions, common to most of them. Yet, the ideas collected in the Upanishads cannot all have grown up in one and the same place, still less in regular succession. They must have had an independent growth, determined by individual and local influences, and opinions which in one village might seem far advanced, would in another be looked upon as behind the world. We may

¹ See Deussen, *Vedânta*, p. 24; *Ved. Sûtra* I, 1, 11; I, 4, 8; II, 3, 22.

² See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. i, p. lxvi.

³ *Loc. cit.* p. lxvii.

admire the ingeniousness of those who sometimes in this, sometimes in that peculiarity see a clear indication of the modern date of an Upanishad, but to a conscientious scholar such arguments are really distasteful for the very sake of their ingeniousness. He knows that they will convince many who do not know the real difficulties; he knows they will have to be got out of the way with no small trouble, and he knows that, even if they should prove true in the end, they will require very different support from what they have hitherto received, before they can be admitted to the narrow circle of scientific facts.

While fully admitting therefore that the *Svetâsvatara-upanishad* has its peculiar features and its peculiar difficulties, I must most strongly maintain that no argument that has as yet been brought forward, seems to me to prove, in any sense of the word, its modern character.

It has been said, for instance, that the *Svetâsvatara-upanishad* is a sectarian Upanishad, because, when speaking of the Highest Self or the Highest Brahman, it applies such names to him as Hara (I, 10), Rudra (II, 17; III, 2; 4; IV, 12; 21; 22), Siva (III, 14; IV, 10), Bhagavat (III, 14), Agni, Âditya, Vâyu, &c. (IV, 2). But here it is simply taken for granted that the idea of the Highest Self was developed first, and, after it had reached its highest purity, was lowered again by an identification with mythological and personal deities. The questions whether the conception of the Highest Self was formed once and once only, whether it was formed after all the personal and mythological deities had first been merged into one Lord (Pragâpati), or whether it was discovered behind the veil of any other name in the mythological pantheon of the past, have never been mooted. Why should not an ancient *Rîshi* have said: What we have hitherto called Rudra, and what we worship as Agni, or Siva, is in reality the Highest Self, thus leaving much of the ancient mythological phraseology to be used with a new meaning? Why should we at once conclude that late sectarian worshippers of mythological gods replaced again the Highest Self, after their fathers had discovered it, by their own sectarian names? If we adopt the former

view, the Upanishads, which still show these rudera of the ancient temples, would have to be considered as more primitive even than those in which the idea of the Brahman or the Highest Self has reached its utmost purity..

It has been considered a very strong argument in support of the modern and sectarian character of the Svetâsvatara-upanishad, that 'it inculcates what is called Bhakti¹, or implicit reliance on the favour of the deity worshipped.' Now it is quite true that this Upanishad possesses a very distinct character of its own, by the stress which it lays on the personal, and sometimes almost mythical character of the Supreme Spirit; but, so far from inculcating bhakti, in the modern sense of the word, it never mentions that word, except in the very last verse, a verse which, if necessary, certain critics would soon dispose of as a palpable addition. But that verse says no more than this: 'If these truths (of the Upanishad) have been told to a high-minded man, who feels the highest devotion for God, and for his Guru as for God, then they will shine forth indeed.' Does that prove the existence of Bhakti as we find it in the *Sândilya-sûtras*²?

Again, it has been said that the Svetâsvatara-upanishad is sectarian in a philosophical sense, that it is in fact an Upanishad of the Sâṅkhya system of philosophy, and not of the Vedânta. Now I am quite willing to admit that, in its origin, the Vedânta philosophy is nearer to the Vedic literature than any other of the six systems of philosophy, and that if we really found doctrines, peculiar to the Sâṅkhya, and opposed to the Vedânta, in the Svetâsvatara-upanishad, we might feel inclined to assign to our Upanishad a later date. But where is the proof of this?

No doubt there are expressions in this Upanishad which remind us of technical terms used at a later time in the Sâṅkhya system of philosophy, but of Sâṅkhya doctrines, which I had myself formerly suspected in this Upanishad,

¹ Weber, Ind. Stud. I, 422; and History of Indian Literature, p. 238.

² The Aphorisms of *Sândilya*, or the Hindu Doctrine of Faith, translated by E. B. Cowell, Calcutta, 1878.

I can on closer study find very little. I think it was Mr. Gough who, in his *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, for the first time made it quite clear that the teaching of our Upanishad is, in the main, the same as that of the other Upanishads. 'The *Svetâsvatara-upanishad* teaches,' as he says, 'the unity of souls in the one and only Self; the unreality of the world as a series of figments of the self-feigning world-fiction; and as the first of the fictitious emanations, the existence of the Demiurgos or universal soul present in every individual soul, the deity that projects the world out of himself, that the migrating souls may find the recompense of their works in former lives.'

I do not quite agree with this view of the *Îsvara*, whom Mr. Gough calls the Demiurgos, but he seems to me perfectly right when he says that the *Svetâsvatara-upanishad* propounds in *Sânkhya* terms the very principles that the *Sânkhya* philosophers make it their business to subvert. One might doubt as to the propriety of calling certain terms '*Sânkhya* terms' in a work written at a time when a *Sânkhya* philosophy, such as we know it as a system, had as yet no existence, and when the very name *sânkhya* meant something quite different from the *Sânkhya* system of Kapila. *Sânkhya* is derived from *saṅkhyâ*, and that meant counting, number, name, corresponding very nearly to the Greek *λόγος*. *Sânkhya*, as derived from it, meant originally no more than theoretic philosophy, as opposed to yoga, which meant originally practical religious exercises and penances, to restrain the passions and the senses in general. All other interpretations of these words, when they had become technical names, are of later date.

But even in their later forms, whatever we may think of the coincidences and differences between the *Sânkhya* and *Vedânta* systems of philosophy, there is one point on which they are diametrically opposed. Whatever else the *Sânkhya* may be, it is dualistic; whatever else the *Vedânta* may be, it is monistic. In the *Sânkhya*, nature, or whatever else we may call it, is independent of the *purusha*; in the *Vedânta* it is not. Now the *Svetâsvatara-upanishad* states distinctly that nature, or what in the *Sânkhya* philosophy

is intended by Pradhâna, is not an independent power, but a power (*sakti*) forming the very self of the Deva. 'Sages,' we read, 'devoted to meditation and concentration, have seen the power belonging to God himself, hidden in its own qualities.'

What is really peculiar in the Svetâsvatara-upanishad is the strong stress which it lays on the personality of the Lord, the *Īsvara*. Deva, in the passage quoted, is perhaps the nearest approach to our own idea of a personal God, though without the background which the Vedânta always retains for it. It is God as creator and ruler of the world, as *īśvara*, lord, but not as *Paramâtman*, or the Highest Self. The *Paramâtman* constitutes, no doubt, his real essence, but creation and creator have a phenomenal character only¹. The creation is *mâyâ*, in its original sense of work, then of phenomenal work, then of illusion. The creator is *mâyin*, in its original sense of worker or maker, but again, in that character, phenomenal only². The *Gunas* or qualities arise, according to the Vedânta, from *prakṛiti* or *mâyâ*, within, not beside, the Highest Self, and this is the very idea which is here expressed by 'the Self-power of God, hidden in the *gunas* or determining qualities.' How easily that *sakti* or power may become an independent being, as *Mâyâ*, we see in such verses as:

Sarvabhūteshu sarvâtman yâ saktir aparâbhavâ
Gurûrâyâ namas tasyai sarvatâyai paresvara³.

But the important point is this, that in the Svetâsvatara-upanishad this change has not taken place. Throughout the whole of it we have one Being only, as the cause of everything, never two. Whatever Sâṅkhya philosophers of a later date may have imagined that they could discover in that Upanishad in support of their theories⁴, there is not one passage in it which, if rightly interpreted, not by itself, but in connection with the whole text, could be quoted in

¹ Prathamam *īśvarâtmanâ* *mâyirūpenâvatishkate brahma*; see p. 280, l. 5.

² *Mâyâ* *śṛigate sarvam etat*.

³ See p. 279, l. 5. *Sarvâtman* seems a vocative, like *paresvara*.

⁴ See *Sarvadarsanaśaṅgraha*, p. 152.

support of a dualistic philosophy such as the Sāṅkhya, as a system, decidedly is.

If we want to understand, what seems at first sight contradictory, the existence of a God, a Lord, a Creator, a Ruler, and at the same time the existence of the super-personal Brahman, we must remember that the orthodox view of the Vedānta¹ is not what we should call Evolution, but Illusion. Evolution of the Brahman, or *Parināma*, is heterodox, illusion or *Vivarta* is orthodox Vedānta. Brahman is a concept involving such complete perfection that with it evolution, or a tendency towards higher perfection, is impossible. If therefore there is change, that change can only be illusion, and can never claim the same reality as Brahman. To put it metaphorically, the world, according to the orthodox Vedāntin, does not proceed from Brahman as a tree from a germ, but as a mirage from the rays of the sun. The world is, as we express it, phenomenal only, but whatever objective reality there is in it, is Brahman, 'das Ding an sich,' as Kant might call it.

Then what is *Īsvara* or *Deva*, the Lord or God? The answers given to this question are not very explicit. Historically, no doubt, the idea of the *Īsvara*, the personal God, the creator and ruler, the omniscient and omnipotent, existed before the idea of the absolute Brahman, and after the idea of the Brahman had been elaborated, the difficulty of effecting a compromise between the two ideas, had to be overcome. *Īsvara*, the Lord, is Brahman, for what else could he be? But he is Brahman under a semblance, the semblance, namely, of a personal creating and governing God. He is not created, but is the creator, an office too low, it was supposed, for Brahman. The power which enabled *Īsvara* to create, was a power within him, not independent of him, whether we call it *Devātmasakti*, *Mâyā*, or *Prakṛiti*. That power is really inconceivable, and it has assumed such different forms in the mind of different Vedāntists, that in the end *Mâyā* herself is represented as the creating power, nay, as having created *Īsvara* himself.

¹ Vedāntaparibhāṣā, in the Pandit, vol. iv, p. 496.

In our Upanishad, however, *Īsvara* is the creator, and though, philosophically speaking, we should say that he was conceived as phenomenal, yet we must never forget that the phenomenal is the form of the real, and *Īsvara* therefore an aspect of Brahman¹. 'This God,' says Pramāda Dāsa Mitra², 'is the spirit conscious of the universe. Whilst an extremely limited portion, and that only of the material universe, enters into my consciousness, the whole of the conscious universe, together, of course, with the material one that hangs upon it, enters into the consciousness of God.' And again, 'Whilst we (the *gīvātman*s) are subject to *Mâyā*, *Mâyā* is subject to *Īsvara*. If we truly know *Īsvara*, we know him as Brahman; if we truly know ourselves, we know ourselves as Brahman. This being so, we must not be surprised if sometimes we find *Īsvara* sharply distinguished from Brahman, whilst at other times *Īsvara* and Brahman are interchanged.'

Another argument in support of the sectarian character of the *Svetāsvatara-upanishad* is brought forward, not by European students only, but by native scholars, namely, that the very name of Kapila, the reputed founder of the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy, occurs in it. Now it is quite true that if we read the second verse of the fifth *Adhyāya* by itself, the occurrence of the word *Kapila* may seem startling. But if we read it in connection with what precedes and follows, we shall see hardly anything unusual in it. It says :

'It is he who, being one only, rules over every germ (cause), over all forms, and over all germs; it is he who, in the beginning, bears in his thoughts the wise son, the fiery, whom he wished to look on while he was born.'

Now it is quite clear to me that the subject in this verse is the same as in IV, 11, where the same words are used, and where *yo yonim yonim adhitishthaty ekaḥ* refers clearly to Brahman. It is equally clear that the *prasūta*, the son, the offspring of Brahman, in the *Vedānta* sense, can only be the same person who is elsewhere called *Hiraṇyagarbha*,

¹ Savisesham Brahma, or sabalam Brahma.

² Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1878, p. 40.

the personified Brahman. Thus we read before, III, 4, 'He the creator and supporter of the gods, Rudra, the great seer (maharshi), the lord of all, formerly gave birth to Hiranyagarbha;' and in IV, 11, we have the very expression which is used here, namely, 'that he saw Hiranyagarbha being born.' Unfortunately, a new adjective is applied in our verse to Hiranyagarbha, namely, kapila, and this has called forth interpretations totally at variance with the general tenor of the Upanishad. If, instead of kapilam, reddish, fiery¹, any other epithet had been used of Hiranyagarbha, no one, I believe, would have hesitated for a moment to recognise the fact that our text simply repeats the description of Hiranyagarbha in his relation to Brahman, for the other epithet *rishim*, like maharshim, is too often applied to Brahman himself and to Hiranyagarbha to require any explanation.

But it is a well known fact that the Hindus, even as early as the Brâhmana-period, were fond of tracing their various branches of knowledge back to Brahman or to Brahman Svayambhû and then through Pragâpati, who even in the Rig-veda (X, 121, 10) replaces Hiranyagarbha, and sometimes through the Devas, such as Mrityu, Vâyu, Indra, Agni², &c., to the various ancestors of their ancient families.

In the beginning of the Mundakopanishad we are told that Brahman told it to Atharvan, Atharvan to Ângir, Ângir to Satyavâha Bhâradvâga, Bhâradvâga to Ângiras, Ângiras to Saunaka. Manu, the ancient lawgiver, is called both Hairanyagarbha and Svâyambhuva, as descended from Svayambhu or from Hiranyagarbha³. Nothing therefore was more natural than that the same tendency should have led some one to assign the authorship of a great philosophical system like the Sâṅkhya to Hiranyagarbha, if not to Brahman Svayambhû. And if the name of Hiranyagarbha had been used already for the ancestors of other sages, and the inspirers of other systems, what could be more natural than that another name of the same Hiranya-

¹ Other colours, instead of kapila, are nîla, harita, lohitaṅksha; see IV, 1; 4.

² See Vamsa-brâhmana, ed. Burnell, p. 10; Brihadâranyaka-up. pp. 185, 224.

³ See M. M., India, p. 372.

garbha should be chosen, such as Kapila. If we are told that Kapila handed his knowledge to Âsuri, Âsuri to Pañkasikha, this again is in perfect keeping with the character of literary tradition in India. Âsuri occurs in the *Vamsas* of the *Satapatha-brâhmana* (see above, pp. 187, 226); *Pañkasikha*¹, having five tufts, might be either a general name or a proper name of an ascetic, Buddhist or otherwise. He is quoted in the *Sâṅkhya-sûtras*, V, 32; VI, 68.

But after all this was settled, after Kapila had been accepted, like *Hiranyagarbha*, as the founder of a great system of philosophy, there came a reaction. People had now learnt to believe in a real Kapila, and when looking out for credentials for him, they found them wherever the word Kapila occurred in old writings. The question whether there ever was a real historical person who took the name of Kapila and taught the *Sâṅkhya-sûtras*, does not concern us here. I see no evidence for it. What is instructive is this, that our very passage, which may have suggested at first the name of Kapila, as distinct from *Hiranyagarbha* Kapila, was later on appealed to to prove the primordial existence of a Kapila, the founder of the *Sâṅkhya* philosophy. However, it requires but a very slight acquaintance with Sanskrit literature and very little reflection in order to see that the author of our verse could never have dreamt of elevating a certain Kapila, known to him as a great philosopher, if there ever was such a man, to a divine rank². *Hiranyagarbha* kapila may have given birth to Kapila, the hero of the *Sâṅkhya* philosophers, but Kapila, a real human person, was never changed into *Hiranyagarbha* kapila.

Let us see now what the commentators say. *Saṅkara* first explains *kapilam* by *kanakam*³ *kapilavarnam* *Hiranyagarbham*. *Kapilo 'graga iti purâṇavaśanât*. *Kapilo Hiranyagarbho vâ nirdisyate*. But he afterwards quotes some verses in support of the theory that Kapila was a

¹ For fuller information on *Pañkasikha*, *Kapila*, &c., see F. Hall's Preface to *Sâṅkhya-pravâkâna-bhâṣya*, p. 9 seq.; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* I, p. 433.

² Weber, *Hist. of Indian Literature*, p. 236.

³ This ought to be *Kanakavarnam*, and I hope will not be identified with the name of Buddha in a former existence.

Paramarshi, a portion of Vishnu, intended to destroy error in the *Kṛita* Yuga, a teacher of the Sāṅkhya philosophy.

Vigñānātman explains the verse rightly, and without any reference to Kapila, the Sāṅkhya teacher.

Saṅkarānanda goes a step further, and being evidently fully aware of the misuse that had been made of this passage, even in certain passages of the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 13254, 13703), and elsewhere, declares distinctly that *kapila* cannot be meant for the teacher of the Sāṅkhya (*na tu sâṅkhyapranetâ kapilah, nâmamâtrasâmyena tad-grahane syâd atiprasaṅgah*). He is fully aware of the true interpretation, viz. *avyâkrîtasya prathamakâryabhûtam kapilam vikîtravarṇam gñânakriyâsaktyâtmakam Hiranyagarbham ityarthah*, but he yields to another temptation, and seems to prefer another view which makes Kapila Vâsudevasyâvatârabhûtam Sagaraputrânâm dagdhâram, an Avatâra of Vâsudeva, the burner of the sons of Sagara. What vast conclusions may be drawn from no facts, may be seen in Weber's *Indische Studien*, vol. i, p. 430, and even in his *History of Indian Literature*, published in 1878.

Far more difficult to explain than these supposed allusions to the authors and to the teaching of the Sāṅkhya philosophy are the frequent references in the *Svetâsvatara-upanishad* to definite numbers, which are supposed to point to certain classes of subjects as arranged in the Sāṅkhya and other systems of philosophy. The Sāṅkhya philosophy is fond of counting and arranging, and its very name is sometimes supposed to have been chosen because it numbers (*saṅkhyâ*) the subjects of which it treats. It is certainly true that if we meet, as we do in the *Svetâsvatara-upanishad*, with classes of things¹, numbered as one, two, three, five, eight, sixteen, twenty, forty-eight, fifty and more, and if some of these numbers agree with those recognised in the later Sāṅkhya and Yoga systems, we feel doubtful as to whether these coincidences are accidental, or whether, if not accidental, they are due to borrowing on the part of those later systems, or on the part of the *Upanishads*. I feel

¹ See I, 4 ; 5 ; VI, 3.

it impossible to come to a decision on this point. Even so early as the hymns of the Rig-veda we meet with these numbers assigned to days and months and seasons, rivers and countries, sacrifices and deities. They clearly prove the existence of a considerable amount of intellectual labour which had become fixed and traditional before the composition of certain hymns, and they prove the same in the case of certain Upanishads. But beyond this, for the present, I should not like to go; and I must say that the attempts of most of the Indian commentators at explaining such numbers by a reference to later systems of philosophy or cosmology, are generally very forced and unsatisfactory.

One more point I ought to mention as indicating the age of the Svetâsvatara-upanishad, and that is the obscurity of many of its verses, which may be due to a corruption of the text, and the number of various readings, recognised as such, by the commentators. Some of them have been mentioned in the notes to my translation.

The text of this Upanishad was printed by Dr. Roer in the Bibliotheca Indica, with Saṅkara's commentary. I have consulted besides, the commentary of Vigñânâtman, the pupil of Paramahansa-parivrâgakâkârya-srîmag-Gñânottamâkârya, MS. I. O. 1133; and a third commentary, by Saṅkarânanda, the pupil of Paramahansa-parivrâgakâkâryânandâtman, MS. I. O. 1878. These were kindly lent me by Dr. Rost, the learned and liberal librarian of the India Office.

VI.

PRASŪA-UPANISHAD.

THIS Upanishad is called the Prasūa or Shat-prasūa-upanishad, and at the end of a chapter we find occasionally *iti prasūaprativakānam*, i. e. thus ends the answer to the question. It is ascribed to the Atharva-veda, and occasionally to the Pippalāda-sākhā, one of the most important sākhās of that Veda. Pippalāda is mentioned in the Upanishad as the name of the principal teacher.

Saṅkara, in the beginning of his commentary, says:

Mantroktasyârthasya vistarânuvâdîdam Brâhmaṇam ârabhyate, which would mean 'this Brâhmaṇa is commenced as more fully repeating what has been declared in the Mantra.' This, however, does not, I believe, refer to a Mantra or hymn in the Atharva-veda-saṃhitâ, but to the *Mundaka-upanishad*, which, as written in verse, is sometimes spoken of as a Mantra, or Mantropanishad. This is also the opinion of Ânandagiri, who says, 'one might think that it was mere repetition (punarukti), if the essence of the Self, which has been explained by the Mantras, were to be taught here again by the Brâhmaṇa.' For he adds, 'by the Mantras "Brahma devânâm," &c.,' and this is evidently meant for the beginning of the *Mundaka-upanishad*, 'Brahmâ devânâm.' Ânandagiri refers again to the *Mundaka* in order to show that the *Prasṇa* is not a mere repetition, and if Saṅkara calls the beginning of it a Brâhmaṇa, this must be taken in the more general sense of 'what is not Mantra¹.' Mantropanishad is a name used of several Upanishads which are written in verse, and some of which, like the *Îsâ*, have kept their place in the *Saṃhitâs*.

VII.

MAITRÂYANA-BRÂHMAṆA-UPANISHAD.

IN the case of this Upanishad we must first of all attempt to settle its right title. Professor Cowell, in his edition and translation of it, calls it *Maitri* or *Maitrâyanyâ-upanishad*, and states that it belongs to the *Maitrâyanyâ-sâkhâ* of the Black Yagur-veda, and that it formed the concluding portion of a lost Brâhmaṇa of that Sâkhâ, being preceded by the sacrificial (karma) portion, which consisted of four books.

In his MSS. the title varied between *Maitry-upanishad* and *Maitrî-sâkhâ-upanishad*. A Poona MS. calls it *Maitrâyanyâ-sâkhâ-upanishad*, and a MS. copied for Baron von Eckstein, *Maitrâyanyâ-upanishad*. I myself in the Alphabetical List of the Upanishads, published in the *Journal of*

¹ Mantravyatiriktabhâge tu brâhmaṇasabdak, *Rig-veda*, Sâyana's Introduction, vol. i, p. 23.

the German Oriental Society, called it, No. 104, *Maitrâyana* or *Maitri-upanishad*, i.e. either the Upanishad of the *Maitrâyanas*, or the Upanishad of *Maitri*, the principal teacher.

In a MS. which I received from Dr. Burnell, the title of our Upanishad is *Maitrâyani-brâhmana-upanishad*, varying with *Maitrâyani-brâhmana-upanishad*, and *Srîyagussâkhâyâm Maitrâyaniya-brâhmana-upanishad*.

The next question is by what name this Upanishad is quoted by native authorities. *Vidyâranya*, in his *Sarvopanishad-arthânubhûtiprakâsa*¹, v. 1, speaks of the *Maitrâyaniyanâmni yâgushî sâkhâ*, and he mentions *Maitra* (not *Maitri*) as the author of that *Sâkhâ* (vv. 55, 150).

In the *Muktikâ-upanishad*² we meet with the name of *Maitrâyani* as the twenty-fourth Upanishad, with the name of *Maitreyî* as the twenty-ninth; and again, in the list of the sixteen Upanishads of the *Sâma-veda*, we find *Maitrâyani* and *Maitreyî* as the fourth and fifth.

Looking at all this evidence, I think we should come to the conclusion that our Upanishad derives its name from the *Sâkhâ* of the *Maitrâyanas*, and may therefore be called *Maitrâyana-upanishad* or *Maitrâyani Upanishad*. *Maitrâyana-brâhmana-upanishad* seems likewise correct, and *Maitrâyani-brâhmana-upanishad*, like *Kaushîtaki-brâhmana-upanishad* and *Vâgasaneyi-samhitopanishad*, might be defended, if *Maitrâyanin* were known as a further derivative of *Maitrâyana*. If the name is formed from the teacher *Maitri* or *Maitra*, the title of *Maitri-upanishad* would also be correct, but I doubt whether *Maitri-upanishad* would admit of any grammatical justification³.

Besides this *Maitrâyana-brâhmana-upanishad*, however, I possess a MS. of what is called the *Maitreyopanishad*, sent to me likewise by the late Dr. Burnell. It is very short, and contains no more than the substance of the first *Prapâṭhaka* of the *Maitrâyana-brâhmana-upanishad*. I give

¹ See Cowell, *Maitr. Up.* pref. p. iv.

² Calcutta, 1791 (1869), p. 4; also as quoted in the *Mahāvākya-ratnâvalī*, p. 2^b.

³ Dr. Burnell, in his *Tanjore Catalogue*, mentions, p. 35^a, a *Maitrâyani-brâhmanopanishad*, which can hardly be a right title, and p. 36^b a *Maitrâyaniya* and *Maitreyībrâhmana*.

the text of it, as far as it can be restored from the one MS. in my possession :

Harih Om. Brihadratho vai nâma râgâ vairâgye putram nidhâpayitvedam asâsvatam manyamânâh sarîram vairâgyam upeto 'ranyam nirgagâma. Sa tatra paramam tapa¹ âdityam udikshamâna ūrdhvas tishthaty. Ante sahasrasya muner antikam âgagâma². Atha Brihadratho brahmavit-pravaram munîndram sampûgya stutvâ bahusâh pranâmam akarot. So 'bravid agnir ivâdhûmakas tegasâ nirdahann ivâtmaavid Bhagavân khâkâyanya, uttishthottishtha varam vrinîshveti râgânam abravît³. Sa tasmai punar namaskri-tyovâka, Bhagavan nâ(ha)mâtmaavit tvam tattvavik khu-rumo vayam; sa tvam no brûhity etad vratam purastâd asakyam mâ prikkha prasnam Aikshvâkâyân kâmân vrinîshveti Sâkâyanya. Sarîrasya sarîre (sic) karanâv abhimrisyamâno râgemâm gâthâm gagâda. 1

Bhagavann, asthikarmasnâyumaggâmâmsasuklasônita-sreshmâsrudashikâvinmûtrapittakaphasamghâte durgandhe nihsâre 'smiñ kharîre kim kâmabhogaih. 2

Kâmakrodhalobhamohabhayavishâdersheshaviyogânish-tasamprayogakshutpipâsâgarâmrityurogasokâdyair abhiha-te 'smiñ kharîre kim kâmabhogaih. 3

Sarvam kedaṁ kshayishnu pasyâmo yatheme dâṁsama-sakâdayas trinavan⁴ nasyata yodbhûtapradhvamsinâh. 4

Atha kim etair vâ pare 'nye dhamartharâs (sic) kakra-vartinaḥ Sudyumnabhûridyumnakuvalayâsvayauvanâsva-vaddhriyâsvâsvapatih sasabindur hariskandro 'mbarisho nanukastvayâtir yayâtir anaranyokshasenâdayo maruta-bharataprabhritayo râgâno mishato bandhuvargasya ma-hatim sriyam tyaktvâsmâl lokâd amum lokam prayânti. 5.

Atha kim etair vâ pare 'nye gandharvâsurayaksharâksha-sabhûtaganapisâkoragrahâdinâm nirodhanam pasyâmah. 6

Atha kim etair vânyânâm soshanam mahârnavânâm

¹ One expects âsthâya.

² This seems better than the Maitrâyana text. He went near a Muni, viz. Sâkâyanya.

³ This seems unnecessary.

⁴ There may be an older reading hidden in this, from which arose the reading of the Maitrâyana B. U. trinavanaspatayodbhûtapradhvamsinâh, or yodbhûtapradhvamsinâh.

sikharinâm prapatanam dhruvasya prakalanam vâtarûnâm nimagganam prithivyâh sthânâpasaranam surânâm. So 'ham ity etadvidhe 'smin samsâre kim kâmapabhogair yair evâsritasya sakrid âvartanam drisyata ity uddhartum arhasi tyandodapânabheka ivâham asmin sam Bhagavas tvam gatis tvam no gatih iti. 7

Ayam¹ agnir vaisvânaro yo 'yam antaḥ purushe yenedam annam pakṣyate yad idam adyate tasyaisha ghosho bhavati yam etat karnâv apidhâya *srinoti*, sa yadotkramishyan² bhavati nainam ghosham *srinoti*. 8

Yathâ³ nirindhano vahniḥ svayonâv upasâmyati. 9⁴

Sa sivaḥ so 'nte vaisvânaro bhûtvâ sa dagdhvâ sarvâni bhûtâni prithivyapsu praliyate⁵, âpas tegasi liyante⁶, tego vâyau praliyate⁷, vâyur âkâse vilîyate⁸, âkâsam indriyeshv, indriyâni tanmâtreshu, tanmâtrâni bhûtâdau vilîyante⁹, bhûtâdi mahati vilîyate¹⁰, mahân avyakte vilîyate¹¹, avyak-tam akshare vilîyate¹², aksharam tamasi vilîyate¹³, tama ekîbhavati parasmin, parastân na¹⁴ san nâsan na sad ityetan nirvânânam anurâsanam iti vedânurâsanam.

We should distinguish therefore between the large Maitrâyaṇa-brâhmaṇa-upanishad and the smaller Maitreyopani-shad. The title of Maitreyî-brâhmaṇa has, of course, a totally different origin, and simply means the Brâhmaṇa which tells the story of Maitreyî¹⁵.

As Professor Cowell, in the Preface to his edition and translation of the Maitrâyaṇa-brâhmaṇa-upanishad, has discussed its peculiar character, I have little to add on that subject. I agree with him in thinking that this Upanishad has grown, and contains several accretions. The Sanskrit commentator himself declares the sixth and seventh chapters to be Khilas or supplementary. Possibly the Maitreya-upanishad, as printed above, contains the earliest framework. Then we have traces of various recensions. Professor Cowell (Preface, p. vi) mentions a MS., copied

¹ Maitr. Up. II, 6; p. 32.

² kramishyân, m.

³ Yadhâ, m.

⁴ Maitr. Up. VI, 34; p. 178.

⁵ lipiyate.

⁶ lipyante.

⁷ liyyate.

⁸ liyyate.

⁹ liyante.

¹⁰ liyyate.

¹¹ lipyate.

¹² liyyate.

¹³ liyyate.

¹⁴ tânasannâ,

¹⁵ See *Khând.* Up. p. 623.

for Baron Eckstein, apparently from a Telugu original, which contains the first five chapters only, numbered as four. The verses given in VI, 34 (p. 177), beginning with *atrema slokâ bhavanti*, are placed after IV, 3. In my own MS. these verses are inserted at the beginning of the fifth chapter¹. Then follows in Baron Eckstein's MS. as IV, 5, what is given in the printed text as V, 1, 2 (pp. 69-76). In my own MS., which likewise comes from the South, the Upanishad does not go beyond VI, 8, which is called the sixth chapter and the end of the Upanishad.

We have in fact in our Upanishad the first specimen of that peculiar Indian style, so common in the later fables and stories, which delights in enclosing one story within another. The kernel of our Upanishad is really the dialogue between the Vâlakhilyas and Pragâpati Kratu. This is called by the commentator (see p. 331, note) a Vyâkhyâna, i. e. a fuller explanation of the Sûtra which comes before, and which expresses in the few words, 'He is the Self, this is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman,' the gist of the whole Upanishad.

This dialogue, or at all events the doctrine which it was meant to illustrate, was communicated by Maitri (or Maitra) to Sâkâyanya, and by Sâkâyanya to King Brihadratha Aikshvâka, also called Marut (II, 1; VI, 30). This dialogue might seem to come to an end in VI, 29, and likewise the dialogue between Sâkâyanya and Brihadratha; but it is carried on again to the end of VI, 30, and followed afterwards by a number of paragraphs which may probably be considered as later additions.

But though admitting all this, I cannot bring myself to follow Professor Cowell in considering, as he does, even the earlier portion of the Upanishad as dating from a late period, while the latter portions are called by him comparatively modern, on account of frequent Vaishnava quotations. What imparts to this Upanishad, according to my opinion, an exceptionally genuine and ancient character, is the preservation in it of that peculiar Sandhi which,

¹ See p. 303, note 1; p. 305, note 1; p. 312, note 1.

thanks to the labours of Dr. von Schroeder, we now know to be characteristic of the Maitrāyana-sākhā. In that Sākhā final unaccented *a* and *e* are changed into *ā*, if the next word begins with an accented vowel, except *a*. Before initial *a*, however, *e* remains unchanged, and *a* becomes *o*, and the initial *a* is sometimes elided, sometimes not. Some of these rules, it must be remembered, run counter to Pāṇini, and we may safely conclude therefore that texts in which they are observed, date from the time before Pāṇini. In some MSS., as, for instance, in my own MS. of the Maitrāyana-brāhmaṇa-upanishad, these rules are not observed, but this makes their strict observation in other MSS. all the more important. Besides, though to Dr. von Schroeder belongs, no doubt, the credit of having, in his edition of the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā, first pointed out these phonetic peculiarities, they were known as such to the commentators, who expressly point out these irregular Sandhis as distinctive of the Maitrāyaṇī sākhā. Thus we read Maitr. Up. II, 3 (p. 18), that *tigmategasa* *ūrdhvaretaso*, instead of *tigmategasa*, is *evamvidha etakkhākhāsaṅketapāṭhas khāndasaḥ sarvatra*, i.e. is throughout the Vedic reading indication of that particular Sākhā, namely, the Maitrāyaṇī.

A still stranger peculiarity of our Sākhā is the change of a final *t* before initial *s* into *ñ*. This also occurs in our Upanishad. In VI, 8, we read *svāñ sarīrād*; in VI, 27, *yañ sarīrasya*. Such a change seems phonetically so unnatural, that the tradition must have been very strong to perpetuate it among the Maitrāyanas.

Now what is important for our purposes is this, that these phonetic peculiarities run through all the seven chapters of our Upanishad. This will be seen from the following list :

I. Final *a* changed into *ā* before initial vowel¹ :

II, 3, *tigmategasa* *ūrdhvaretaso* (Comm. *etakkhākhāsaṅketapāṭhas khāndasaḥ sarvatra*).

II, 5, *vibodhā evam*. II, 7, *avasthitā iti*.

¹ I have left out the restriction as to the accent of the vowels, because they are disregarded in the Upanishad. It should be observed that this peculiar Sandhi occurs in the Upanishad chiefly before *iti*.

- III, 5, etair abhibhûâtâ iti. IV, 1, vidyatâ iti.
 VI, 4, prañavâ iti; bhûmyâdayâ eko.
 VI, 6, âdityâ iti; âhavanîyâ iti; sûryâ iti; ahañkârâ
 iti; vyânâ iti. VI, 7, bhargâ iti.
 VI, 7, sannivishâtâ iti. VI, 23, devâ oñkâro.
 VI, 30, prâyâtâ iti. VI, 30, vinirgatâ iti.

II. Final e before initial vowels becomes â. For instance:

- I, 4, drîsyatâ iti. II, 2, nishpadyatâ iti.
 III, 2, âpadyatâ iti. III, 2, pushkarâ iti.
 IV, 1, vidyatâ iti. VI, 10, bhuñktâ iti.
 VI, 20, asnutâ iti. VI, 30, ekâ âhur.

Even pragrîhya e is changed to â in—

VI, 23, etâ upâsita, i. e. ete uktalakshane brahmañi.

In VI, 31, instead of te etasya, the commentator seems to have read te vâ etasya.

III. Final as before â, u, and au becomes a, and is then contracted. For instance:

- I, 4, vanaspatayodbhûta, instead of vanaspataya
 udbhûta. (Comm. Sandhis *khandaso vâ, ukâro
 vâtra lupto drashṭavyaḥ*.)
 II, 6, devaushṇyam, instead of deva aushṇyam.
 (Comm. Sandhis *khandasaḥ*.)
 VI, 24, atamâvishṭam, instead of atama-âvishṭam
 (Comm. Sandhis *khandasaḥ*); cf. *Khând. Up.*
 VI, 8, 3, asanâyeti (Comm. *visarganîyalopaḥ*).

IV. Final e before i becomes a, and is then contracted. For instance:

- VI, 7, âtmâ ganîteti for ganîta iti. (Comm. *gânîte,
 gânâti*.)
 VI, 28, avataiva for avata iva. (Comm. Sandhi-
vridhî khandase.)

V. Final au before initial vowels becomes â. For instance:

- II, 6, yena vâ etâ anugrîhâtâ iti.
 VI, 22, asâ abhidhyâtâ.

On abhibhûyamânay iva, see p. 295, note 2.

V, 2, asâ âtmâ (var. lect. asâv âtmâ).

VI. Final o of atho produces elision of initial ā. For instance :

III, 2, atho 'bhibhûtatvât. (Comm. Sandhis *khândasaḥ*.) Various reading, ato 'bhibhûtatvât.

VI, 1, so antar is explained as sa u.

VII. Other irregularities :

VI, 7, âpo pyâyanât, explained by pyâyanât and âpyâyanât. Might it be, âpo 'py ayanât?

VI, 7, âtmano tmâ netâ.

II, 6, so tmânam abhidhyâtvâ.

VI, 35, dvidharmondham for dvidharmândham. (Comm. *khândasa*.)

VI, 35, tegasendham, i.e. tegasâ-iddhan. (In explaining other irregular compounds, too, as in I, 4, the commentator has recourse to a *khândasa* or *prâmâdika* licence.)

VI, 1, *hiranyavasthât* for *hiranyâvasthât*. Here the dropping of a in *avasthât* is explained by a reference to Bhâguri (*vashî* Bhâgurir allopanam avâpyor upasargayoh). See Vopadeva III, 171.

VIII. Vislishṭapâtha :

VII, 2, brahmadhiyâlambana. (Comm. vislishṭapâthas *khândasaḥ*.)

VI, 35, apyay añkurâ for apy añkurâ. (Comm. yakâraḥ pramâdapatḥitaḥ.)

On the contrary VI, 35, vliyânte for viliyante.

If on the grounds which we have hitherto examined there seems good reason to ascribe the Maitrâyaṇa-brâhmana-upanishad to an early rather than to a late period, possibly to an ante-Pâvînean period, we shall hardly be persuaded to change this opinion on account of supposed references to Vaishṇava or to Bauddha doctrines which some scholars have tried to discover in it.

As to the worship of Vishṇu, as one of the many manifestations of the Highest Spirit, we have seen it alluded to in other Upanishads, and we know from the Brâhmanas that the name of Vishṇu was connected with many of the earliest Vedic sacrifices.

As to Bauddha doctrines, including the very name of *Nirvâna* (p. xlvi, l. 19), we must remember, as I have often remarked, that there were Bauddhas before Buddha. *Bṛihaspati*, who is frequently quoted in later philosophical writings as the author of an heretical philosophy, denying the authority of the Vedas, is mentioned by name in our Upanishad (VII, 9), but we are told that this *Bṛihaspati*, having become *Sukra*, promulgated his erroneous doctrines in order to mislead the Asuras, and thus to insure the safety of Indra, i.e. of the old faith.

The fact that the teacher of King *Bṛihadhratha* in our Upanishad is called *Sâkâyanya*, can never be used in support of the idea that, being a descendant of *Sâka*¹, he must have been, like *Sâkyamuni*, a teacher of Buddhist doctrines. He is the very opposite in our Upanishad, and warns his hearers against such doctrines as we should identify with the doctrines of Buddha. As I have pointed out on several occasions, the breaking through the law of the *Āśramas* is the chief complaint which orthodox Brâhman make against Buddhists and their predecessors, and this is what *Sâkâyanya* condemns. A Brâhman may become a *Sannyâsin*, which is much the same as a Buddhist Bhikshu, if he has first passed through the three stages of a student, a householder, and a *Vânaprastha*. But to become a Bhikshu without that previous discipline, was heresy in the eyes of the Brâhman, and it was exactly that heresy which the Bauddhas preached and practised. That this social laxity was gaining ground at the time when our Upanishad was written is clear (see VII, 8). We hear of people who wear red dresses (like the Buddhists) without having a right to them; we even hear of books, different from the Vedas, against which the true Brâhman are warned. All this points to times when what we call Buddhism was in the air, say the sixth century B. C., the very time to which I have always assigned the origin of the genuine and classical Upanishads.

The Upanishads are to my mind the germs of Buddhism,

¹ *Sâkâyanya* means a grandson or further descendant of *Sâka*; see *Ganaratnâvali* (Baroda, 1874), p. 57ⁿ.

while Buddhism is in many respects the doctrine of the Upanishads carried out to its last consequences, and, what is important, employed as the foundation of a new social system. In doctrine the highest goal of the Vedānta, the knowledge of the true Self, is no more than the Buddhist Samyaksambodhi; in practice the Sannyâsin is the Bhikshu, the friar, only emancipated alike from the tedious discipline of the Brâhmanic student, the duties of the Brâhmanic householder, and the yoke of useless penances imposed on the Brâhmanic dweller in the forest. The spiritual freedom of the Sannyâsin becomes in Buddhism the common property of the Saṅgha, the Fraternity, and that Fraternity is open alike to the young and the old, to the Brâhman and the Sûdra, to the rich and the poor, to the wise and the foolish. In fact there is no break between the India of the Veda and the India of the Tripitaka, but there is an historical continuity between the two, and the connecting link between extremes that seem widely separated must be sought in the Upanishads¹.

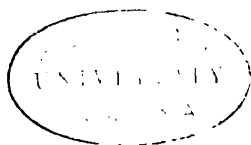
F. MAX MÜLLER.

OXFORD, February, 1884.

¹ As there is room left on this page, I subjoin a passage from the Abhidharma-kosha-vyākhyâ, ascribed to the Bhagavat, but which, as far as style and thought are concerned, might be taken from an Upanishad: Uktam hi Bhagavatâ: Prithivî bho Gautama kutra pratishthitâ? Prithivî Brâhmana abmandale pratishthitâ. Abmandalam bho Gautama kva pratishthitam? Vâyau pratishthitam. Vâyur bho Gautama kva pratishthitâ? Âkâse pratishthitâ. Âkâsam bho Gautama kutra pratishthitam? Atisarasi Mahâbrâhmana, atisarasi Mahâbrâhmana. Âkâsam Brâhmanâpratishthitam, anâlambanam iti vistara. Tas-mâd asty âkâsam iti Vaibhâshikâ. (See Brâhad-Âr. Up. III, 6, 1. Burnouf, Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme, p. 449.)

‘For it is said by the Bhagavat: “O Gautama, on what does the earth rest?” “The earth, O Brâhmana, rests on the sphere of water.” “O Gautama, on what does the sphere of water rest?” “It rests on the air.” “O Gautama, on what does the air rest?” “It rests on the ether (âkâsa).” “O Gautama, on what does the ether rest?” “Thou goest too far, great Brâhmana; thou goest too far, great Brâhmana. The ether, O Brâhmana, does not rest. It has no support.” Therefore the Vaibhâshikas hold that there is an ether,’ &c.

KATHA-UPANISHAD.



KATHA-UPANISHAD.

FIRST ADHYÂYA.

FIRST VALLÎ.

1. VÂGASRAVASA¹, desirous (of heavenly rewards), surrendered (at a sacrifice) all that he possessed. He had a son of the name of Naïketas.

2. When the (promised) presents were being given (to the priests), faith entered into the heart of Naïketas, who was still a boy, and he thought :

3. 'Unblessed², surely, are the worlds to which a man goes by giving (as his promised present at a sacrifice) cows which have drunk water, eaten hay, given their milk³, and are barren.'

4. He (knowing that his father had promised to give up all that he possessed, and therefore his son also) said to his father : 'Dear father, to whom wilt thou give me ?'

¹ Vâgasravasa is called Âruni Auddâlaki Gautama, the father of Naïketas. The father of Svetaketu, another enlightened pupil (see *Khând. Up.* VI, 1, 1), is also called Âruni (Uddâlaka, comm. *Kaush. Up.* I, 1) Gautama. Svetaketu himself is called Âruneya, i. e. the son of Âruni, the grandson of Aruna, and likewise Auddâlaki. Auddâlaki is a son of Uddâlaka, but Saṅkara (*Kâth. Up.* I, 11) takes Auddâlaki as possibly the same as Uddâlaka. See *Brîh. Âr. Up.* III, 6, 1.

² As to ānanda, unblessed, see *Brîh. Âr. Up.* IV, 4, 11; *Vâgas. Samh. Up.* 3 (Sacred Books of the East, vol. i, p. 311).

³ Ānandagiri explains that the cows meant here are cows no longer able to drink, to eat, to give milk, and to calve.

He said it a second and a third time. Then the father replied (angrily):

‘I shall give thee¹ unto Death.’

(The father, having once said so, though in haste, had to be true to his word and to sacrifice his son.)

5. The son said: ‘I go as the first, at the head of many (who have still to die); I go in the midst of many (who are now dying). What will be the work of Yama (the ruler of the departed) which to-day he has to do unto me²?’

¹ Dadāmi, I give, with the meaning of the future. Some MSS. write dāsyāmi.

² I translate these verses freely, i. e. independently of the commentator, not that I ever despise the traditional interpretation which the commentators have preserved to us, but because I think that, after having examined it, we have a right to judge for ourselves. Śaṅkara says that the son, having been addressed by his father full of anger, was sad, and said to himself: ‘Among many pupils I am the first, among many middling pupils I am the middlemost, but nowhere am I the last. Yet though I am such a good pupil, my father has said that he will consign me unto death. What duty has he to fulfil toward Yama which he means to fulfil to-day by giving me to him? There may be no duty, he may only have spoken in haste. Yet a father’s word must not be broken.’ Having considered this, the son comforted his father, and exhorted him to behave like his forefathers, and to keep his word. I do not think this view of Śaṅkara’s could have been the view of the old poet. He might have made the son say that he was the best or one of the best of his father’s pupils, but hardly that he was also one of his middling pupils, thus implying that he never was among the worst. That would be out of keeping with the character of Naïketas, as drawn by the poet himself. Naïketas is full of faith and wishes to die, he would be the last to think of excuses why he should not die. The second half of the verse may be more doubtful. It may mean what Śaṅkara thinks it means, only that we should get thus again an implied complaint of Naïketas against his father, and this is not in keeping with his character. The mind of Naïketas is bent on what is to come, on what he will see after death, and on what Yama will do unto him. ‘What has Yama to do,’ he asks, ‘what can he do, what is it that he will to-day do unto

6. 'Look back how it was with those who came before, look forward how it will be with those who come hereafter. A mortal ripens like corn, like corn he springs up again ¹.'

(Naïketas enters into the abode of Yama Vaivasvata, and there is no one to receive him. Thereupon one of the attendants of Yama is supposed to say :)

7. 'Fire enters into the houses, when a Brâhmana enters as a guest². That fire is quenched by this peace-offering ;—bring water, O Vaivasvata ³!

8. 'A Brâhmana that dwells in the house of a foolish man without receiving food to eat, destroys his hopes and expectations, his possessions, his righteousness, his sacred and his good deeds, and all his sons and cattle ⁴.'

(Yama, returning to his house after an absence of three nights, during which time Naïketas had received no hospitality from him, says :)

9. 'O Brâhmana, as thou, a venerable guest, hast dwelt in my house three nights without eating,

me?' This seems to me consistent with the ancient story, while Saṅkara's interpretations and interpolations savour too much of the middle ages of India.

¹ Sasya, corn rather than grass; *ēla*, *ήλιον*, Benfey; Welsh haidd, according to Rhys; different from *sash-pa*, *ces-pes*, Benfey.

² Cf. *Vasishṭha* XI, 13; *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiv, p. 51.

³ Vaivasvata, a name of Yama, the ruler of the departed. Water is the first gift to be offered to a stranger who claims hospitality.

⁴ Here again some words are translated differently from Saṅkara. He explains *âsâ* as asking for a wished-for object, *pratikhâ* as looking forward with a view to obtaining an unknown object. *Saṅgata* he takes as reward for intercourse with good people; *sûnritâ*, as usual, as good and kind speech; *ishṭa* as rewards for sacrifices; *pûrta* as rewards for public benefits.

therefore choose now three boons. Hail to thee!
and welfare to me!

10. Naïketas said: 'O Death, as the first of the three boons I choose that Gautama, my father, be pacified, kind, and free from anger towards me; and that he may know me and greet me, when I shall have been dismissed by thee.'

11. Yama said: 'Through my favour Auddālaki Āruṇi, thy father, will know thee, and be again towards thee as he was before. He shall sleep peacefully through the night, and free from anger, after having seen thee freed from the mouth of death.'

12. Naïketas said: 'In the heaven-world there is no fear; thou art not there, O Death, and no one is afraid on account of old age. Leaving behind both hunger and thirst, and out of the reach of sorrow, all rejoice in the world of heaven.'

13. 'Thou knowest, O Death, the fire-sacrifice⁽²⁾ which leads us to heaven; tell it to me, for I am full of faith. Those who live in the heaven-world reach immortality, — this I ask as my second boon.'

14. Yama said: 'I tell it thee, learn it from me, and when thou understandest that fire-sacrifice which leads to heaven, know, O Naïketas, that it is the attainment of the endless worlds, and their firm support, hidden in darkness¹.'

15. Yama then told him that fire-sacrifice, the beginning of all the worlds², and what bricks are

¹ The commentator translates: 'I tell it thee, attend to me who knows the heavenly fire.' Here the nom. sing. of the participle would be very irregular, as we can hardly refer it to *bravīmi*. Then, 'Know this fire as a means of obtaining the heavenly world, know that fire as the rest or support of the world, when it assumes the form of *Virāg*, and as hidden in the heart of men.'

² *Saṅkara*: the first embodied, in the shape of *Virāg*.

required for the altar, and how many, and how they are to be placed. And Nâziketas repeated all as it had been told to him. Then Mrityu, being pleased with him, said again :

16. The generous¹, being satisfied, said to him : 'I give thee now another boon ; that fire-sacrifice shall be named after thee, take also this many-coloured chain².'

17. 'He who has three times performed this Nâziketa-rite, and has been united with the three (father, mother, and teacher), and has performed the three duties (study, sacrifice, almsgiving) overcomes birth and death. When he has learnt and understood this fire, which knows (or makes us know) all that is born of Brahman³, which is venerable and divine, then he obtains everlasting peace.'

18. 'He who knows the three Nâziketa fires, and knowing the three, piles up the Nâziketa sacrifice, he, having first thrown off the chains of death, rejoices in the world of heaven, beyond the reach of grief.'

19. 'This, O Nâziketas, is thy fire which leads to heaven, and which thou hast chosen as thy second boon. That fire all men will proclaim⁴. Choose now, O Nâziketas, thy third boon.'

20. Nâziketas said : 'There is that doubt, when a man is dead,—some saying, he is ; others, he is not. This I should like to know, taught by thee ; this is the third of my boons.'

21. Death said : 'On this point even the gods

(3)

¹ Verses 16-18 seem a later addition.

² This arises probably from a misunderstanding of verse II, 3.

³ Gâtavedas.

⁴ Tavaiva is a later addition, caused by the interpolation of verses 15-18.

have doubted formerly ; it is not easy to understand. That subject is subtle. Choose another boon, O Naïketas, do not press me, and let me off that boon.'

22. Naïketas said: 'On this point even the gods have doubted indeed, and thou, Death, hast declared it to be not easy to understand, and another teacher like thee is not to be found :—surely no other boon is like unto this.'

23. Death said: 'Choose sons and grandsons who shall live a hundred years, herds of cattle, elephants, gold, and horses. Choose the wide abode of the earth, and live thyself as many harvests as thou desirest.'

24. 'If you can think of any boon equal to that, choose wealth, and long life. Be (king), Naïketas, on the wide earth¹. I make thee the enjoyer of all desires.'

25. 'Whatever desires are difficult to attain among mortals, ask for them according to thy wish ;—these fair maidens with their chariots and musical instruments,—such are indeed not to be obtained by men,—be waited on by them whom I give to thee, but do not ask me about dying.'

26. Naïketas said: 'These things last till to-morrow, O Death, for they wear out this vigour of all the senses. Even the whole of life is short. Keep thou thy horses, keep dance and song for thyself.'

27. 'No man can be made happy by wealth. Shall we possess wealth, when we see thee? Shall we live,

¹ Mahâbhûmau, on the great earth, has been explained also by mahâ bhûmau, be great on the earth. It is doubtful, however, whether mahâ for mahân could be admitted in the Upanishads, and whether it would not be easier to write mahân bhûmau.

as long as thou rulest? Only that boon (which I have chosen) is to be chosen by me.'

28. 'What mortal, slowly decaying here below, and knowing, after having approached them, the freedom from decay enjoyed by the immortals, would delight in a long life, after he has pondered on the pleasures which arise from beauty and love ¹?'

29. 'No, that on which there is this doubt, O Death, tell us what there is in that great Hereafter. Nāṭiketas does not choose another boon but that which enters into the hidden world.'

¹ A very obscure verse. Sāṅkara gives a various reading *kva tadāsthāḥ* for *kvadhaḥsthāḥ*, in the sense of 'given to these pleasures,' which looks like an emendation. I have changed *agāryatām* into *agāryatām*, and take it for an acc. sing., instead of a gen. plur., which could hardly be governed by *upetya*.

SECOND VALLÎ.

1. Death said: 'The good is one thing, the pleasant another; these two, having different objects, chain a man. It is well with him who clings to the good; he who chooses the pleasant, misses his end.'

2. 'The good and the pleasant approach man: the wise goes round about them and distinguishes them. Yea, the wise prefers the good to the pleasant, but the fool chooses the pleasant through greed and avarice.'

3. 'Thou, O Naïketas, after pondering all pleasures that are or seem delightful, hast dismissed them all. Thou hast not gone into the road¹ that leadeth to wealth, in which many men perish.'

4. 'Wide apart and leading to different points are these two, ignorance, and what is known as wisdom. I believe Naïketas to be one who desires knowledge, for even many pleasures did not tear thee away².'

5. 'Fools dwelling in darkness, wise in their own conceit, and puffed up with vain knowledge, go round and round, staggering to and fro, like blind men led by the blind³.'

6. 'The Hereafter never rises before the eyes of the careless child, deluded by the delusion of wealth. "This is the world," he thinks, "there is no other;"—thus he falls again and again under my sway.'

7. 'He (the Self) of whom many are not even able

¹ Cf. I, 16.

² The commentator explains lolupantaḥ by vikṣhedam kritavantaḥ. Some MSS. read lolupante and lolupanti, but one expects either lolupyante or lolupati.

³ Cf. Mund. Up. II, 8.

to hear, whom many, even when they hear of him, do not comprehend; wonderful is a man, when found, who is able to teach him (the Self); wonderful is he who comprehends him, when taught by an able teacher¹.'

8. 'That (Self), when taught by an inferior man, is not easy to be known, even though often thought upon²; unless it be taught by another, there is no way to it, for it is inconceivably smaller than what is small³.'

9. 'That doctrine is not to be obtained⁴ by argument, but when it is declared by another, then, O dearest, it is easy to understand. Thou hast obtained it now⁵; thou art truly a man of true resolve. May we have always an inquirer like thee⁶!'

10. Nāziketas said: 'I know that what is called a treasure is transient, (for that eternal is not obtained by things which are not eternal). Hence the Nāziketa fire(-sacrifice) has been laid by me (first); then, by means of transient things, I have obtained what is not transient (the teaching of Yama)⁷.'

11. Yama said: 'Though thou hadst seen the fulfilment of all desires, the foundation of the world, the endless rewards of good deeds, the shore where

¹ Cf. Bhag. Gītā II, 29.

² Cf. Mund. Up. II, 4.

³ I read *anupramānāt*. Other interpretations: If it is taught by one who is identified with the Self, then there is no uncertainty. If it has been taught as identical with ourselves, then there is no perception of anything else. If it has been taught by one who is identified with it, then there is no failure in understanding it (*agati*).

⁴ *Āpaneyā*; should it be *āpanāya*, as afterwards *sugñānāya*?

⁵ Because you insist on my teaching it to thee.

⁶ Unless no is negative, for Yama, at first, does not like to communicate his knowledge.

⁷ The words in parentheses have been added in order to remove the otherwise contradictory character of the two lines.

there is no fear, that which is magnified by praise, the wide abode, the rest¹, yet being wise thou hast with firm resolve dismissed it all.'

12. 'The wise who, by means of meditation on his Self, recognises the Ancient, who is difficult to be seen, who has entered into the dark, who is hidden in the cave, who dwells in the abyss, as God, he indeed leaves joy and sorrow far behind².'

13. 'A mortal who has heard this and embraced it, who has separated from it all qualities, and has thus reached the subtle Being, rejoices, because he has obtained what is a cause for rejoicing. The house (of Brahman) is open, I believe, O Naïketas.'

14. Naïketas said: 'That which thou seest as neither this nor that, as neither effect nor cause, as neither past nor future, tell me that.'

15. Yama said: 'That word (or place) which all the Vedas record, which all penances proclaim, which men desire when they live as religious students, that word I tell thee briefly, it is Om³.'

16. 'That (imperishable) syllable means Brahman, that syllable means the highest (Brahman); he who knows that syllable, whatever he desires, is his.'

17. 'This is the best support, this is the highest support; he who knows that support, is magnified in the world of Brahmâ.'

18. 'The knowing (Self) is not born, it dies not; it sprang from nothing, nothing sprang from it. The

¹ Cf. *Khând. Up.* VII, 12, 2.

² Yama seems here to propound the lower Brahman only, not yet the highest. Deva, God, can only be that as what the Old, i. e. the Self in the heart, is to be recognised. It would therefore mean, he who finds God or the Self in his heart. See afterwards, verse 21.

³ Cf. *Svet. Up.* IV, 9; *Bhag. Gitâ* VIII, 11.

Ancient is unborn, eternal, everlasting; he is not killed, though the body is killed ¹.'

19. 'If the killer thinks that he kills, if the killed thinks that he is killed, they do not understand; for this one does not kill, nor is that one killed.'

20. 'The Self ², smaller than small, greater than great, is hidden in the heart of that creature. A man who is free from desires and free from grief, sees the majesty of the Self by the grace of the Creator ³.'

21. 'Though sitting still, he walks far; though lying down, he goes everywhere ⁴. Who, save myself, is able to know that God who rejoices and rejoices not?'

22. 'The wise who knows the Self as bodiless within the bodies, as unchanging among changing things, as great and omnipresent, does never grieve.'

23. 'That Self ⁵ cannot be gained by the Veda, nor by ~~understanding~~ ^{intellect}, nor by much learning. He whom the Self chooses, by him the Self can be gained. The Self chooses him (his body) as his own.'

24. 'But he who has not first turned away from his wickedness, who is not tranquil, and subdued, or whose mind is not at rest, he can never obtain the Self (even) by knowledge.'

25. 'Who then knows where He is, He to whom the Brahmans and Kṣatriyas are (as it were) but food ⁶, and death itself a condiment?'

¹ As to verses 18 and 19, see Bhag. Gîtâ II, 19, 20.

² Cf. Svet. Up. III, 20; Taitt. Âr. X, 12, 1.

³ The commentator translates 'through the tranquillity of the senses,' i. e. dhâtuprasâdât, taking prasâda in the technical sense of samprasâda. As to kratu, desire, or rather, will, see Brîh. Âr. IV, 4, 5.

⁴ Cf. Tal. Up. 5.

⁵ Cf. I, 7-9; Mund. Up. III, 2, 3; Bhag. Gîtâ I, 53.

⁶ In whom all disappears, and in whom even death is swallowed up.

Doctrine of Intellect

THIRD VALLÎ.

1. 'There are the two¹, drinking their reward in the world of their own works, entered into the cave (of the heart), dwelling on the highest summit (the ether in the heart). Those who know Brahman call them shade and light; likewise, those householders who perform the Trinâkiketa sacrifice.'

2. 'May we be able to master that Nâkiketa rite which is a bridge for sacrificers; also that which is the highest, imperishable Brahman for those who wish to cross over to the fearless shore².'

3. 'Know the Self to be sitting in the chariot, the body to be the chariot, the intellect (buddhi) the charioteer, and the mind the reins³.'

4. 'The senses they call the horses, the objects of the senses their roads. When he (the Highest Self) is in union with the body, the senses, and the mind, then wise people call him the Enjoyer.'

5. 'He who has no understanding and whose mind

¹ The two are explained as the higher and lower Brahman, the former being the light, the latter the shadow. *Rita* is explained as reward, and connected with *sukṛita*, lit. good deeds, but frequently used in the sense of *svakṛita*, one's own good and evil deeds. The difficulty is, how the highest Brahman can be said to drink the reward (*ritapa*) of former deeds, as it is above all works and above all rewards. The commentator explains it away as a metaphorical expression, as we often speak of many, when we mean one. (Cf. *Mund. Up.* III, 1, 1.) I have joined *sukṛitasya* with *loke, loka* meaning the world, i. e. the state, the environment, which we made to ourselves by our former deeds.

² These two verses may be later additions.

³ The simile of the chariot has some points of similarity with the well-known passage in Plato's *Phædros*, but Plato did not borrow this simile from the Brahmins, as little as Xenophon need have consulted our Upanishad (II, 2) in writing his prologue of *Prodikos*.

(the reins) is never firmly held, his senses (horses) are unmanageable, like vicious horses of a charioteer.'

6. 'But he who has understanding and whose mind is always firmly held, his senses are under control, like good horses of a charioteer.'

7. 'He who has no understanding, who is unmindful and always impure, never reaches that place, but enters into the round of births.'

8. 'But he who has understanding, who is mindful and always pure, reaches indeed that place, from whence he is not born again.'

9. 'But he who has understanding for his charioteer, and who holds the reins of the mind, he reaches the end of his journey, and that is the highest place of Vishnu.'

10. 'Beyond the senses there are the objects, beyond the objects there is the mind, beyond the mind there is the intellect, the Great Self is beyond the intellect.'

11. 'Beyond the Great there is the Undeveloped, beyond the Undeveloped there is the Person (purusha). Beyond the Person there is nothing—this is the goal, the highest road.'

12. 'That Self is hidden in all beings and does not shine forth, but it is seen by subtle seers through their sharp and subtle intellect.'

13. 'A wise man should keep down speech and mind¹; he should keep them within the Self which is knowledge; he should keep knowledge within the Self which is the Great; and he should keep that (the Great) within the Self which is the Quiet.'

14. 'Rise, awake! having obtained your boons²,

¹ Saṅkara interprets, he should keep down speech in the mind.

² Comm., excellent teachers.

understand them! The sharp edge of a razor is difficult to pass over; thus the wise say the path (to the Self) is hard.'

15. 'He who has perceived that which is without sound, without touch, without form, without decay, without taste, eternal, without smell, without beginning, without end, beyond the Great, and unchangeable, is freed from the jaws of death.'

16. 'A wise man who has repeated or heard the ancient story of Naïketas told by Death, is magnified in the world of Brahman.'

17. 'And he who repeats this greatest mystery in an assembly of Brâhmans, or full of devotion at the time of the Srâddha sacrifice, obtains thereby infinite rewards.'

SECOND ADHYÂYA.

FOURTH VALLÎ.

1. Death said: 'The Self-existent pierced the openings (of the senses) so that they turn forward: therefore man looks forward, not backward into himself. Some wise man, however, with his eyes closed and wishing for immortality, saw the Self behind.'

2. 'Children follow after outward pleasures, and fall into the snare of wide-spread death. Wise men only, knowing the nature of what is immortal, do not look for anything stable here among things unstable.'

3. 'That by which we know form, taste, smell, sounds, and loving touches, by that also we know what exists besides. This is that (which thou hast asked for).'

4. 'The wise, when he knows that that by which he perceives all objects in sleep or in waking is the great omnipresent Self, grieves no more.'

5. 'He who knows this living soul which eats honey (perceives objects) as being the Self, always near, the Lord of the past and the future, henceforward fears no more. This is that.'

6. 'He who (knows) him¹ who was born first from

¹ The first manifestation of Brahman, commonly called Hiranyagarbha, which springs from the tapas of Brahman. Afterwards only water and the rest of the elements become manifested. The text of these verses is abrupt, possibly corrupt. The two accusatives, tish/hantam and tish/hantim, seem to me to require veda to be supplied from verse 4.

the brooding heat¹ (for he was born before the water), who, entering into the heart, abides therein, and was perceived from the elements. This is that.'

7. '(He who knows) Aditi also, who is one with all deities, who arises with Prâna (breath or Hiranya-garbha), who, entering into the heart, abides therein, and was born from the elements. This is that.'

8. 'There is Agni (fire), the all-seeing, hidden in the two fire-sticks, well-guarded like a child (in the womb) by the mother, day after day to be adored by men when they awake and bring oblations. This is that.'

9. 'And that whence the sun rises, and whither it goes to set, there all the Devas are contained, and no one goes beyond. This is that².'

10. 'What is here (visible in the world), the same is there (invisible in Brahman); and what is there, the same is here. He who sees any difference here (between Brahman and the world), goes from death to death.'

11. 'Even by the mind this (Brahman) is to be obtained, and then there is no difference whatsoever. He goes from death to death who sees any difference here.'

12. 'The person (purusha), of the size of a thumb³, stands in the middle of the Self (body?), as lord of the past and the future, and henceforward fears no more. This is that.'

13. 'That person, of the size of a thumb, is like a light without smoke, lord of the past and the future, he is the same to-day and to-morrow. This is that.'

¹ Cf. *srishāikrama*.

² Cf. V, 8.

³ Svet. Up. III, 13.

14. 'As rain-water that has fallen on a mountain-ridge runs down the rocks on all sides, thus does he, who sees a difference between qualities, run after them on all sides.'

15. 'As pure water poured into pure water remains the same, thus, O Gautama, is the Self of a thinker who knows.' ✓

FIFTH VALLÎ.

1. 'There is a town with eleven¹ gates belonging to the Unborn (Brahman), whose thoughts are never crooked. He who approaches it, grieves no more, and liberated (from all bonds of ignorance) becomes free. This is that.'

2. 'He (Brahman)² is the swan (sun), dwelling in the bright heaven; he is the Vasu (air), dwelling in the sky; he is the sacrificer (fire), dwelling on the hearth; he is the guest (Soma), dwelling in the sacrificial jar; he dwells in men, in gods (vara), in the sacrifice (*ṛita*), in heaven; he is born in the water, on earth, in the sacrifice (*ṛita*), on the mountains; he is the True and the Great.'

3. 'He (Brahman) it is who sends up the breath (*prâna*), and who throws back the breath (*apâna*). All the Devas (senses) worship him, the adorable (or the dwarf), who sits in the centre.'

4. 'When that incorporated (Brahman), who dwells in the body, is torn away and freed from the body, what remains then? This is that.'

5. 'No mortal lives by the breath that goes up and by the breath that goes down. We live by another, in whom these two repose.'

6. 'Well then, O Gautama, I shall tell thee this mystery, the old Brahman, and what happens to the Self, after reaching death.'

¹ Seven apertures in the head, the navel, two below, and the one at the top of the head through which the Self escapes. Cf. Svet. Up. III, 18; Bhag. Gîtâ V, 13.

² Cf. Rig-veda IV, 40, 5.

7. 'Some enter the womb in order to have a body, as organic beings, others go into inorganic matter, according to their work and according to their knowledge ¹.'

8. (He, the highest Person, who is awake in us while we are asleep, shaping one lovely sight after another, that indeed is the Bright, that is Brahman, that alone is called the Immortal.) All worlds are contained in it, and no one goes beyond. This is that ².'

9. 'As the one fire, after it has entered the world, though one, becomes different according to whatever it burns, thus the one Self within all things becomes different, according to whatever it enters, and exists also without ³.'

10. 'As the one air, after it has entered the world, though one, becomes different according to whatever it enters, thus the one Self within all things becomes different, according to whatever it enters, and exists also without.'

11. 'As the sun, the eye of the whole world, is not contaminated by the external impurities seen by the eyes, thus the one Self within all things is never contaminated by the misery of the world, being himself without ⁴.'

12. 'There is one ruler, the Self within all things, who makes the one form manifold. The wise who perceive him within their Self, to them belongs eternal happiness, not to others ⁵.'

13. 'There is one eternal thinker, thinking non-

¹ Cf. *Brîh. Âr.* II, 2, 13.

² Cf. IV, 9; VI, 1.

³ Cf. *Brîh. Âr.* II, 5, 19.

⁴ Cf. *Bhag. Gîtâ* XIII, 52.

⁵ Cf. *Svet. Up.* VI, 12.

eternal thoughts, who, though one, fulfils the desires of many. The wise who perceive him within their Self, to them belongs eternal peace, not to others¹.'

14. 'They perceive that highest indescribable pleasure, saying, This is that. How then can I understand it?² Has it its own light, or does it reflect light?'

15. 'The sun does not shine there, nor the moon and the stars, nor these lightnings, and much less this fire. When he shines, everything shines after him; by his light all this is lighted².'

¹ Cf. Svet. Up. VI, 13.

² Cf. Svet. Up. VI, 14; *Mund.* Up. II, 2, 10; Bhag. Gîtâ XV, 6.

SIXTH VALLÎ.

1. 'There is that ancient tree¹, whose roots grow upward and whose branches grow downward;—that² indeed is called the Bright³, that is called Brahman, that alone is called the Immortal⁴. All worlds are contained in it, and no one goes beyond. This is that.'

2. 'Whatever there is, the whole world, when gone forth (from the Brahman), trembles in its breath⁵. That Brahman is a great terror, like a drawn sword. Those who know it become immortal.'

3. 'From terror of Brahman fire burns, from terror the sun burns, from terror Indra and Vâyu, and Death, as the fifth, run away⁶.'

4. 'If a man could not understand it before the falling asunder of his body, then he has to take body again in the worlds of creation⁷.'

¹ The fig-tree which sends down its branches so that they strike root and form new stems, one tree growing into a complete forest.

² Cf. Bhag. Gitâ XV, 1-3.

³ Cf. V, 8.

⁴ The commentator says that the tree is the world, and its root is Brahman, but there is nothing to support this view in the original, where tree, roots, and branches are taken together as representing the Brahman in its various manifestations.

⁵ According to the commentator, in the highest Brahman.

⁶ Cf. Taïtt. Up. II, 8, 1.

⁷ The commentator translates: 'If a man is able to understand (Brahman), then even before the decay of his body, he is liberated. If he is not able to understand it, then he has to take body again in the created worlds.' I doubt whether it is possible to supply so much, and should prefer to read *iha ken nâsakad*, though I find it difficult to explain how so simple a text should have been misunderstood and corrupted.

5. 'As in a mirror, so (Brahman may be seen clearly) here in this body; as in a dream, in the world of the Fathers; as in the water, he is seen about in the world of the Gandharvas; as in light and shade¹, in the world of Brahmâ.'

6. 'Having understood that the senses are distinct² (from the Âtman), and that their rising and setting (their waking and sleeping) belongs to them in their distinct existence (and not to the Âtman), a wise man grieves no more.'

7. 'Beyond the senses is the mind, beyond the mind is the highest (created) Being³, higher than that Being is the Great Self, higher than the Great, the highest Undeveloped.'

8. 'Beyond the Undeveloped is the Person, the all-pervading and entirely imperceptible. Every creature that knows him is liberated, and obtains immortality.'

9. 'His form is not to be seen, no one beholds him with the eye. He is imagined by the heart, by wisdom, by the mind. Those who know this, are immortal⁴.'

10. 'When the five instruments of knowledge stand still together with the mind, and when the intellect does not move, that is called the highest state.'

11. 'This, the firm holding back of the senses, is what is called Yoga. He must be free from thoughtlessness then, for Yoga comes and goes⁵.'

¹ Roer: 'As in a picture and in the sunshine.'

² They arise from the elements, ether, &c.

³ Buddhi or intellect, cf. III, 10.

⁴ Much better in Svet.Up. IV, 20: 'Those who know him by the heart as being in the heart, and by the mind, are immortal.'

⁵ Saṅkara explains apyaya by apâya.

12. 'He (the Self) cannot be reached by speech, by mind, or by the eye. How can it be apprehended except by him who says: "He is?"'

13. 'By the words "He is," is he to be apprehended, and by (admitting) the reality of both (the invisible Brahman and the visible world, as coming from Brahman). When he has been apprehended by the words "He is," then his reality reveals itself.'

14. 'When all desires that dwell in his heart cease, then the mortal becomes immortal, and obtains Brahman.'

15. 'When all the ties¹ of the heart are severed here on earth, then the mortal becomes immortal—here ends the teaching².'

16. 'There are a hundred and one arteries of the heart³, one of them penetrates the crown of the head⁴. Moving upwards by it, a man (at his death) reaches the Immortal⁵; the other arteries serve for departing in different directions.'

17. 'The Person not larger than a thumb, the inner Self, is always settled in the heart of men⁶. Let a man draw that Self forth from his body with steady-

¹ Ignorance, passion, &c. Cf. *Mund. Up.* II, 1, 10; II, 2, 9.

² The teaching of the Vedānta extends so far and no farther. (Cf. *Prasna Up.* VI, 7.) What follows has reference, according to the commentator, not to him who knows the highest Brahman, for he becomes Brahman at once and migrates no more; but to him who does not know the highest Brahman fully, and therefore migrates to the Brahmaloka, receiving there the reward for his partial knowledge and for his good works.

³ Cf. *Khând. Up.* VIII, 6, 6.

⁴ It passes out by the head.

⁵ The commentator says: He rises through the sun (*Mund. Up.* I, 2, 11) to a world in which he enjoys some kind of immortality.

⁶ *Svet. Up.* III, 13.

ness, as one draws the pith from a reed¹. Let him know that Self as the Bright, as the Immortal; yes, as the Bright, as the Immortal².'

18. Having received this knowledge taught by Death and the whole rule of Yoga (meditation, ~~etc.~~)
 ✕ Naïketa became free from passion³ and death, and obtained Brahman. Thus it will be with another also who knows thus what relates to the Self.

19. May He protect us both! May He enjoy us both! May we acquire strength together! May our knowledge become bright! May we never quarrel⁴! Om! Peace! peace! peace! Harih, Om!

¹ Roer: 'As from a painter's brush a fibre.'

² This repetition marks, as usual, the end of a chapter.

³ Viraga, free from vice and virtue. It may have been vigara, free from old age. See, however, *Mund. Up.* I, 2, 11.

⁴ Cf. *Taitt. Up.* III, 1; III, 10, note.

MUNDAKA-UPANISHAD.

MUNDAKA-UPANISHAD.

FIRST MUNDAKA.



FIRST KHANDA.

1. BRAHMÂ was the first of the Devas, the maker of the universe, the preserver of the world. He told the knowledge of Brahman, the foundation of all knowledge, to his eldest son Atharva¹.

2. Whatever Brahmâ told Atharvan, that knowledge of Brahman Atharvan formerly told to Ângir; he told it to Satyavâha Bhâradvâga, and Bhâradvâga told it in succession to Ângiras.

3. Saunaka, the great householder, approached Ângiras respectfully and asked: 'Sir, what is that through which, if it is known, everything else becomes known?'

4. He said to him: 'Two kinds of knowledge must be known, this is what all who know Brahman tell us, the higher and the lower knowledge.'

5. 'The lower knowledge is the *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, *Sâma-veda*, *Atharva-veda*, *Sikshâ* (phonetics), *Kalpa* (ceremonial), *Vyâkarana* (grammar), *Nirukta* (etymology), *Khandas* (metre), *Gyotisha* (astronomy)²;

¹ The change between Atharva and Atharvan, like that between *Nâkiketas* and *Nâkiketa*, shows the freedom of the phraseology of the Upanishad, and cannot be used for fixing the date of the constituent elements of the Upanishad.

² Other MSS. add here *itihâsa-purâna-nyâya-mimâmsâ-dharma-sâstrâni*.

but the higher knowledge is that by which the Indestructible (Brahman) is apprehended.'

6. 'That which cannot be seen, nor seized, which has no family and no caste¹, no eyes nor ears, no hands nor feet, the eternal, the omnipresent (all-pervading), infinitesimal, that which is imperishable, that it is which the wise regard as the source of all beings.'

7. 'As the spider sends forth and draws in its thread, as plants grow on the earth, as from every man hairs spring forth on the head and the body, thus does everything arise here from the Indestructible.'

8. 'The Brahman swells by means of brooding (penance)²; hence is produced matter (food); from matter breath³, mind, the true⁴, the worlds (seven), and from the works (performed by men in the worlds), the immortal (the eternal effects, rewards, and punishments of works).'

¹ I translate *varṇa* by caste on account of its conjunction with gotra. The commentator translates, 'without origin and without qualities.' We should say that which belongs to no genus or species.

² I have translated *tapas* by brooding, because this is the only word in English which combines the two meanings of warmth and thought. Native authorities actually admit two roots, one *tap*, to burn, the other *tap*, to meditate; see commentary on *Parâsara-smṛiti*, p. 39^b (MS. Bodl.), *Tapaḥ krikṣhrakandrâyanâdirūpenâhâravarganam*. Nanu Vyâsena tapo 'nyathâ smaryate, tapaḥ svadharma-vartitvam saukam saṅganibarhanam iti; nâyam doshaḥ, krikṣhrâder api svadharmaवेशât. Tapa samtâpa ity asmâd dhâtor utpannasya tapaḥ-sabdasya dehasoshane vr̥ttir mukhyâ... Yat tu tatraivoktam, ko 'yam mokshaḥ katham tena samsâram pratipannavân ity âlokanam arthagrâhâs tapaḥ samsanti pandîta iti so 'nya eva tapaḥ-sabdaḥ, tapa âlokanam ity asmâd dhâtor utpannaḥ.

³ *Hiranyagarbha*, the living world as a whole. Comm.

⁴ *Satya*, if we compare *Kaṭh.* VI, 7 and III, 10, seems to mean *buddhi*. Here it is explained by the five elements.

9. 'From him who perceives all and who knows all, whose brooding (penance) consists of knowledge, from him (the highest Brahman) is born that Brahman¹, name, form², and matter (food).'

¹ *Hiranyagarbha*. Comm.

² *Nâmarûpam*, a very frequent concept in Buddhistic literature.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. This is the truth¹: the sacrificial works which they (the poets) saw in the hymns (of the Veda) have been performed in many ways in the Tretâ age². Practise³ them diligently, ye lovers of truth, this is your path that leads to the world of good works⁴!

2. When the fire is lighted and the flame flickers, let a man offer his oblations between the two portions of melted butter, as an offering with faith.

3. If a man's Agnihotra sacrifice⁵ is not followed

¹ In the beginning of the second Khanda the lower knowledge is first described, referring to the performance of sacrifices and other good deeds. The reward of them is perishable, and therefore a desire is awakened after the higher knowledge.

² The Tretâ age is frequently mentioned as the age of sacrifices. I should prefer, however, to take tretâ in the sense of trayî vidyâ, and santata as developed, because the idea that the Tretâ age was distinguished by its sacrifices, seems to me of later origin. Even the theory of the four ages or yugas, though known in the Ait. Brâhmaṇa, is not frequently alluded to in the older Upanishads. See Weber, Ind. Stud. I, p. 283.

³ The termination tha for ta looks suspiciously Buddhistic; see 'Sanskrit Texts discovered in Japan,' J. R. A. S. 1880, p. 180.

⁴ Svakṛita and sukrîta are constantly interchanged. They mean the same, good deeds, or deeds performed by oneself and believed to be good.

⁵ At the Agnihotra, the first of all sacrifices, and the type of many others, two portions of âgrya are sacrificed on the right and left side of the Âhavanîya altar. The place between the two is called the Âvâpasthâna, and here the oblations to the gods are to be offered. There are two oblations in the morning to Sûrya and Pragâpati, two in the evening to Agni and Pragâpati. Other sacrifices, such as the Darśa and Pûrnamâsa, and those mentioned in verse 3, are connected with the Agnihotra.

by the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices, by the four-months' sacrifices, and by the harvest sacrifice, if it is unattended by guests, not offered at all, or without the Vaisvadeva ceremony, or not offered according to rule, then it destroys his seven worlds ¹.

4. Kâlî (black), Karâlî (terrific), Manogavâ (swift as thought), Sulohitâ (very red), Sudhûmravarnâ (purple), Sphuliṅgini (sparkling), and the brilliant Visvarûpi ² (having all forms), all these playing about are called the seven tongues (of fire).

5. If a man performs his sacred works when these flames are shining, and the oblations follow at the right time, then they lead him as sun-rays to where the one Lord of the Devas dwells.

6. Come hither, come hither! the brilliant oblations say to him, and carry the sacrificer on the rays of the sun, while they utter pleasant speech and praise him, saying: 'This is thy holy Brahma-world (Svarga), gained by thy good works.'

7. But frail, in truth, are those boats, the sacrifices, the eighteen, in which this lower ceremonial has been told³. Fools who praise this as the highest good, are subject again and again to old age and death.

¹ The seven worlds form the rewards of a pious sacrificer, the first is Bhuḥ, the last Satya. The seven worlds may also be explained as the worlds of the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, of the son, the grandson, and great-grandson, and of the sacrificer himself.

² Or Visvarukî, if there is any authority for this reading in Mahîdhara's commentary to the Vâgas. Samhitâ XVII, 79. The Râjah of Besmah's edition has visvaruki, which is also the reading adopted by Rammohun Roy, see Complete Works, vol. i, p. 579.

³ The commentator takes the eighteen for the sixteen priests, the sacrificer, and his wife. But such an explanation hardly yields a satisfactory meaning, nor does plava mean perishable.

8. Fools dwelling in darkness, wise in their own conceit, and puffed up with vain knowledge, go round and round staggering to and fro, like blind men led by the blind¹.

9. Children, when they have long lived in ignorance, consider themselves happy. Because those who depend on their good works are, owing to their passions, improvident, they fall and become miserable when their life (in the world which they had gained by their good works) is finished.

10. Considering sacrifice and good works as the best, these fools know no higher good, and having enjoyed (their reward) on the height of heaven, gained by good works, they enter again this world or a lower one.

11. But those² who practise ~~penance~~ and faith in the forest, tranquil, wise, and living on alms, depart free from passion through the sun to where that immortal Person dwells whose nature is imperishable³.

12. Let a Brâhmana, after he has examined all these worlds which are gained by works, acquire freedom from all desires. Nothing that is eternal (not made) can be gained by what is not eternal (made). Let him, in order to understand this, take

¹ Cf. *Kaṭh. Up.* II, 5.

² According to the commentator, this verse refers to those who know the uselessness of sacrifices and have attained to a knowledge of the qualified Brahman. They live in the forest as Vânaprasthas and Samnyâsins, practising tapas, i.e. whatever is proper for their state, and sraddhâ, i.e. a knowledge of Hiranyagarbha. The wise are the learned Grîhasthas, while those who live on alms are those who have forsaken their family.

³ That person is Hiranyagarbha. His immortality is relative only, it lasts no longer than the world (*samsâra*).

fuel in his hand and approach a Guru who is learned and dwells entirely in Brahman.

13. To that pupil who has approached him respectfully, whose thoughts are not troubled by any desires, and who has obtained perfect peace, the wise teacher truly told that knowledge of Brahman through which he knows the eternal and true Person.

SECOND MUNDAKA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. This is the truth. As from a blazing fire sparks, being like unto fire¹, fly forth a thousandfold, thus are various beings brought forth from the Imperishable, my friend, and return thither also.

2. That heavenly Person is without body, he is both without and within, not produced, without breath and without mind, pure, higher than the high Imperishable².

3. From him (when entering on creation) is born breath, mind, and all organs of sense, ether, air, light, water, and the earth, the support of all.

4. Fire (the sky) is his head, his eyes the sun and the moon, the quarters his ears, his speech the Vedas disclosed, the wind his breath, his heart the universe; from his feet came the earth; he is indeed the inner Self of all things³.

5. From him comes Agni (fire)⁴, the sun being the fuel; from the moon (Soma) comes rain (Parganya); from the earth herbs; and man gives seed unto the woman. Thus many beings are begotten from the Person (purusha).

6. From him come the *Rik*, the Sâman, the

¹ Cf. *Brîh. Âr.* II, 1, 20.

² The high Imperishable is here the creative, the higher the non-creative Brahman.

³ Called Vishnu and Virâg by the commentators.

⁴ There are five fires, those of heaven, rain, earth, man, and woman. Comm.

Yagush, the Dīkshâ (initiatory rites), all sacrifices and offerings of animals, and the fees bestowed on priests, the year too, the sacrificer, and the worlds, in which the moon shines brightly and the sun.

7. From him the many Devas too are begotten, the Sâdhyas (genii), men, cattle, birds, the up and down breathings, rice and corn (for sacrifices), penance, faith, truth, abstinence, and law.

8. The seven senses (prâṇa) also spring from him, the seven lights (acts of sensation), the seven kinds of fuel (objects by which the senses are lighted), the seven sacrifices (results of sensation), these seven worlds (the places of the senses, the worlds determined by the senses) in which the senses move, which rest in the cave (of the heart), and are placed there seven and seven.

9. Hence come the seas and all the mountains, from him flow the rivers of every kind ; hence come all herbs and the juice through which the inner Self subsists with the elements.

10. The Person is all this, sacrifice, penance, Brahman, the highest immortal ; he who knows this hidden in the cave (of the heart), he, O friend, scatters the knot of ignorance here on earth.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. Manifest, near, moving in the cave (of the heart) is the great Being. In it everything is centred which ye know as moving, breathing, and blinking, as being and not-being, as adorable, as the best, that is beyond the understanding of creatures.

¶ 2. That which is brilliant, smaller than small, that on which the worlds are founded and their inhabitants, that is the indestructible Brahman, that is the breath, speech, mind; that is the true, that is the immortal. That is to be hit. Hit it, O friend!

3. Having taken the Upanishad as the bow, as the great weapon, let him place on it the arrow, sharpened by devotion! Then having drawn it with a thought directed to that which is, hit the mark, O friend, viz. that which is the Indestructible!

4. Om is the bow, the Self is the arrow, Brahman is called its aim. It is to be hit by a man who is not thoughtless; and then, as the arrow (becomes one with the target), he will become one with Brahman.

¶ 5. In him the heaven, the earth, and the sky are woven, the mind also with all the senses. Know him alone as the Self, and leave off other words! He is the bridge of the Immortal.

6. He moves about becoming manifold within the heart where the arteries meet, like spokes fastened to the nave. Meditate on the Self as Om! Hail to you, that you may cross beyond (the sea of) darkness!

¶ 7. He who understands all and who knows all, he to whom all this glory in the world belongs, the

Self, is placed in the ether, in the heavenly city of Brahman (the heart). He assumes the nature of mind, and becomes the guide of the body of the senses. He subsists in food, in close proximity to the heart. The wise who understand this, behold the Immortal which shines forth full of bliss.

8. The fetter of the heart is broken, all doubts are solved, all his works (and their effects) perish when He has been beheld who is high and low (cause and effect)¹.

9. In the highest golden sheath there is the Brahman without passions and without parts. That is pure, that is the light of lights, that is it which they know who know the Self.

10. The ² sun does not shine there, nor the moon and the stars, nor these lightnings, and much less this fire. When he shines, everything shines after him; by his light all this is lighted ³.

11. That immortal Brahman is before, that Brahman is behind, that Brahman is right and left. It has gone forth below and above; Brahman alone is all this, it is the best.

¹ Cf. *Kaṭh. Up.* VI, 15.

² *Kaṭh. Up.* V, 15.

³ *Svet. Up.* VI, 14; *Bhag. Gītā* IX, 15, 6.

THIRD MUNDAKA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Two birds, inseparable friends, cling to the same tree. One of them eats the sweet fruit, the other looks on without eating¹.

2. On the same tree man sits grieving, immersed, bewildered by his own impotence (an-īśā). But when he sees the other lord (īśa) contented and knows his glory, then his grief passes away².

3. When the seer sees the brilliant maker and lord (of the world) as the Person who has his source in Brahman, then he is wise, and shaking off good and evil, he reaches the highest oneness, free from passions;

4. For he is the Breath shining forth in all beings, and he who understands this becomes truly wise, not a talker only. He revels in the Self, he delights in the Self, and having performed his works (truthfulness, penance, meditation, &c.) he rests, firmly established in Brahman, the best of those who know Brahman³.

¹ Cf. Rv. I, 164, 20; Nir. XIV, 30; Svet. Up. IV, 6; Kath. Up. III, 1.

² Cf. Svet. Up. IV, 7.

³ The commentator states that, besides *âtmaratiḥ kriyâvân*, there was another reading, viz. *âtmaratikriyâvân*. This probably owed its origin to a difficulty felt in reconciling *kriyâvân*, performing acts, with the *brahmavidâm varishṭhaḥ*, the best of those who know Brahman, works being utterly incompatible with a true knowledge of Brahman. *Kriyâvân*, however, as Saṅkara points out, may mean here simply, having performed meditation and other acts conducive to a knowledge of Brahman. Probably truthfulness,

5. By truthfulness, indeed, by ^{truth} penance, right know-
ledge, and abstinence must that Self be gained; the
Self whom spotless anchorites gain is pure, and like
a light within the body. Him, go
Self

6. The true prevails, not the untrue; by the true
the path is laid out, the way of the gods (*devayānah*),
on which the old sages, satisfied in their desires,
proceed to where there is that highest place of the
True One.

7. That (true Brahman) shines forth grand, divine,
inconceivable, smaller than small; it is far beyond
what is far and yet near here, it is hidden in the
cave (of the heart) among those who see it even
here.

8. He is not apprehended by the eye, nor by
speech, nor by the other senses, not by penance or
good works¹. When a man's nature has become
purified by the serene light of knowledge, then he
sees him, meditating on him as without parts.

9. That subtle Self is to be known by thought
(*ketas*) there where breath has entered fivefold;
for every thought of men is interwoven with the
senses, and when thought is purified, then the Self
arises.

10. Whatever state a man whose nature is puri-
fied imagines, and whatever desires he desires (for
himself or for others)², that state he conquers and

penance, &c., mentioned in the next following verse, are the *kriyās*
or works intended. For grammatical reasons also this reading is
preferable. But the last foot *esha brahavidâṁ varish/haḥ* is
clearly defective. If we examine the commentary, we see that
Sāṅkara read *brahmanish/haḥ*, and that he did not read *esha*, which
would give us the correct metre, *brahmanish/ho brahavidâṁ
varish/haḥ*.

¹ Cf. *Kaṭh. Up. VI, 12*.

² Cf. *Brh. Âr. I, 4, 15*.

those desires he obtains. Therefore let every man who desires happiness worship the man who knows the Self¹.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. He (the knower of the Self) knows that highest home of Brahman², in which all is contained and shines brightly. The wise who, without desiring happiness, worship that Person³, transcend this seed, (they are not born again.)

2. He who forms desires in his mind, is born again through his desires here and there. But to him whose desires are fulfilled and who is conscious of the true Self (within himself) all desires vanish, even here on earth.

3. That Self⁴ cannot be gained by the Veda, nor by understanding, nor by much learning. He whom the Self chooses, by him the Self can be gained. The Self chooses him (his body) as his own.

4. Nor is that Self to be gained by one who is destitute of strength, or without earnestness, or without right meditation. But if a wise man strives after it by those means (by strength, earnestness, and right meditation), then his Self enters the home of Brahman.

5. When they have reached him (the Self), the sages become satisfied through knowledge, they are conscious of their Self, their passions have passed

¹ All this is said by the commentator to refer to a knowledge of the conditioned Brahman only.

² See verse 4.

³ The commentator refers purusha to the knower of the Self.

⁴ Ka/h. Up. II, 23.

away, and they are tranquil. The wise, having reached Him who is omnipresent everywhere, devoted to the Self, enter into him wholly.

6. Having well ascertained the object of the knowledge of the Vedânta¹, and having purified their nature by the Yoga² of renunciation, all anchorites, enjoying the highest immortality, become free at the time of the great end (death) in the worlds of Brahmâ.

7. Their fifteen parts³ enter into their elements, their Devas (the senses) into their (corresponding) Devas⁴. Their deeds and their Self with all his knowledge become all one in the highest Imperishable.

8. As the flowing rivers disappear in the sea⁵, losing their name and their form, thus a wise man, freed from name and form, goes to the divine Person, who is greater than the great⁶.

9. He who knows that highest Brahman, becomes even Brahman. In his race no one is born ignorant of Brahman. He overcomes grief, he overcomes evil; free from the fetters of the heart, he becomes immortal.

10. And this is declared by the following *Rik*-verse: 'Let a man tell this science of Brahman to those only who have performed all (necessary) acts, who are versed in the Vedas, and firmly established in (the lower) Brahman, who themselves offer as

¹ Cf. Taitt. Âr. X, 12, 3; Svet. Up. VI, 22; Kaiv. Up. 3; see Weber, Ind. Stud. I, p. 288.

² By the Yoga system, which, through restraint (yoga), leads a man to true knowledge.

³ Cf. Prasna Up. VI, 4.

⁴ The eye into the sun, &c.

⁵ Cf. Prasna Up. VI, 5.

⁶ Greater than the conditioned Brahman. Comm.

(an oblation the one *Rishi* (Agni), full of faith, and by whom the rite of (carrying fire on) the head has been performed, according to the rule (of the *Ātharvanas*).'

11. The *Rishi* *Āngiras* formerly told this true (science¹); a man who has not performed the (proper) rites, does not read it. Adoration to the highest *Rishis*! Adoration to the highest *Rishis*!

¹ To Saunaka, cf. I, 1, 3.

5

TAITTIRÎYAKA-
UPANISHAD.

TAITTIRĪYAKA-UPANISHAD.

FIRST VALLĪ,

OR, THE CHAPTER ON ŚIKSHĀ (PRONUNCIATION).

FIRST ANUVĀKA¹.

1. HARIH, Om! May ^{DAY}Mitra be propitious to us,
and ^{NIGHT}Varu^{NA}, ^{EYE-SUN}Aryaman also, ^{STRENGTH}Indra, ^{INTELLECT}Brihaspati, and
the wide-striding Vishnu². ^{FEET}

Adoration to Brahman! Adoration to thee, O
Vāyu (air)! Thou indeed art the visible Brahman.
I shall proclaim thee alone as the visible Brahman.
I shall proclaim the right. I shall proclaim the true
(scil. Brahman).

(1-5)³ May it protect me! May it protect the
teacher! yes, may it protect me, and may it protect
the teacher! Om! Peace! peace! peace!

¹ This invocation is here counted as an Anuvāka; see Taitt. Âr., ed. Rajendralal Mitra, p. 725.

² This verse is taken from Rîg-veda-samhitâ I, 90, 9. The deities are variously explained by the commentators: Mitra as god of the Prâna (forth-breathing) and of the day; Varu^{NA} as god of the Apâna (off-breathing) and of the night. Aryaman is supposed to represent the eye or the sun; Indra, strength; Brihaspati, speech or intellect; Vishnu, the feet. Their favour is invoked, because it is only if they grant health that the study of the highest wisdom can proceed without fail.

³ Five short sentences, in addition to the one paragraph. Such sentences occur at the end of other Anuvākas also, and are counted separately.

SECOND ANUVÂKA.

1. Om¹! Let us explain Śikshâ, the doctrine of pronunciation, viz. letter, accent, quantity, effort (in the formation of letters), modulation, and union of letters (sandhi). This is the lecture on Śikshâ.

THIRD ANUVÂKA.

1. May glory come to both of us (teacher and pupil) together! May Vedic light belong to both of us!

Now let us explain the Upanishad (the secret meaning) of the union (samhitâ)², under five heads, with regard to the worlds, the heavenly lights, knowledge, offspring, and self (body). People call these the great Samhitâs.

First, with regard to the worlds. The earth is the former element, heaven the latter, ether their union;

2. That union takes place through Vâyu (air). So much with regard to the worlds.

Next, with regard to the heavenly lights. Agni (fire) is the former element, Âditya (the sun) the latter, water their union. That union takes place through lightning. So much with regard to the heavenly lights.

Next, with regard to knowledge. The teacher is the former element,

3. The pupil the latter, knowledge their union. That union takes place through the recitation of the Veda. So much with regard to knowledge.

Next, with regard to offspring. The mother is

¹ Cf. Rig-veda-prâtisâkhya, ed. M. M., p. iv seq.

² Cf. Aitareya-âraṇyaka III, 1, 1 (Sacred Books, vol. i, p. 247).

the former element, the father the latter, offspring their union. That union takes place through procreation. So much with regard to offspring.

4. Next, with regard to the self (body). The lower jaw is the former element, the upper jaw the latter, speech their union. That union takes place through speech. So much with regard to the Self. These are the great Samhitâs. He who knows these Samhitâs (unions), as here explained, becomes united with offspring, cattle, Vedic light, food, and with the heavenly world.

FOURTH ANUVÂKA.

1. May he¹ who is the strong bull of the Vedas, assuming all forms, who has risen from the Vedas, from the Immortal, may that Indra (lord) strengthen me with wisdom! May I, O God, become an upholder of the Immortal!

May my body be able, my tongue sweet, may I hear much with my ears! Thou (Om) art the shrine (of Brahman), covered by wisdom. Guard what I have learnt².

She (Sri, happiness) brings near and spreads,

2. And makes, without delay, garments for herself, cows, food, and drink at all times; therefore bring that Sri (happiness) hither to me, the woolly, with

¹ The next verses form the prayer and oblation of those who wish for wisdom and happiness. In the first verse it is supposed that the Om is invoked, the most powerful syllable of the Vedas, the essence extracted from all the Vedas, and in the end a name of Brahman. See *Khând. Up.* p. 1 seq.

² Here end the prayers for the attainment of wisdom, to be followed by oblations for the attainment of happiness.

her cattle¹! Svâhâ²! May the Brahman-students come to me, Svâhâ! May they come from all sides, Svâhâ! May they come forth to me, Svâhâ! May they practise restraint, Svâhâ! May they enjoy peace, Svâhâ!

3. May I be a glory among men, Svâhâ! May I be better than the richest, Svâhâ! May I enter into thee, O treasure (Om), Svâhâ! Thou, O treasure³, enter into me, Svâhâ! In thee, consisting of a thousand branches, in thee, O treasure, I am cleansed, Svâhâ! As water runs downward, as the months go to the year, so, O preserver of the world, may Brahman-students always come to me from all sides, Svâhâ!

(1) Thou art a refuge! Enlighten me! Take possession of me!

FIFTH ANUVÂKA.

1. Bhû, Bhuvas, Suvas⁴, these are the three sacred interjections (vyâhrîti). Mâhâlamasya taught a fourth, viz. Mahas, which is Brahman, which is the Self. The others (devatâs) are its members.

Bhû is this world, Bhuvas is the sky, Suvas is the other world.

2. Mahas is the sun. All the worlds are increased by the sun. Bhû is Agni (fire), Bhuvas is Vâyû (air), Suvas is Âditya (sun). Mahas is the moon. All the heavenly lights are increased by the moon.

¹ The construction is not right. Woolly, lomasâ, is explained as 'possessed of woolly sheep.'

² With the interjection Svâhâ each oblation is offered.

³ Bhaga, here explained as bhagavat.

⁴ The text varies between Bhû, Bhuvas, Suvas, Mahas, and Bhû, Bhuvar, Suvar, Mahar.

Bhû is the *Rik*-verses, Bhuvas is the *Sâman*-verses, Suvas is the *Yagus*-verses.

3. Mahas is Brahman. All the Vedas are increased by the Brahman.

(1-2) Bhû is *Prâna* (up-breathing), Bhuvas is *Apâna* (down-breathing), Suvas is *Vyâna* (back-breathing). Mahas is food. All breathings are increased by food.

Thus there are these four times four, the four and four sacred interjections. He who knows these,

(1-2) Knows the Brahman. All Devas bring offerings to him.

SIXTH ANUVÂKA.

1. There is the ether within the heart, and in it there is the Person (purusha) consisting of mind, immortal, golden.

Between the two palates there hangs the uvula, like a nipple—that is the starting-point of Indra (the lord)¹. Where the root of the hair divides, there he opens the two sides of the head, and saying Bhû, he enters Agni (the fire); saying Bhuvas, he enters Vâyû (air);

2. Saying Suvas, he enters Âditya (sun); saying Mahas, he enters Brahman. He there obtains lordship, he reaches the lord of the mind. He becomes lord of speech, lord of sight, lord of hearing, lord of knowledge. Nay, more than this. There is the Brahman whose body is ether, whose nature is true, rejoicing in the senses (*prâna*), delighted in the mind, perfect in peace, and immortal.

(1) Worship thus, O *Prâñnayogya* !

¹ Cf. I, 4, 1.

SEVENTH ANUVÂKA.

1. 'The earth, the sky, heaven, the four quarters, and the intermediate quarters,'—'Agni (fire), Vâyu (air), Âditya (sun), Kândramas (moon), and the stars,'—'Water, herbs, trees, ether, the universal Self (virâg),'—so much with reference to material objects (bhûta).

Now with reference to the self (the body): 'Prâna (up-breathing), Apâna (down-breathing), Vyâna (back-breathing), Udâna (out-breathing), and Samâna (on-breathing),'—'The eye, the ear, mind, speech, and touch,'—'The skin, flesh, muscle, bone, and marrow.' Having dwelt on this (fivefold arrangement of the worlds, the gods, beings, breathings, senses, and elements of the body), a Rishi said: 'Whatever exists is fivefold (pânkta)¹.'

(1) By means of the one fivefold set (that referring to the body) he completes the other fivefold set.

EIGHTH ANUVÂKA.

1. Om means Brahman. 2. Om means all this. 3. Om means obedience. When they have been told, 'Om, speak,' they speak. 4. After Om they sing Sâmans. 5. After Om they recite hymns. 6. After Om the Adhvaryu gives the response. 7. After Om the Brahman-priest gives orders. 8. After Om he (the sacrificer) allows the performance of the Agnihotra. 9. When a Brâhmana is going to begin his lecture, he says, 10. 'Om, may I acquire Brahman (the Veda).' He thus acquires the Veda.

¹ Cf. Brîh. Âr. Up. I, 4, 17.

NINTH ANUVÂKA¹.

1. (What is necessary?) The right, and learning and practising the Veda. The true, and learning and practising the Veda. Penance, and learning and practising the Veda. Restraint, and learning and practising the Veda. Tranquillity, and learning and practising the Veda. The fires (to be consecrated), and learning and practising the Veda. The Agnihotra sacrifice, and learning and practising the Veda. Guests (to be entertained), and learning and practising the Veda. Man's duty, and learning and practising the Veda. Children, and learning and practising the Veda.

(1-6) Marriage, and learning and practising the Veda. Children's children, and learning and practising the Veda.

Satyavaśas Râthîlara thinks that the true only is necessary. Taponitya Paurasishîi thinks that penance only is necessary. Nâka Maudgalya thinks that learning and practising the Veda only are necessary,—for that is penance, that is penance.

TENTH ANUVÂKA.

1. 'I am he who shakes the tree (i.e. the tree of the world, which has to be cut down by knowledge).

2. My glory is like the top of a mountain. 3. I, whose pure light (of knowledge) has risen high, am that which is truly immortal, as it resides in the sun.

¹ This chapter is meant to show that knowledge alone, though it secures the highest object, is not sufficient by itself, but must be preceded by works. The learning of the Veda by heart and the practising of it so as not to forget it again, these two must always have been previously performed.

4. I am the brightest treasure. 5. I am wise, immortal, imperishable¹. 6. This is the teaching of the Veda, by the poet Trisanku.

ELEVENTH ANUVÂKA.

1. After having taught the Veda, the teacher instructs the pupil: 'Say what is true! Do thy duty! Do not neglect the study of the Veda! After having brought to thy teacher his proper reward, do not cut off the line of children! Do not swerve from the truth! Do not swerve from duty! Do not neglect what is useful! Do not neglect greatness! Do not neglect the learning and teaching of the Veda!

2. 'Do not neglect the (sacrificial) works due to the Gods and Fathers! (Let thy mother be to thee like unto a god! Let thy father be to thee like unto a god! Let thy teacher be to thee like unto a god! Let thy guest be to thee like unto a god! Whatever actions are blameless, those should be regarded, not others. Whatever good works have been performed by us, those should be observed by thee,

3. 'Not others. And there are some Brâhmanas better than we. They should be comforted by thee by giving them a seat. Whatever is given should be given with faith, not without faith,—with joy, with modesty, with fear, with kindness. If there should

¹ This verse has been translated as the commentator wishes it to be understood, in praise of that knowledge of Self which is only to be obtained after all other duties, and, more particularly, the study of the Veda, have been performed. The text is probably corrupt, and the interpretation fanciful.

be any doubt in thy mind with regard to any sacred act or with regard to conduct,—

4. 'In that case conduct thyself as Brâhmanas who possess good judgment conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not¹, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty. And with regard to things that have been spoken against, as Brâhmanas who possess good judgment conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty,

(1-7) Thus conduct thyself. 'This is the rule. This is the teaching. This is the true purport (Upanishad) of the Veda. This is the command. Thus should you observe. Thus should this be observed.'

TWELFTH ANUVÂKA.

1. May Mitra be propitious to us, and Varuna, Aryaman also, Indra, Brihaspati, and the wide-striding Vishnu! Adoration to Brahman! Adoration to thee, O Vâyu! Thou indeed art the visible Brahman. I proclaimed thee alone as the visible Brahman.

(1-5) I proclaimed the right. I proclaimed the true. It protected me. It protected the teacher. Yes, it protected me, it protected the teacher. Om! Peace! peace! peace!

¹ Aparaprayuktâ iti svatantrâh. For other renderings, see Weber, Ind. Stud. II, p. 216.

SECOND VALLĪ,

OR, THE CHAPTER ON ÂNANDA (BLISS).

Hariḥ, Om! May it (the Brahman) protect us both (teacher and pupil)! May it enjoy us both! May we acquire strength together! May our knowledge become bright! May we never quarrel! Peace! peace! peace¹!

FIRST ANUVÂKA.

He who knows the Brahman attains the highest (Brahman). On this the following verse is recorded:

‘He who knows Brahman, which is (i. e. cause, not effect), which is conscious, which is without end, as hidden in the depth (of the heart), in the highest ether, he enjoys all blessings, at one with the omniscient Brahman.’

¶ From that Self² (Brahman) sprang ether (ākāśa, that through which we hear); from ether air (that through which we hear and feel); from air fire (that through which we hear, feel, and see); from fire water (that through which we hear, feel, see, and taste); from water earth (that through which we hear, feel, see, taste, and smell). From earth herbs, from herbs food, from food seed, from seed man. Man thus consists of the essence of food. This is his head,

¹ Not counted here as an Anuvâka. The other Anuvâkas are divided into a number of small sentences.

² Compare with this *srīṣhāikrama*, *Khând. Up.* VI, 2; *Ait. Âr.* II, 4, 1.

this his right arm, this his left arm, this his trunk (âtman), this the seat (the support)¹.

On this there is also the following Sloka :

SECOND ANUVÂKA.

¶ 'From food² ~~are produced all creatures~~ which dwell on eārth. Then they live by food, and in the end they return to food. For food is the oldest of all beings, and therefore it is called panacea (sarvaushadha, i. e. consisting of all herbs, or quieting the heat of the body of all beings).'

¶ They who worship food as Brahman³, obtain all food. ~~For food is the oldest of all beings, and therefore it is called panacea.~~ From food all creatures are produced; by food, when born, they grow. Because it is fed on, or because it feeds on beings, therefore it is called food (annā).

¶ Different from this, which consists of the essence of food, is the other, the inner Self, which consists of breath. ~~The former is filled by this.~~ It also has the shape of man. Like the human shape of the former is the human shape of the latter. Prâna (up-breathing) is its head. Vyâna (back-breathing) is its right arm. Apâna (down-breathing) is its left arm. Ether is its trunk. The earth the seat (the support).

¶ On this there is also the following Sloka :

¹ The text has 'the tail, which is his support.' But pratishhâ seems to have been added, the Anuvâka ending originally with *puṣṭhā*, which is explained by *nâbher adhistād yad aṅgam*. In the Persian translation the different members are taken for members of a bird, which is not unlikely.

² Anna is sometimes used in the more general sense of matter.

³ Worship consisting in the knowledge that they are born of food, live by food, and end in food, which food is Brahman.

THIRD ANUVĀKA.

‘The Devas breathe after breath (*prāṇa*), so do men and cattle. Breath is the life of beings, therefore it is called sarvāyusha (all-enlivening).’

¶ They who worship breath as Brahman, obtain the full life. For breath is the life of all beings, and therefore it is called sarvāyusha. The embodied Self of this (consisting of breath) is the same as that of the former (consisting of food).

¶ Different from this, which consists of breath, is the other, the inner Self, which consists of mind. The former is filled by this. It also has the shape of man. Like the human shape of the former is the human shape of the latter. *Yagus* is its head. *Rik* is its right arm. *Sāman* is its left arm. The doctrine (*ādeśa*, i.e. the *Brāhmaṇa*) is its trunk. The *Atharvāṅgiras* (*Atharva*-hymns) the seat (the support).

On this there is also the following Sloka :

FOURTH ANUVĀKA¹.

¶ ‘He who knows the bliss of that Brahman, from whence all speech, with the mind, turns away unable to reach it, he never fears.’ The embodied Self of this (consisting of mind) is the same as that of the former (consisting of breath).

¶ Different from this, which consists of mind, is the other, the inner Self, which consists of understanding. The former is filled by this. It also has the shape of man. Like the human shape of the former is the human shape of the latter. Faith is its head. What is right is its right arm. What is true is its left arm.

¹ Cf. II, 9.

Absorption (yoga) is its trunk. The great (intellect?) is the seat (the support).

On this there is also the following Sloka :

FIFTH ANUVÂKA.

‘Understanding performs the sacrifice, it performs all sacred acts. All Devas worship understanding as Brahman, as the oldest. If a man knows understanding as Brahman, and if he does not swerve from it, he leaves all evils behind in the body, and attains all his wishes.’ The embodied Self of this (consisting of understanding) is the same as that of the former (consisting of mind).

¶ Different from this, which consists of understanding, is the other inner Self, which consists of bliss. The former is filled by this. It also has the shape of man. Like the human shape of the former is the human shape of the latter. Joy is its head. Satisfaction its right arm. Great satisfaction is its left arm. Bliss is its trunk. Brahman is the seat (the support).

On this there is also the following Sloka :

SIXTH ANUVÂKA.

‘He who knows the Brahman as non-existing, becomes himself non-existing. He who knows the Brahman as existing, him we know himself as existing.’ The embodied Self of this (bliss) is the same as that of the former (understanding).

Thereupon follow the questions of the pupil :

‘Does any one who knows not, after he has departed this life, ever go to that world? Or does he who knows, after he has departed, go to that world¹?’

¹ As he who knows and he who knows not, are both sprung from Brahman, the question is supposed to be asked by the pupil, whether both will equally attain Brahman.

The answer is : He wished, may I be many¹, may I grow forth. He brooded over himself (like a man performing penance). After he had thus brooded, he sent forth (created) all, whatever there is. Having sent forth, he entered into it. Having entered it, he became sat (what is manifest) and tyat (what is not manifest), defined and undefined, supported and not supported, (endowed with) knowledge and without knowledge (as stones), real and unreal². The Sattya (true) became all this whatsoever, and therefore the wise call it (the Brahman) Sat-tya (the true).

On this there is also this Sloka :

SEVENTH ANUVÂKA.

‘In the beginning this was non-existent (not yet defined by form and name). From it was born what exists. That made itself its Self, therefore it is called the Self-made³.’ That which is Self-made is a flavour⁴ (can be tasted), for only after perceiving a flavour can any one perceive pleasure. Who could breathe, who could breathe forth, if that bliss (Brah-

¹ In the *Khândogya-upanishad* VI, 2, 1, where a similar account of the creation is given, the subject is spoken of as tad, neuter. It is said there : ‘In the beginning there was that only which is, one only, without a second. It willed, may I be many,’ &c. (Cf. *Brh. Âr. Up.* vol. ii, p. 52.)

² What appears as real and unreal to the senses, not the really real and unreal.

³ Cf. *Ait. Up.* I, 2, 3.

⁴ As flavour is the cause of pleasure, so Brahman is the cause of all things. The wise taste the flavour of existence, and know that it proceeds from Brahman, the Self-made. See *Kaushîtaki-upanishad* I, 5 ; *Sacred Books*, vol. i, p. 277.

man) existed not in the ether (in the heart)? For he alone causes blessedness.

When he finds freedom from fear and rest in that which is invisible, incorporeal, undefined, unsupported, then he has obtained the fearless. For if he makes but the smallest distinction in it, there is fear for him¹. But that fear exists only for one who thinks himself wise², (not for the true sage.)

On this there is also this Sloka :

EIGHTH ANUVÂKA.

(1) 'From terror of it (Brahman) the wind blows, from terror the sun rises; from terror of it Agni and Indra, yea Death runs as the fifth³.'

Now this is an examination of (what is meant by) Bliss (ânanda):

Let there be a noble young man, who is well read (in the Veda), very swift, firm, and strong, and let the whole world be full of wealth for him, that is one measure of human bliss.

One hundred times that human bliss (2) is one measure of the bliss of human Gandharvas (genii),

¹ Fear arises only from what is not ourselves. Therefore, as soon as there is even the smallest distinction made between our Self and the real Self, there is a possibility of fear. The explanation ud=api, aram=alpam is very doubtful, but recognised in the schools. It could hardly be a proverbial expression, 'if he makes another stomach' meaning as much as, 'if he admits another person.' According to the commentator, we should translate, 'for one who knows (a difference), and does not know the oneness.'

² I read manvânasya, the commentator amanvânasya.

³ Kath. Up. VI, 3.

and likewise of a great sage (learned in the Vedas) who is free from desires.

¶ One hundred times that bliss of human Gandharvas is one measure of the bliss of divine Gandharvas (genii), and likewise of a great sage who is free from desires.

¶ One hundred times that bliss of divine Gandharvas is one measure of the bliss of the Fathers, enjoying their long estate, and likewise of a great sage who is free from desires.

¶ One hundred times that bliss of the Fathers is one measure of the bliss of the Devas, born in the Âgâna heaven (through the merit of their lawful works), (3) and likewise of a great sage who is free from desires.

¶ One hundred times that bliss of the Devas born in the Âgâna heaven is one measure of the bliss of the sacrificial Devas, who go to the Devas by means of their Vaidik sacrifices, and likewise of a great sage who is free from desires.

¶ One hundred times that bliss of the sacrificial Devas is one measure of the bliss of the (thirty-three) Devas, and likewise of a great sage who is free from desires.

¶ One hundred times that bliss of the (thirty-three) Devas is one measure of the bliss of Indra, (4) and likewise of a great sage who is free from desires.

¶ One hundred times that bliss of Indra is one measure of the bliss of Brîhaspati, and likewise of a great sage who is free from desires.

¶ One hundred times that bliss of Brîhaspati is one measure of the bliss of Pragâpati, and likewise of a great sage who is free from desires.

¶ One hundred times that bliss of Pragâpati is one

measure of the bliss of Brahman, and likewise of a great sage who is free from desires.

(5) He¹ who is this (Brahman) in man, and he who is that (Brahman) in the sun, both are one².

¹ Cf. III, 10, 4.

² In giving the various degrees of happiness, the author of the Upanishad gives us at the same time the various classes of human and divine beings which we must suppose were recognised in his time. We have Men, human Gandharvas, divine Gandharvas, Fathers (pitara *ġiralokakâh*), born Gods (*âgânagâ devâh*), Gods by merit (karmadevâh), Gods, Indra, *Bṛhaspati*, *Pragâpati*, Brahman. Such a list would seem to be the invention of an individual rather than the result of an old tradition, if it did not occur in a very similar form in the *Satapatha-brâhmana*, *Mâdhyandina-sâkhâ* XIV, 7, 1, 31, *Kânva-sâkhâ* (*Bṛh. Âr.Up.* IV, 3, 32). Here, too, the highest measure of happiness is ascribed to the *Brahmaloka*, and other beings are supposed to share a certain measure only of its supreme happiness. The scale begins in the *Mâdhyandina-sâkhâ* with men, who are followed by the Fathers (pitara *ġitalokâh*), the Gods by merit (karmadevâh), the Gods by birth (*âgânadevâh*, with whom the *Srotriya* is joined), the world of Gods, the world of Gandharvas, the world of *Pragâpati*, the world of Brahman. In the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka-upanishad* we have Men, Fathers, Gandharvas, Gods by merit, Gods by birth, *Pragâpati*, and Brahman. If we place the three lists side by side, we find—

TAITTIRÎYA-UPAN. SATAPATHA-BRÂH. BṚHADÂRAN-UPAN.

Men	Men	Men
Human Gandharvas (and <i>Srotriya</i>)	—	—
Divine Gandharvas	—	—
Fathers (<i>ġiraloka</i>)	Fathers (<i>ġitaloka</i>)	Fathers (<i>ġitaloka</i>) Gandharvas
—	—	—
Gods by birth	Gods by merit	Gods by merit
Gods by merit	Gods by birth (and <i>Srotriya</i>)	Gods by birth (and <i>Srotriya</i>)
Gods	Gods	—
Indra	Gandharvas	—
<i>Bṛhaspati</i>	—	—
<i>Pragâpati</i>	<i>Pragâpati</i>	<i>Pragâpati</i>
Brahman	Brahman	Brahman.

The commentators do not help us much. Saṅkara on the Taitti-

He who knows this, when he has departed this world, reaches and comprehends the Self which consists of food, the Self which consists of breath, the Self which consists of mind, the Self which consists of understanding, the Self which consists of bliss.

On this there is also this Sloka :

rîyaka-upanishad explains the human Gandharvas as men who have become Gandharvas, a kind of fairies ; divine Gandharvas, as Gandharvas by birth. The Fathers or Manes are called *Kīraloka*, because they remain long, though not for ever, in their world. The *âgânaga* Gods are explained as born in the world of the *Devas* through their good works (*smârta*), while the *Karmadevas* are explained as born there through their sacred works (*vaidika*). The Gods are the thirty-three, whose lord is *Indra*, and whose teacher *Brîhaspati*. *Pragâpati* is *Virâg*, Brahman *Hiranyagarbha*. *Dvivedagaṅga*, in his commentary on the *Satapatha-brâhmaṇa*, explains the Fathers as those who, proceeding on the Southern path, have conquered their world, more particularly by having themselves offered in their life sacrifices to their Fathers. The *Karmadevas*, according to him, are those who have become *Devas* by sacred works (*srauta*), the *Âgânadevas* those who were gods before there were men. The Gods are *Indra* and the rest, while the *Gandharvas* are not explained. *Pragâpati* is *Virâg*, Brahman is *Hiranyagarbha*. Lastly, *Śaṅkara*, in his commentary on the *Brîhadâraṇyaka-upanishad*, gives nearly the same explanation as before ; only that he makes *âgânadevâḥ* still clearer, by explaining them as gods *âgânataḥ*, i. e. *utpattitaḥ*, from their birth.

The arrangement of these beings and their worlds, one rising above the other, reminds us of the cosmography of the Buddhists, but the elements, though in a less systematic form, existed evidently before. Thus we find in the so-called *Gargî-brâhmaṇa* (*Satapatha-brâhmaṇa* XIV, 6, 6, 1) the following succession : Water, air, ether^a, the worlds of the sky^b, heaven, sun, moon, stars, gods, *Gandharvas*^c, *Pragâpati*, Brahman. In the *Kaushîtaki-upanishad* I, 3 (Sacred Books of the East, vol. i, p. 275) there is another series, the worlds of *Agni*, *Vâyu*, *Varuṇa*, *Indra*, *Pragâpati*, and Brahman. See Weber, *Ind. Stud.* II, p. 224.

^a Deest in *Kânva-sâkhâ*.

^b Between sky and sun, the *Kânva-sâkhâ* places the *Gandharvaloka* (*Brîh. Âr. Up.* III, 6, 1, p. 609).

^c Instead of *Gandharvas*, the *Brîh. Âr. Up.* places *Indra*.

NINTH ANUVÂKA¹.

‘He who knows the bliss of that Brahman, from whence all speech, with the mind, turns away unable to reach it, he fears nothing².’

He does not distress himself with the thought, Why did I not do what is good? Why did I do what is bad? He who thus knows these two (good and bad), frees himself. He who knows both, frees himself³. This is the Upanishad⁴.

¹ Cf. II, 4.

² Even if there is no fear from anything else, after the knowledge of Self and Brahman has been obtained, it might be thought that fear might still arise from the commission of evil deeds, and the omission of good works. Therefore the next paragraphs have been added.

³ The construction of these two sentences is not clear to me.

⁴ Here follows the Anukramanî, and in some MSS. the same invocation with which the next Vallî begins.

THIRD VALLĪ,

OR, THE CHAPTER OF BHRIGU.

Harīḥ, Om! May it (the Brahman) protect us both! May it enjoy us both! May we acquire strength together! May our knowledge become bright! May we never quarrel! Peace! peace! peace¹!

FIRST ANUVÂKA.

Bhrigu Vârûni went to his father Varuṇa, saying: 'Sir, teach me Brahman.' He told him this, viz. Food, breath, the eye, the ear, mind, speech.

Then he said again to him: 'That from whence these beings are born, that by which, when born, they live, that into which they enter at their death, try to know that. That is Brahman.'

He performed penance. Having performed penance—

SECOND ANUVÂKA.

He perceived that food is Brahman, for from food these beings are produced; by food, when born, they live; and into food they enter at their death.

Having perceived this, he went again to his father Varuṇa, saying: 'Sir, teach me Brahman.' He said to him: 'Try to know Brahman by penance, for penance is (the means of knowing) Brahman.'

He performed penance. Having performed penance—

¹ The same paragraph, as before (II, 1), occurs at the end of the *Kaṭha-upanishad*, and elsewhere.

THIRD ANUVÂKA.

He perceived that breath¹ is Brahman, for from breath these beings are born ; by breath, when born, they live ; into breath they enter at their death.

Having perceived this, he went again to his father Varuṇa, saying : ' Sir, teach me Brahman.' He said to him : ' Try to know Brahman by penance, for penance is (the means of knowing) Brahman.'

He performed penance. Having performed penance—

FOURTH ANUVÂKA.

He perceived that mind (manas) is Brahman, for from mind these beings are born ; by mind, when born, they live ; into mind they enter at their death.

Having perceived this, he went again to his father Varuṇa, saying : ' Sir, teach me Brahman.' He said to him : ' Try to know Brahman by penance, for penance is (the means of knowing) Brahman.'

He performed penance. Having performed penance—

FIFTH ANUVÂKA.

He perceived that understanding (vigñāna) was Brahman, for from understanding these beings are born ; by understanding, when born, they live ; into understanding they enter at their death.

Having perceived this, he went again to his father Varuṇa, saying : ' Sir, teach me Brahman.' He said to him : ' Try to know Brahman by penance, for penance is (the means of knowing) Brahman.'

¹ Or life ; see Brîh. Âr. Up. IV, 1, 3.

He performed penance. Having performed penance—

SIXTH ANUVÂKA.

He perceived that bliss is Brahman, for from bliss these beings are born; by bliss, when born, they live; into bliss they enter at their death.

This is the knowledge of Bhrigu and Varuna¹, exalted in the highest heaven (in the heart). He who knows this becomes exalted, becomes rich in food, and able to eat food (healthy), becomes great by offspring, cattle, and the splendour of his knowledge (of Brahman), great by fame.

SEVENTH ANUVÂKA.

Let him never abuse food, that is the rule.

Breath is food², the body eats the food. The body rests on breath, breath rests on the body. This is the food resting on food³, rests exalted, becomes rich in food, and able to eat food (healthy), becomes great by offspring, cattle, and the splendour of his knowledge (of Brahman), great by fame.

EIGHTH ANUVÂKA.

Let him never shun food, that is the rule. Water is food, the light eats the food. The light rests on water, water rests on light. This is the food resting

¹ Taught by Varuna, learnt by Bhrigu Vâruni.

² Because, like food, it is inside the body.

³ The interdependence of food and breath. The object of this discussion is to show (see Saṅkara's commentary, p. 135) that the world owes its origin to there being an enjoyer (subject) and what is enjoyed (object), but that this distinction does not exist in the Self.

on food¹. He who knows this food resting on food, rests exalted, becomes rich in food, and able to eat food (healthy), becomes great by offspring, cattle, and the splendour of his knowledge (of Brahman), great by fame.

NINTH ANUVÂKA.

Let him acquire much food, that is the rule. Earth is food, the ether eats the food. The ether rests on the earth, the earth rests on the ether. This is the food resting on food. He who knows this food resting on food, rests exalted, becomes rich in food, and able to eat food (healthy), becomes great by offspring, cattle, and the splendour of his knowledge (of Brahman), great by fame.

TENTH ANUVÂKA.

1. Let him never turn away (a stranger) from his house, that is the rule. Therefore a man should by all means acquire much food, for (good) people say (to the stranger): 'There is food ready for him.' If he gives food amply, food is given to him amply. If he gives food fairly, food is given to him fairly. If he gives food meanly, food is given to him meanly.

2. He who knows this, (recognises and worships Brahman²) as possession in speech, as acquisition and possession in up-breathing (prâna) and down-breathing (apâna); as action in the hands; as walking in the feet; as voiding in the anus. These are the human recognitions (of Brahman as manifested in human actions). Next follow the recognitions (of

¹ The interdependence of water and light.

² Brahmana upâsanaprakâraḥ.

Brahman) with reference to the Devas, viz. as satisfaction in rain; as power in lightning;

3. As glory in cattle; as light in the stars; as procreation, immortality, and bliss in the member; as everything in the ether. Let him worship that (Brahman) as support, and he becomes supported. Let him worship that (Brahman) as greatness (*maha*), and he becomes great. Let him worship that (Brahman) as mind, and he becomes endowed with mind.

4. Let him worship that (Brahman) as adoration, and all desires fall down before him in adoration. Let him worship that (Brahman) as Brahman, and he will become possessed of Brahman. Let him worship this as the absorption of the gods¹ in Brahman, and the enemies who hate him will die all around him, all around him will die the foes whom he does not love.

He² who is this (Brahman) in man, and he who is that (Brahman) in the sun, both are one.

5. He who knows this, when he has departed this world, after reaching and comprehending the Self which consists of food, the Self which consists of breath, the Self which consists of mind, the Self which consists of understanding, the Self which consists of bliss, enters and takes possession of these worlds, and having as much food as he likes, and assuming as many forms as he likes, he sits down singing this Sâman (of Brahman): 'Hâvu, hâvu, hâvu!

¹ Cf. Kaush. Up. II, 12. Here the absorption of the gods of fire, sun, moon, and lightning in the god of the air (*vâyu*) is described. Sâṅkara adds the god of rain, and shows that air is identical with ether.

² Cf. II, 8.

6. 'I am food (object), I am food, I am food! I am the eater of food (subject), I am the eater of food, I am the eater of food! I am the poet (who joins the two together), I am the poet, I am the poet! I am the first-born of the Right (*rita*). Before the Devas I was in the centre of all that is immortal. He who gives me away, he alone preserves me: him who eats food, I eat as food.

'I overcome the whole world, I, endowed with golden light ¹. He who knows this, (attains all this).' This is the Upanishad ².

¹ If we read *suvarṇagyotiḥ*. The commentator reads *suvar na gyotiḥ*, i. e. the light is like the sun.

² After the *Anukramanī* follows the same invocation as in the beginning of the third Vallī, 'May it protect us both,' &c.



BRĪHADÂRANYAKA-
UPANISHAD.

BRĪHADÂRANYAKA- UPANISHAD.

FIRST ADHYÂYA¹.

FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. Verily² the dawn is the head of the horse which is fit for sacrifice, the sun its eye, the wind its breath, the mouth the Vaisvânara³ fire, the year the body of the sacrificial horse. Heaven is the back, the sky the belly, the earth the chest⁴, the quarters the two sides, the intermediate quarters the ribs, the members the seasons, the joints the months and half-months, the feet days and nights, the bones the stars, the

¹ It is the third Adhyâya of the Âranyaka, but the first of the Upanishad.

² This Brâhmana is found in the Mâdhyandina text of the Sata-patha, ed. Weber, X, 6, 4. Its object is there explained by the commentary to be the meditative worship of Virâg, as represented metaphorically in the members of the horse. Sâyana dispenses with its explanation, because, as part of the Brîhadâraṇyaka-upanishad, according to the Kânva-sâkhâ, it had been enlarged on by the Vârttikakâra and explained.

³ Agni or fire, as pervading everything, as universally present in nature.

⁴ Pâgasya is doubtful. The commentator suggests pâd-asya, the place of the feet, i. e. the hoof. The Greek Pēgasos, or ἵπποι πηγοί, throws no light on the word. The meaning of hoof would hardly be appropriate here, and I prefer chest on account of uras in I, 2, 3. Deussen (Vedânta, p. 8) translates, die Erde seiner Füße Schemel; but we want some part of the horse.

flesh the clouds. The half-digested food is the sand, the rivers the bowels¹, the liver and the lungs² the mountains, the hairs the herbs and trees. As the sun rises, it is the forepart, as it sets, the hindpart of the horse. When the horse shakes itself³, then it lightens; when it kicks, it thunders; when it makes water, it rains; voice⁴ is its voice.

2. Verily Day arose after the horse as the (golden) vessel⁵, called Mahiman (greatness), which (at the sacrifice) is placed before the horse. Its place is in the Eastern sea. The Night arose after the horse as the (silver) vessel, called Mahiman, which (at the sacrifice) is placed behind the horse. Its place is in the Western sea. Verily, these two vessels (or great-nesses) arose to be on each side of the horse.

As a racer he carried the Devas, as a stallion the Gandharvas, as a runner the Asuras, as a horse men. The sea is its kin, the sea is its birthplace.

SECOND BRĀHMAṆA⁶.

1. In the beginning there was nothing (to be per-

¹ Guda, being in the plural, is explained by nâḍī, channel, and sirâḥ; for we ought to read sirâ or hirâgrahane for sirâ, p. 22, l. 16.

² Klomânaḥ is explained as a plurale tantum (nityam bahuvachanam ekasmin), and being described as a lump below the heart, on the opposite side of the liver, it is supposed to be the lungs.

³ 'When it yawns.' Ânandagiri.

⁴ Voice is sometimes used as a personified power of thunder and other aerial sounds, and this is identified with the voice of the horse.

⁵ Two vessels, to hold the sacrificial libations, are placed at the Arvamedha before and behind the horse, the former made of gold, the latter made of silver. They are called Mahiman in the technical language of the ceremonial. The place in which these vessels are set, is called their yoni. Cf. Vâgas. Samhitâ XXIII, 2.

⁶ Called the Agni-brâhmana, and intended to teach the origin of

ceived) here whatsoever. By Death indeed all this was concealed,—by hunger; for death is hunger. Death (the first being) thought, ‘Let me have a body.’ Then he moved about, worshipping. From him thus worshipping water was produced. And he said: ‘Verily, there appeared to me, while I worshipped (ar $\acute{a}$ te), water (ka).’ This is why water is called ar-ka¹. Surely there is water (or pleasure) for him who thus knows the reason why water is called arka.

2. Verily water is arka. And what was there as the froth of the water, that was hardened, and became the earth. On that earth he (Death) rested, and from him, thus resting and heated, Agni (Virâg) proceeded, full of light.

3. That being divided itself threefold, Âditya (the sun) as the third, and Vâyu (the air) as the third². That spirit (prâna)³ became threefold. The head was the Eastern quarter, and the arms this and that quarter

Agni, the fire, which is here used for the Horse-sacrifice. It is found in the *Satapatha-brâhmana*, *Mâdhyandina-sâkhâ* X, 6, 5, and there explained as a description of *Hiranyagarbha*.

¹ We ought to read arkasyârkatvam, as in Poley’s edition, or ark-kasyârkkatvam, to make the etymology still clearer. The commentator takes arka in the sense of fire, more especially the sacrificial fire employed at the Horse-sacrifice. It may be so, but the more natural interpretation seems to me to take arka here as water, from which indirectly fire is produced. From water springs the earth; on that earth he (Mrîtyu or Pragâpati) rested, and from him, while resting there, fire (Virâg) was produced. That fire assumed three forms, fire, sun, and air, and in that threefold form it is called prâna, spirit.

² As Agni, Vâyu, and Âditya.

³ Here Agni (Virâg) is taken as representing the fire of the altar at the Horse-sacrifice, which is called Arka. The object of the whole *Brâhmana* was to show the origin and true character of that fire (arka).

(i.e. the N. E. and S. E., on the left and right sides). Then the tail was the Western quarter, and the two legs this and that quarter (i.e. the N. W. and S. W.) The sides were the Southern and Northern quarters, the back heaven, the belly the sky, the dust the earth. Thus he (*Mṛityu*, as *arka*) stands firm in the water, and he who knows this stands firm wherever he goes.

4. He desired¹, 'Let a second body be born of me,' and he (Death or Hunger) embraced Speech in his mind. Then the seed became the year. Before that time there was no year. Speech² bore him so long as a year, and after that time sent him forth. Then when he was born, he (Death) opened his mouth, as if to swallow him. He cried *Bhân!* and that became speech³.

5. He thought, 'If I kill him, I shall have but little food.' He therefore brought forth by that speech and by that body (the year) all whatsoever exists, the *Rik*, the *Yagus*, the *Sâman*, the metres, the sacrifices, men, and animals.

And whatever he (Death) brought forth, that he resolved to eat (*ad*). Verily because he eats everything, therefore is Aditi (Death) called Aditi. He who thus knows why Aditi is called Aditi, becomes an eater of everything, and everything becomes his food⁴.

¹ He is the same as what was before called *mṛityu*, death, who, after becoming self-conscious, produced water, earth, fire, &c. He now wishes for a second body, which is the year, or the annual sacrifice, the year being dependent on the sun (*Âditya*).

² The commentator understands the father, instead of Speech, the mother.

³ The interjectional theory.

⁴ All these are merely fanciful etymologies of *asvamedha* and *arka*.

6. He desired to sacrifice again with a greater sacrifice. He toiled and performed penance. And while he toiled and performed penance, glorious power¹ went out of him. Verily glorious power means the senses (*prâṇā*). Then when the senses had gone out, the body took to swelling (*sva-yitum*), and mind was in the body.

7. He desired that this body should be fit for sacrifice (*medhya*), and that he should be embodied by it. Then he became a horse (*asva*), because it swelled (*asvat*), and was fit for sacrifice (*medhya*); and this is why the horse-sacrifice is called *Asva-medha*.

Verily he who knows him thus, knows the *Asva-medha*. Then, letting the horse free, he thought², and at the end of a year he offered it up for himself, while he gave up the (other) animals to the deities. Therefore the sacrificers offered up the purified horse belonging to *Pragâpati*, (as dedicated) to all the deities.

Verily the shining sun is the *Asvamedha*-sacrifice, and his body is the year; *Agni* is the sacrificial fire (*arka*), and these worlds are his bodies. These two are the sacrificial fire and the *Asvamedha*-sacrifice, and they are again one deity, viz. Death. He (who knows this) overcomes another death, death does not reach him, death is his Self, he becomes one of those deities.

¹ Or glory (senses) and power. Comm.

² He considered himself as the horse. Roer.

THIRD BRĀHMAṆA¹.

1. There were two kinds of descendants of Pragâpati, the Devas and the Asuras². Now the Devas were indeed the younger, the Asuras the elder ones³. The Devas, who were struggling in these worlds, said: 'Well, let us overcome the Asuras at the sacrifices (the *Gyotishṭoma*) by means of the *udgîtha*.'

2. They said to speech (*Vâk*): 'Do thou sing out for us (the *udgîtha*).' 'Yes,' said speech, and sang (the *udgîtha*). Whatever delight there is in speech, that she obtained for the Devas by singing (the three *pavamânas*); but that she pronounced well (in the other nine *pavamânas*), that was for herself. The Asuras knew: 'Verily, through this singer they will overcome us.' They therefore rushed at the singer and pierced her with evil. That evil which consists in saying what is bad, that is that evil.

3. Then they (the Devas) said to breath (scent): 'Do thou sing out for us.' 'Yes,' said breath, and sang. Whatever delight there is in breath (smell), that he obtained for the Devas by singing; but that he smelled well, that was for himself. The Asuras knew: 'Verily, through this singer they will overcome us.' They therefore rushed at the singer, and

¹ Called the *Udgîtha-brâhmaṇa*. In the *Mâdhyandina-sâkhâ*, the *Upanishad*, which consists of six *adhyâyas*, begins with this *Brâhmaṇa* (cf. Weber's edition, p. 1047; Commentary, p. 1109).

² The Devas and Asuras are explained by the commentator as the senses, inclining either to sacred or to worldly objects, to good or evil.

³ According to the commentator, the Devas were the less numerous and less strong, the Asuras the more numerous and more powerful.

pierced him with evil. That evil which consists in smelling what is bad, that is that evil.

4. Then they said to the eye : 'Do thou sing out for us.' 'Yes,' said the eye, and sang. Whatever delight there is in the eye, that he obtained for the Devas by singing ; but that he saw well, that was for himself. The Asuras knew : 'Verily, through this singer they will overcome us.' They therefore rushed at the singer, and pierced him with evil. That evil which consists in seeing what is bad, that is that evil.

5. Then they said to the ear : 'Do thou sing out for us.' 'Yes,' said the ear, and sang. Whatever delight there is in the ear, that he obtained for the Devas by singing ; but that he heard well, that was for himself. The Asuras knew : 'Verily, through this singer they will overcome us.' They therefore rushed at the singer, and pierced him with evil. That evil which consists in hearing what is bad, that is that evil.

6. Then they said to the mind : 'Do thou sing out for us.' 'Yes,' said the mind, and sang. Whatever delight there is in the mind, that he obtained for the Devas by singing ; but that he thought well, that was for himself. The Asuras knew : 'Verily, through this singer they will overcome us.' They therefore rushed at the singer, and pierced him with evil. That evil which consists in thinking what is bad, that is that evil.

Thus they overwhelmed these deities with evils, thus they pierced them with evil.

7. Then they said to the breath in the mouth¹ : 'Do thou sing for us.' 'Yes,' said the breath, and sang. The Asuras knew : 'Verily, through this singer

¹ This is the chief or vital breath, sometimes called mukhya.

they will overcome us.' They therefore rushed at him and pierced him with evil. Now as a ball of earth will be scattered when hitting a stone, thus they perished, scattered in all directions. Hence the Devas rose, the Asuras fell. He who knows this, rises by his self, and the enemy who hates him falls.

8. Then they (the Devas) said: 'Where was he then who thus stuck to us¹?' It was (the breath) within the mouth (âsye 'ntar²), and therefore called Ayâsya; he was the sap (rasa) of the limbs (aṅga), and therefore called Âṅgirasa.

9. That deity was called Dûr, because Death was far (dûran) from it. From him who knows this, Death is far off.

10. That deity, after having taken away the evil of those deities, viz. death, sent it to where the end of the quarters of the earth is. There he deposited their sins. Therefore let no one go to a man, let no one go to the end (of the quarters of the earth³), that he may not meet there with evil, with death.

11. That deity, after having taken away the evil of those deities, viz. death, carried them beyond death.

12. He carried speech across first. When speech had become freed from death, it became (what it had been before) Agni (fire). That Agni, after having stepped beyond death, shines.

13. Then he carried breath (scent) across. When breath had become freed from death, it became

¹ Asakta from sañg, to embrace; cf. Rig-veda I, 33, 3. Here it corresponds to the German anhänglich.

² See Deussen, Vedânta, p. 359.

³ To distant people.

Vāyu (air). That Vāyu, after having stepped beyond death, blows.

14. Then he carried the eye across. When the eye had become freed from death, it became Âditya (the sun). That Âditya, after having stepped beyond death, burns.

15. Then he carried the ear across. When the ear had become freed from death, it became the quarters (space). These are our quarters (space), which have stepped beyond death.

16. Then he carried the mind across. When the mind had become freed from death, it became the moon (*Kandramas*). That moon, after having stepped beyond death, shines. Thus does that deity carry him, who knows this, across death.

17. Then breath (vital), by singing, obtained for himself eatable food. For whatever food is eaten, is eaten by breath alone, and in it breath rests¹.

The Devas said : 'Verily, thus far, whatever food there is, thou hast by singing acquired it for thyself. Now therefore give us a share in that food.' He said : 'You there, enter into me.' They said Yes, and entered all into him. Therefore whatever food is eaten by breath, by it the other senses are satisfied.

18. If a man knows this, then his own relations come to him in the same manner ; he becomes their supporter, their chief leader, their strong ruler². And if ever any one tries to oppose³ one who is possessed of such knowledge among his own relatives, then he

¹ This is done by the last nine Pavamānas, while the first three were used for obtaining the reward common to all the *prāṇas*.

² Here *annāda* is well explained by *anāmayāvin*, and *vyādhirahita*, free from sickness, strong.

³ Read *pratipratiḥ* ; see Poley, and Weber, p. 1180.

will not be able to support his own belongings. But he who follows the man who is possessed of such knowledge, and who with his permission wishes to support those whom he has to support, he indeed will be able to support his own belongings.

19. He was called Ayâsya Ângirasa, for he is the sap (rasa) of the limbs (aṅga). Verily, breath is the sap of the limbs. Yes, breath is the sap of the limbs. Therefore from whatever limb breath goes away, that limb withers, for breath verily is the sap of the limbs.

20. He (breath) is also Bṛihaspati, for speech is Bṛihatī (Rig-veda), and he is her lord; therefore he is Bṛihaspati.

21. He (breath) is also Brahmanaspati, for speech is Brahman (Yagur-veda), and he is her lord; therefore he is Brahmanaspati.

He (breath) is also Sâman (the Udgîtha), for speech is Sâman (Sâma-veda), and that is both speech (sâ) and breath (ama)¹. This is why Sâman is called Sâman.

22. Or because he is equal (sama) to a grub, equal to a gnat, equal to an elephant, equal to these three worlds, nay, equal to this universe, therefore he is Sâman. He who thus knows this Sâman, obtains union and oneness with Sâman.

23. He (breath) is Udgîtha². Breath verily is Ut, for by breath this universe is upheld (uttabdha); and speech is Gîthâ, song. And because he is ut and gîthâ, therefore he (breath) is Udgîtha.

¹ Cf. *Khând. Up.* V, 2, 6.

² Not used here in the sense of song or hymn, but as an act of worship connected with the Sâman. Comm.

24. And thus Brahmadata Kaikitâneya (the grandson of Kikitâna), while taking Soma (*râgan*), said: 'May this Soma strike my head off, if Ayâsya Ângirasa sang another Udgîtha than this. He sang it indeed as speech and breath.'

25. He who knows what is the property of this Sâman, obtains property. Now verily its property is tone only. Therefore let a priest, who is going to perform the sacrificial work of a Sâma-singer, desire that his voice may have a good tone, and let him perform the sacrifice with a voice that is in good tone. Therefore people (who want a priest) for a sacrifice, look out for one who possesses a good voice, as for one who possesses property. He who thus knows what is the property of that Sâman, obtains property.

26. He who knows what is the gold of that Sâman, obtains gold. Now verily its gold is tone only. He who thus knows what is the gold of that Sâman, obtains gold.

27. He who knows what is the support of that Sâman, he is supported. Now verily its support is speech only. For, as supported in speech, that breath is sung as that Sâman. Some say the support is in food.

Next follows the Abhyâroha¹ (the ascension) of the Pavamâna verses. Verily the Prastotri begins to sing the Sâman, and when he begins, then let him (the sacrificer) recite these (three Yagus-verses):

'Lead me from the unreal to the real! Lead me

¹ The ascension is a ceremony by which the performer reaches the gods, or becomes a god. It consists in the recitation of three Yagus, and is here enjoined to take place when the Prastotri priest begins to sing his hymn.

from darkness to light! Lead me from death to immortality!’

Now when he says, ‘Lead me from the unreal to the real,’ the unreal is verily death, the real immortality. He therefore says, ‘Lead me from death to immortality, make me immortal.’

When he says, ‘Lead me from darkness to light,’ darkness is verily death, light immortality. He therefore says, ‘Lead me from death to immortality, make me immortal.’

When he says, ‘Lead me from death to immortality,’ there is nothing there, as it were, hidden (obscure, requiring explanation)¹.

28. Next come the other Stotras with which the priest may obtain food for himself by singing them. Therefore let the sacrificer, while these Stotras are being sung, ask for a boon, whatever desire he may desire. An Udgâtri priest who knows this obtains by his singing whatever desire he may desire either for himself or for the sacrificer. This (knowledge) indeed is called the conqueror of the worlds. He who thus knows this Sâman², for him there is no fear of his not being admitted to the worlds³.

¹ See Deussen, Vedânta, p. 86.

² He knows that he is the Prâna, which Prâna is the Sâman. That Prâna cannot be defeated by the Asuras, i.e. by the senses which are addicted to evil; it is pure, and the five senses finding refuge in him, recover there their original nature, fire, &c. The Prâna is the Self of all things, also of speech (*Rig-yaguh-sâmodgîtha*), and of the Sâman that has to be sung and well sung. The Prâna pervades all creatures, and he who identifies himself with that Prâna, obtains the rewards mentioned in the Brâhmaṇa. Comm.

³ In connection with lokagîti, lokyatâ is here explained, and may probably have been intended, as worthiness to be admitted to the highest world. Originally lokyatâ and alokyatâ meant right and wrong. See also I, 5, i7.

FOURTH BRÂHMANA¹.

1. In the beginning this was Self alone, in the shape of a person (purusha). He looking round saw nothing but his Self. He first said, 'This is I;' therefore he became I by name. Therefore even now, if a man is asked, he first says, 'This is I,' and then pronounces the other name which he may have. And because before (pûrva) all this, he (the Self) burnt down (ush) all evils, therefore he was a person (pur-usha). Verily he who knows this, burns down every one who tries to be before him.

2. He feared, and therefore any one who is lonely fears. He thought, 'As there is nothing but myself, why should I fear?' Thence his fear passed away. For what should he have feared? Verily fear arises from a second only.

3. But he felt no delight. Therefore a man who is lonely feels no delight. He wished for a second. He was so large as man and wife together. He then made this his Self to fall in two (pat), and thence arose husband (pati) and wife (patnî). Therefore Yâgñavalkya said: 'We two² are thus (each of us) like half a shell³.' Therefore the void which was

¹ Called Purushavidhabrâhmana (Mâdhyandina-sâkhâ, p. 1050). See Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. i, p. 24.

² The Comm. explains *svaḥ* by *âtmanaḥ*, of himself. But see Boehtlingk, Sanskrit Chrestomathie, p. 357.

³ Roer translates: 'Therefore was this only one half of himself, as a split pea is of a whole.' *Brigala* is a half of anything. Muir (Orig. Sansk. Texts, vol. i, p. 25) translates: 'Yâgñavalkya has said that this one's self is like the half of a split pea.' I have translated the sentence according to Professor Boehtlingk's conjecture (Chrestomathie, 2nd ed. p. 357), though the singular after the dual (*svaḥ*) is irregular.

there, is filled by the wife. He embraced her, and men were born.

4. She thought, 'How can he embrace me, after having produced me from himself? I shall hide myself.'

She then became a cow, the other became a bull and embraced her, and hence cows were born. The one became a mare, the other a stallion; the one a male ass, the other a female ass. He embraced her, and hence one-hoofed animals were born. The one became a she-goat, the other a he-goat; the one became a ewe¹, the other a ram. He embraced her, and hence goats and sheep were born. And thus he created everything that exists in pairs, down to the ants.

5. He knew, 'I indeed am this creation, for I created all this.' Hence he became the creation, and he who knows this lives in this his creation.

6. Next he thus produced fire by rubbing. From the mouth, as from the fire-hole, and from the hands he created fire². Therefore both the mouth and the hands are inside without hair, for the fire-hole is inside without hair.

And when they say, 'Sacrifice to this or sacrifice to that god,' each god is but his manifestation, for he is all gods.

Now, whatever there is moist, that he created from seed; this is Soma. So far verily is this universe either food or eater. Soma indeed is food, Agni eater. This is the highest creation of Brah-

¹ The reading *avir itaro*, i. e. *itarâ u*, is not found in the *Kânva* text. See Boehlingk, *Chrestomathie*, p. 357.

² He blew with the mouth while he rubbed with the hands.

man, when he created the gods from his better part¹, and when he, who was (then) mortal², created the immortals. Therefore it was the highest creation. And he who knows this, lives in this his highest creation.

7. Now all this was then undeveloped. It became developed by form and name, so that one could say, 'He, called so and so, is such a one³.' Therefore at present also all this is developed by name and form, so that one can say, 'He, called so and so, is such a one.'

He (Brahman or the Self) entered thither, to the very tips of the finger-nails, as a razor might be fitted in a razor-case, or as fire in a fire-place⁴.

He cannot be seen, for, in part only, when breathing, he is breath by name; when speaking, speech by name; when seeing, eye by name; when hearing, ear by name; when thinking, mind by name. All these are but the names of his acts. And he who worships (regards) him as the one or the other, does not know him, for he is apart from this (when qualified) by the one or the other (predicate). Let men worship him as Self, for in the Self all these are one. This Self is the footstep of everything, for through it one knows everything⁵. And as one can find again by footsteps what was lost, thus he who knows this finds glory and praise.

¹ Or, when he created the best gods.

² As man and sacrificer. Comm.

³ The Comm. takes *asau-nâmâ* as a compound, instead of *idam-nâmâ*. I read *asau nâma*, he is this by name, viz. *Devadatta*, &c. Dr. Boehtlingk, who in his *Chrestomathie* (2nd ed. p. 31) had accepted the views of the Commentator, informs me that he has changed his view, and thinks that we should read *asaú nâma*.

⁴ Cf. Kaush. Br. Up. VI, 19.

⁵ 'As one finds lost cattle again by following their footsteps, thus one finds everything, if one has found out the Self.' Comm.

8. This, which is nearer to us than anything, this Self, is dearer than a son, dearer than wealth, dearer than all else.

And if one were to say to one who declares another than the Self dear, that he will lose what is dear to him, very likely it would be so. Let him worship the Self alone as dear. He who worships the Self alone as dear, the object of his love will never perish¹.

9. Here they say: 'If men think that by knowledge of Brahman they will become everything, what then did that Brahman know, from whence all this sprang?'

10. Verily in the beginning this was Brahman, that Brahman knew (its) Self only, saying, 'I am Brahman.' From it all this sprang. Thus, whatever Deva was awakened (so as to know Brahman), he indeed became that (Brahman); and the same with *Rishis* and men. The *Rishi* Vâmadeva saw and understood it, singing, 'I was Manu (moon), I was the sun.' Therefore now also he who thus knows that he is Brahman, becomes all this, and even the Devas cannot prevent it, for he himself is their Self.

Now if a man worships another deity, thinking the deity is one and he another, he does not know. He is like a beast for the Devas. For verily, as many beasts nourish a man, thus does every man nourish the Devas. If only one beast is taken away, it is not pleasant; how much more when many are taken! Therefore it is not pleasant to the Devas that men should know this.

11. Verily in the beginning this was Brahman, one

¹ On *rudh*, to lose, see Taitt. Samh. II, 6, 8, 5, pp. 765, 771, as pointed out by Dr. Boehtlingk. On *īsvaro* (*yat*) *tathaiva syât*, see Boehtlingk, s. v.

only. That being one, was not strong enough. It created still further the most excellent Kshatra (power), viz. those Kshatras (powers) among the Devas,—Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Rudra, Parganya, Yama, Mrityu, Îsâna. Therefore there is nothing beyond the Kshatra, and therefore at the Râgasûya sacrifice the Brâhmaṇa sits down below the Kshatriya. He confers that glory on the Kshatra alone. But Brahman is (nevertheless) the birth-place of the Kshatra. Therefore though a king is exalted, he sits down at the end (of the sacrifice) below the Brahman, as his birth-place. He who injures him, injures his own birth-place. He becomes worse, because he has injured one better than himself.

12. He¹ was not strong enough. He created the Vis (people), the classes of Devas which in their different orders are called Vasus, Rudras, Âdityas, Visve Devas, Maruts.

13. He was not strong enough. He created the Sûdra colour (caste), as Pûshan (as nourisher). This earth verily is Pûshan (the nourisher); for the earth nourishes all this whatsoever.

14. He was not strong enough. He created still further the most excellent Law (dharma). Law is the Kshatra (power) of the Kshatra², therefore there is nothing higher than the Law. Thenceforth even a weak man rules a stronger with the help of the Law, as with the help of a king. Thus the Law is what is called the true. And if a man declares what is true, they say he declares the Law; and if he declares the Law, they say he declares what is true. Thus both are the same.

¹ Observe the change from tad, it, to sa, he.

² More powerful than the Kshatra or warrior caste. Comm.

15. There are then this Brahman, Kshatra, Vis, and Sûdra. Among the Devas that Brahman existed as Agni (fire) only, among men as Brâhmaṇa, as Kshatriya through the (divine) Kshatriya, as Vaisya through the (divine) Vaisya, as Sûdra through the (divine) Sûdra. Therefore people wish for their future state among the Devas through Agni (the sacrificial fire) only; and among men through the Brâhmaṇa, for in these two forms did Brahman exist.

Now if a man departs this life without having seen his true future life (in the Self), then that Self, not being known, does not receive and bless him, as if the Veda had not been read, or as if a good work had not been done. Nay, even if one who does not know that (Self), should perform here on earth some great holy work, it will perish for him in the end. Let a man worship the Self only as his true state. If a man worships the Self only as his true state, his work does not perish, for whatever he desires that he gets from that Self.

16. Now verily this Self (of the ignorant man) is the world¹ of all creatures. In so far as man sacrifices and pours out libations, he is the world of the Devas; in so far as he repeats the hymns, &c., he is the world of the Rîshis; in so far as he offers cakes to the Fathers and tries to obtain offspring, he is the world of the Fathers; in so far as he gives shelter and food to men, he is the world of men; in so far as he finds fodder and water for the animals, he is the world of the animals; in so far as quadrupeds, birds, and even ants live in his houses, he is their world. And as every one wishes his own world not to be injured,

¹ Is enjoyed by them all. Comm.

thus all beings wish that he who knows this should not be injured. Verily this is known and has been well reasoned.

17. In the beginning this was Self alone, one only. He desired, 'Let there be a wife for me that I may have offspring, and let there be wealth for me that I may offer sacrifices.' Verily this is the whole desire, and, even if wishing for more, he would not find it. Therefore now also a lonely person desires, 'Let there be a wife for me that I may have offspring, and let there be wealth for me that I may offer sacrifices.' And so long as he does not obtain either of these things, he thinks he is incomplete. Now his completeness (is made up as follows): mind is his self (husband); speech the wife; breath the child; the eye all worldly wealth, for he finds it with the eye; the ear his divine wealth, for he hears it with the ear. The body (âtman) is his work, for with the body he works. This is the fivefold¹ sacrifice, for fivefold is the animal, fivefold man, fivefold all this whatsoever. He who knows this, obtains all this.

FIFTH BRĀHMANA².

1. 'When the father (of creation) had produced by knowledge and penance (work) the seven kinds of food, one of his (foods) was common to all beings, two he assigned to the Devas, (1)

'Three he made for himself, one he gave to the animals. In it all rests, whatsoever breathes and breathes not. (2)

¹ Fivefold, as consisting of mind, speech, breath, eye, and ear. See Taitt. Up. I, 7, 1.

² Mâdhyandina text, p. 1054.

‘Why then do these not perish, though they are always eaten? He who knows this imperishable one, he eats food with his face. (3)

‘He goes even to the Devas, he lives on strength.’ (4)

2. When it is said, that ‘the father produced by knowledge and penance the seven kinds of food,’ it is clear that (it was he who) did so. When it is said, that ‘one of his (foods) was common,’ then that is that common food of his which is eaten. He who worships (eats) that (common food), is not removed from evil, for verily that food is mixed (property)¹. When it is said, that ‘two he assigned to the Devas,’ that is the huta, which is sacrificed in fire, and the prahuta, which is given away at a sacrifice. But they also say, the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices are here intended, and therefore one should not offer them as an *ishā* or with a wish.

When it is said, that ‘one he gave to animals,’ that is milk. For in the beginning (in their infancy) both men and animals live on milk. And therefore they either make a new-born child lick *ghrita* (butter), or they make it take the breast. And they call a new-born creature ‘*atrināda*,’ i. e. not eating herbs. When it is said, that ‘in it all rests, whatsoever breathes and breathes not,’ we see that all this, whatsoever breathes and breathes not, rests and depends on milk.

And when it is said (in another Brāhmaṇa), that a man who sacrifices with milk a whole year², overcomes death again, let him not think so. No, on

¹ It belongs to all beings.

² This would imply 360 sacrificial days, each with two oblations, i. e. 720 oblations.

the very day on which he sacrifices, on that day he overcomes death again; for he who knows this, offers to the gods the entire food (viz. milk).

When it is said, 'Why do these not perish, though they are always eaten,' we answer, Verily, the Person is the imperishable, and he produces that food again and again¹.

When it is said, 'He who knows this imperishable one,' then, verily, the Person is the imperishable one, for he produces this food by repeated thought, and whatever he does not work by his works, that perishes.

When it is said, that 'he eats food with his face,' then face means the mouth, he eats it with his mouth.

When it is said, that 'he goes even to the Devas, he lives on strength,' that is meant as praise.

3. When it is said, that 'he made three for himself,' that means that he made mind, speech, and breath for himself. As people say, 'My mind was elsewhere, I did not see; my mind was elsewhere, I did not hear,' it is clear that a man sees with his mind and hears with his mind². Desire, representation, doubt, faith, want of faith, memory³, forgetfulness, shame, reflexion, fear, all this is mind. Therefore even if a man is touched on the back, he knows it through the mind.

Whatever sound there is, that is speech. Speech indeed is intended for an end or object, it is nothing by itself.

¹ Those who enjoy the food, become themselves creators. Comm.

² See Deussen, *Vedânta*, p. 358.

³ Firmness, strength. Comm.

2 The up-breathing, the down-breathing, the back-breathing, the out-breathing, the on-breathing, all that is breathing is breath (*prâna*) only. Verily that Self consists of it; that Self consists of speech, mind, and breath.

4. These are the three worlds: earth is speech, sky mind, heaven breath.

5. These are the three Vedas: the Rig-veda is speech, the Yagur-veda mind, the Sâma-veda breath.

6. These are the Devas, Fathers, and men: the Devas are speech, the Fathers mind, men breath.

7. These are father, mother, and child: the father is mind, the mother speech, the child breath.

8. These are what is known, what is to be known, and what is unknown.

What is known, has the form of speech, for speech is known. Speech, having become this, protects man¹.

9. What is to be known, has the form of mind, for mind is what is to be known. Mind, having become this, protects man.

10. What is unknown, has the form of breath, for breath is unknown. Breath, having become this, protects man².

11. Of that speech (which is the food of *Pragâ-pati*) earth is the body, light the form, viz. this fire. And so far as speech extends, so far extends the earth, so far extends fire.

12. Next, of this mind heaven is the body, light the form, viz. this sun. And so far as this mind

¹ 'The food (speech), having become known, can be consumed.' Comm.

² This was *adhibhautika*, with reference to *bhûtas*, beings. Next follows the *adhidaivika*, with reference to the *devas*, gods. Comm.

extends, so far extends heaven, so far extends the sun. If they (fire and sun) embrace each other, then wind is born, and that is Indra, and he is without a rival. Verily a second is a rival, and he who knows this, has no rival.

13. Next, of this breath water is the body, light the form, viz. this moon. And so far as this breath extends, so far extends water, so far extends the moon.

These are all alike, all endless. And he who worships them as finite, obtains a finite world, but he who worships them as infinite, obtains an infinite world.

14. That Pragâpati is the year, and he consists of sixteen digits. The nights¹ indeed are his fifteen digits, the fixed point² his sixteenth digit. He is increased and decreased by the nights. Having on the new-moon night entered with the sixteenth part into everything that has life, he is thence born again in the morning. Therefore let no one cut off the life of any living thing on that night, not even of a lizard, in honour (pûgârtham) of that deity.

15. Now verily that Pragâpati, consisting of sixteen digits, who is the year, is the same as a man who knows this. His wealth constitutes the fifteen digits, his Self the sixteenth digit. He is increased and decreased by that wealth. His Self is the nave, his wealth the felly. Therefore even if he loses everything, if he lives but with his Self, people say, he lost the felly (which can be restored again).

16. Next there are verily three worlds, the world of men, the world of the Fathers, the world of the Devas. The world of men can be gained by a son

¹ Meant for nychthemera.

² When he is just invisible at the new moon.

only, not by any other work. By sacrifice the world of the Fathers, by knowledge the world of the Devas is gained. The world of the Devas is the best of worlds, therefore they praise knowledge.

17. Next follows the handing over. When a man thinks he is going to depart, he says to his son: 'Thou art Brahman (the Veda, so far as acquired by the father); thou art the sacrifice (so far as performed by the father); thou art the world.' The son answers: 'I am Brahman, I am the sacrifice, I am the world.' Whatever has been learnt (by the father) that, taken as one, is Brahman. Whatever sacrifices there are, they, taken as one, are the sacrifice. Whatever worlds there are, they, taken as one, are the world. Verily here ends this (what has to be done by a father, viz. study, sacrifice, &c.) 'He (the son), being all this, preserved me from this world¹,' thus he thinks. Therefore they call a son who is instructed (to do all this), a world-son (*lokya*), and therefore they instruct him.

When a father who knows this, departs this world, then he enters into his son together with his own spirits (with speech, mind, and breath). If there is anything done amiss by the father, of all that the son delivers him, and therefore he is called *Putra*, son². By help of his son the father stands firm in this world³. Then these divine immortal spirits (speech, mind, and breath) enter into him.

¹ Roer seems to have read *saṁnaya*, 'all this multitude.' I read, *etan mā sarvaṁ sann ayam ito 'bhunagad iti*.

² The Comm. derives *putra* from *pu* (*pâr*), to fill, and *tra* (*trâ*), to deliver, a deliverer who fills the holes left by the father, a stop-gap. Others derive it from *put*, a hell, and *trâ*, to protect; cf. *Manu IX, 138*.

³ 'The *manushya-loka*, not the *pitṛi-loka* and *deva-loka*.' Comm.

18. From the earth and from fire, divine speech enters into him. And verily that is divine speech whereby, whatever he says, comes to be.

19. From heaven and the sun, divine mind enters into him. And verily that is divine mind whereby he becomes joyful, and grieves no more.

20. From water and the moon, divine breath (spirit) enters into him. And verily that is divine breath which, whether moving or not moving, does not tire, and therefore does not perish. He who knows this, becomes the Self of all beings. As that deity (Hiranyagarbha) is, so does he become. And as all beings honour that deity (with sacrifice, &c.), so do all beings honour him who knows this.

Whatever grief these creatures suffer, that is all one¹ (and therefore disappears). Only what is good approaches him ; verily, evil does not approach the Devas.

21. Next follows the consideration of the observances² (acts). Pragâpati created the actions (active senses). When they had been created, they strove among themselves. Voice held, I shall speak ; the eye held, I shall see ; the ear held, I shall hear ; and thus the other actions too, each according to its own act. Death, having become weariness, took them and seized them. Having seized them, death held them back (from their work). Therefore speech grows weary, the eye grows weary, the ear grows weary. But death did not seize the central breath. Then the others tried to know him, and

¹ 'Individuals suffer, because one causes grief to another. But in the universal soul, where all individuals are one, their sufferings are neutralised.' Comm.

² The upâsana or meditative worship.

said : ' Verily, he is the best of us, he who, whether moving or not, does not tire and does not perish. Well, let all of us assume his form.' Thereupon they all assumed his form, and therefore they are called after him 'breaths' (spirits).

In whatever family there is a man who knows this, they call that family after his name. And he who strives with one who knows this, withers away and finally dies. So far with regard to the body.

22. Now with regard to the deities.

Agni (fire) held, I shall burn ; Âditya (the sun) held, I shall warm ; Kāndramas (the moon) held, I shall shine ; and thus also the other deities, each according to the deity. And as it was with the central breath among the breaths, so it was with Vāyu, the wind among those deities. The other deities fade, not Vāyu. Vāyu is the deity that never sets.

23. And here there is this Sloka :

'He from whom the sun rises, and into whom it sets' (he verily rises from the breath, and sets in the breath)

'Him the Devas made the law, he only is to-day, and he to-morrow also' (whatever these Devas determined then, that they perform to-day also¹).

Therefore let a man perform one observance only, let him breathe up and let him breathe down, that the evil death may not reach him. And when he performs it, let him try to finish it. Then he obtains through it union and oneness with that deity (with prāṇa).

¹ The prāṇa-vrata and vāyu-vrata. Comm.

SIXTH BRÂHMANA¹.

1. Verily this is a triad, name, form, and work. Of these names, that which is called Speech is the Uktha (hymn, supposed to mean also origin), for from it all names arise. It is their Sâman (song, supposed to mean also sameness), for it is the same as all names. It is their Brahman (prayer, supposed to mean also support), for it supports all names.

2. Next, of the forms, that which is called Eye is the Uktha (hymn), for from it all forms arise. It is their Sâman (song), for it is the same as all forms. It is their Brahman (prayer), for it supports all forms.

3. Next, of the works, that which is called Body is the Uktha (hymn), for from it all works arise. It is their Sâman (song), for it is the same as all works. It is their Brahman (prayer), for it supports all works.

That being a triad is one, viz. this Self; and the Self, being one, is that triad. This is the immortal, covered by the true. Verily breath is the immortal, name and form are the true, and by them the immortal is covered.

¹ Mâdhyandina text, p. 1058.

SECOND ADHYĀYA¹.· FIRST BRĀHMAṆA².

1. There³ was formerly the proud Gārgya Bālāki⁴, a man of great reading. He said to Agātasatru of Kāśi, 'Shall I tell you Brahman?' Agātasatru said: 'We give a thousand (cows) for that speech (of yours), for verily all people run away, saying, Ganaka (the king of Mithilā) is our father (patron)⁵.'

2. Gārgya said: 'The person that is in the sun⁶, that I adore as Brahman.' Agātasatru said to him: 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him

¹ Mādhyandina text, p. 1058.

² Whatever has been taught to the end of the third (according to the counting of the Upanishad, the first) Adhyāya, refers to avidyā, ignorance. Now, however, vidyā, the highest knowledge, is to be taught, and this is done, first of all, by a dialogue between Gārgya Drīptabālāki and king Agātasatru, the former, though a Brāhmaṇa, representing the imperfect, the latter, though a Kshatriya, the perfect knowledge of Brahman. While Gārgya worships the Brahman as the sun, the moon, &c., as limited, as active and passive, Agātasatru knows the Brahman as the Self.

³ Compare with this the fourth Adhyāya of the Kaushītaki-upanishad, Sacred Books of the East, vol. i, p. 300; Gough, Philosophy of the Upanishads, p. 144.

⁴ Son of Bālākā, of the race of the Gārgyas.

⁵ Ganaka, known as a wise and liberal king. There is a play on his name, which means father, and is understood in the sense of patron, or of teacher of wisdom. The meaning is obscure; and in the Kaush. Up. IV. 1, the construction is still more difficult. What is intended seems to be that Agātasatru is willing to offer any reward to a really wise man, because all the wise men are running after Ganaka and settling at his court.

⁶ The commentator expatiates on all these answers and brings them more into harmony with Vedānta doctrines. Thus he adds that the person in the sun is at the same time the person in the eye, who is both active and passive in the heart, &c.

verily as the supreme, the head of all beings, the king. Whoso adores him thus, becomes supreme, the head of all beings, a king.'

3. Gârgya said: 'The person that is in the moon (and in the mind), that I adore as Brahman.' Agâ-tasatru said to him: 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him verily as the great, clad in white raiment, as Soma, the king.' Whoso adores him thus, Soma is poured out and poured forth for him day by day, and his food does not fail¹.

4. Gârgya said: 'The person that is in the lightning (and in the heart), that I adore as Brahman.' Agâ-tasatru said to him: 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him verily as the luminous.' Whoso adores him thus, becomes luminous, and his offspring becomes luminous.

5. Gârgya said: 'The person that is in the ether (and in the ether of the heart), that I adore as Brahman.' Agâ-tasatru said to him: 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him as what is full, and quiescent.' Whoso adores him thus, becomes filled with offspring and cattle, and his offspring does not cease from this world.

6. Gârgya said: 'The person that is in the wind (and in the breath), that I adore as Brahman.' Agâ-tasatru said to him: 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him as Indra Vaikuntha, as the unconquerable army (of the Maruts).' Whoso adores him thus, becomes victorious, unconquerable, conquering his enemies.

¹ We miss the annasyâtmâ, the Self of food, mentioned in the Kaush. Up., and evidently referred to in the last sentence of our paragraph. Suta and prasuta, poured out and poured forth, are explained as referring to the principal and the secondary sacrifices.

7. Gārgya said : 'The person that is in the fire (and in the heart), that I adore as Brahman.' Agâtasatru said to him : 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him as powerful.' Whoso adores him thus, becomes powerful, and his offspring becomes powerful.

8. Gārgya said : 'The person that is in the water (in seed, and in the heart), that I adore as Brahman.' Agâtasatru said to him : 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him as likeness.' Whoso adores him thus, to him comes what is likely (or proper), not what is improper ; what is born from him, is like unto him¹.

9. Gārgya said : 'The person that is in the mirror, that I adore as Brahman.' Agâtasatru said to him : 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him verily as the brilliant.' Whoso adores him thus, he becomes brilliant, his offspring becomes brilliant, and with whomsoever he comes together, he outshines them.

10. Gārgya said : 'The sound that follows a man while he moves, that I adore as Brahman.' Agâtasatru said to him : 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him verily as life.' Whoso adores him thus, he reaches his full age in this world, breath does not leave him before the time.

11. Gārgya said : 'The person that is in space, that I adore as Brahman.' Agâtasatru said to him : 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him verily as the second who never leaves us.'

¹ Here the Kaush. Up. has the Self of the name, instead of pratirûpa, likeness. The commentator thinks that they both mean the same thing, because a name is the likeness of a thing. Another text of the Kaush. Up. gives here the Self of light. Pratirûpa in the sense of likeness comes in later in the Kaush. Up., § 11.

Whoso adores him thus, becomes possessed of a second, his party is not cut off from him.

12. Gârgya said: 'The person that consists of the shadow, that I adore as Brahman.' Agâtasatru said to him: 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him verily as death.' Whoso adores him thus, he reaches his whole age in this world, death does not approach him before the time.

13. Gârgya said: 'The person that is in the body¹, that I adore as Brahman.' Agâtasatru said to him: 'No, no! Do not speak to me on this. I adore him verily as embodied.' Whoso adores him thus, becomes embodied, and his offspring becomes embodied².

Then Gârgya became silent.

14. Agâtasatru said: 'Thus far only?' 'Thus far only,' he replied. Agâtasatru said: 'This does not suffice to know it (the true Brahman).' Gârgya replied: 'Then let me come to you, as a pupil.'

15. Agâtasatru said: 'Verily, it is unnatural that a Brâhmaṇa should come to a Kshatriya, hoping that he should tell him the Brahman. However, I shall make you know him clearly,' thus saying he took him by the hand and rose.

And the two together came to a person who was asleep. He called him by these names, 'Thou, great one, clad in white raiment, Soma, King³.' He

¹ 'In the Âtman, in Pragâpati, in the Buddhi, and in the heart.' Comm.

² It is difficult to know what is meant here by âtman and âtmanvin. In the Kaush. Up. Agâtasatru refers to Pragâpati, and the commentator here does the same, adding, however, buddhi and hrîd. Gough translates âtmanvin by 'having peace of mind.' Deussen, p. 195, passes it over.

³ These names are given here as they occur in the Kaushîtaki-upanishad, not as in the Brîhadâraṇyaka-upanishad, where the

did not rise. Then rubbing him with his hand, he woke him, and he arose.

16. Agâtasatru said : 'When this man was thus asleep, where was then the person (purusha), the intelligent ? and from whence did he thus come back ?' Gârgya did not know this ?

17. Agâtasatru said : 'When this man was thus asleep, then the intelligent person (purusha), having through the intelligence of the senses (prâṇas) absorbed within himself all intelligence, lies in the ether, which is in the heart¹. When he takes in these different kinds of intelligence, then it is said that the man sleeps (svapiti)². Then the breath is kept in, speech is kept in, the ear is kept in, the eye is kept in, the mind is kept in.

18. But when he moves about in sleep (and dream), then these are his worlds. He is, as it were, a great king; he is, as it were, a great Brâhmaṇa ; he rises, as it were, and he falls. And as a great king might keep in his own subjects, and move about, according to his pleasure, within his own domain, thus does that person (who is endowed with intelligence) keep in the various senses (prâṇas) and move about, according to his pleasure, within his own body (while dreaming).

19. Next, when he is in profound sleep, and knows

first name was atish/hâh sarveshâm bhûtânâm mûrdhâ râgâ. This throws an important light on the composition of the Upanishads.

¹ The ether in the heart is meant for the real Self. He has come to himself, to his Self, i.e. to the true Brahman.

² Svapiti, he sleeps, is explained as sva, his own Self, and apiti for apyeti, he goes towards, so that 'he sleeps' must be interpreted as meaning 'he comes to his Self.' In another passage it is explained by svam apito bhavati. See Sâṅkara's Commentary on the BrĪh. Âr. Up. vol. i, p. 372.

nothing, there are the seventy-two thousand arteries called Hita, which from the heart spread through the body¹. Through them he moves forth and rests in the surrounding body. And as a young man, or a great king, or a great Brâhmana, having reached the summit of happiness, might rest, so does he then rest.

20. As the spider comes out with its thread, or as small sparks come forth from fire, thus do all senses, all worlds, all Devas, all beings come forth from that Self. The Upanishad (the true name and doctrine) of that Self is 'the True of the True.' Verily the senses are the true, and he is the true of the true.

SECOND BRÂHMANA².

1. Verily he who knows the babe³ with his place⁴, his chamber⁵, his post⁶, and his rope⁷, he keeps off the seven relatives⁸ who hate him. Verily by the young is meant the inner life, by his place this (body)⁹, by his chamber this (head), by his post the vital breath, by his rope the food.

2. Then the seven imperishable ones¹⁰ approach him. There are the red lines in the eye, and by them Rudra clings to him. There is the water

¹ 'Not the pericardium only, but the whole body.' Comm.

² Mâdhyandina text, p. 1061.

³ The lîngâtman, or subtle body which has entered this body in five ways. Comm.

⁴ The body.

⁵ The head.

⁶ The vital breath.

⁷ Food, which binds the subtle to the coarse body.

⁸ The seven organs of the head through which man perceives and becomes attached to the world.

⁹ The commentator remarks that while saying this, the body and the head are pointed out by touching them with the hand (pânîpeshapratibodhanena).

¹⁰ See before, I, 5, 1, 2. They are called imperishable, because they produce imperishableness by supplying food for the prâna, here called the babe.

in the eye, and by it Parganya clings to him. There is the pupil, and by it Âditya (sun) clings to him. There is the dark iris, and by it Agni clings to him. There is the white eye-ball, and by it Indra clings to him. With the lower eye-lash the earth, with the upper eye-lash the heaven clings to him. He who knows this, his food does never perish.

3. On this there is this Sloka :

‘There ¹ is a cup having its mouth below and its bottom above. Manifold glory has been placed into it. On its lip sit the seven *Rishis*, the tongue as the eighth communicates with Brahman.’ What is called the cup having its mouth below and its bottom above is this head, for its mouth (the mouth) is below, its bottom (the skull) is above. When it is said that manifold glory has been placed into it, the senses verily are manifold glory, and he therefore means the senses. When he says that the seven *Rishis* sit on its lip, the *Rishis* are verily the (active) senses, and he means the senses. And when he says that the tongue as the eighth communicates with Brahman, it is because the tongue, as the eighth, does communicate with Brahman.

4. These two (the two ears) are the *Rishis* Gautama and Bharadvâga; the right Gautama, the left Bharadvâga. These two (the eyes) are the *Rishis* Visvâmitra and Gamadagni; the right Visvâmitra, the left Gamadagni. These two (the nostrils) are the *Rishis* Vasishtha and Kasyapa; the right Vasishtha, the left Kasyapa. The tongue is Atri, for with the tongue food is eaten, and Atri is meant for Atti, eating. He who knows this, becomes an eater of everything, and everything becomes his food.

¹ Cf. Atharva-veda-samh. X, 8, 9.

THIRD BRÂHMANA¹.

1. There are two forms of Brahman, the material and the immaterial, the mortal and the immortal, the solid and the fluid, sat (being) and tya (that), (i.e. sat-tya, true)².

2. Everything except air and sky is material, is mortal, is solid, is definite. The essence of that which is material, which is mortal, which is solid, which is definite is the sun that shines, for he is the essence of sat (the definite).

3. But air and sky are immaterial, are immortal, are fluid, are indefinite. The essence of that which is immaterial, which is immortal, which is fluid, which is indefinite is the person in the disk of the sun, for he is the essence of tyad (the indefinite). So far with regard to the Devas.

4. Now with regard to the body. Everything except the breath and the ether within the body is material, is mortal, is solid, is definite. The essence of that which is material, which is mortal, which is solid, which is definite is the Eye, for it is the essence of sat (the definite).

5. But breath and the ether within the body are immaterial, are immortal, are fluid, are indefinite. The essence of that which is immaterial, which is immortal, which is fluid, which is indefinite is the person in the right eye, for he is the essence of tyad (the indefinite).

6. And what is the appearance of that person? Like a saffron-coloured raiment, like white wool,

¹ Mâdhyandina text, p. 1062.

² Sat is explained by definite, tya or tyad by indefinite.

like cochineal, like the flame of fire, like the white lotus, like sudden lightning. He who knows this, his glory is like unto sudden lightning.

Next follows the teaching (of Brahman) by No, no¹! for there is nothing else higher than this (if one says): 'It is not so.' Then comes the name 'the True of the True,' the senses being the True, and he (the Brahman) the True of them.

FOURTH BRĀHMAṆA².

1. Now when Yâgñavalkya was going to enter upon another state, he said: 'Maitreyī³, verily I am going away from this my house (into the forest⁴). Forsooth, let me make a settlement between thee and that Kâtyâyani (my other wife).'

2. Maitreyī said: 'My Lord, if this whole earth, full of wealth, belonged to me, tell me, should I be immortal by it⁵?'

¹ See III, 9, 26; IV, 2, 4; IV, 4, 22; IV, 5, 15.

² Mādhyandina text, p. 1062. To the end of the third Brāhmaṇa of the second Adhyāya, all that has been taught does not yet impart the highest knowledge, the identity of the personal and the true Self, the Brahman. In the fourth Brāhmaṇa, in which the knowledge of the true Brahman is to be set forth, the Samnyāsa, the retiring from the world, is enjoined, when all desires cease, and no duties are to be performed (Samnyāsa, pāivrāgya). The story is told again with slight variations in the Brīhadâraryaka-upanishad IV, 5. The more important variations, occurring in IV, 5, are added here, marked with B. There are besides the various readings of the Mādhyandina-sâkhâ of the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa. See also Deussen, Vedānta, p. 185.

³ In Brīh. Up. IV, 5, the story begins: Yâgñavalkya had two wives, Maitreyī and Kâtyâyani. Of these Maitreyī was conversant with Brahman, but Kâtyâyani possessed such knowledge only as women possess.

⁴ Instead of udyāsyān, B. gives pravragishyan, the more technical term.

⁵ Should I be immortal by it, or no? B.

‘No,’ replied Yâgñavalkya; ‘like the life of rich people will be thy life. But there is no hope of immortality by wealth.’

3. And Maitreyi said: ‘What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal? What my Lord knoweth (of immortality), tell that to me¹.’

4. Yâgñavalkya replied: ‘Thou who art truly dear to me, thou speakest dear words². Come, sit down, I will explain it to thee, and mark well what I say.’

5. And he said: ‘Verily, a husband is not dear, that you may love the husband; but that you may love the Self, therefore a husband is dear.

‘Verily, a wife is not dear, that you may love the wife; but that you may love the Self, therefore a wife is dear.

‘Verily, sons are not dear, that you may love the sons; but that you may love the Self, therefore sons are dear.

‘Verily, wealth is not dear, that you may love wealth; but that you may love the Self, therefore wealth is dear³.

‘Verily, the Brahman-class is not dear, that you may love the Brahman-class; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Brahman-class is dear.

‘Verily, the Kshatra-class is not dear, that you may love the Kshatra-class; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Kshatra-class is dear.

‘Verily, the worlds are not dear, that you may love the worlds; but that you may love the Self, therefore the worlds are dear.

¹ Tell that clearly to me. B.

² Thou who art dear to me, thou hast increased what is dear (to me in this). B.

³ B. adds, Verily, cattle are not dear, &c.

‘Verily, the Devas are not dear, that you may love the Devas; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Devas are dear¹.

‘Verily, creatures are not dear, that you may love the creatures; but that you may love the Self, therefore are creatures dear.

‘Verily, everything is not dear that you may love everything; but that you may love the Self, therefore everything is dear.

‘Verily, the Self is to be seen, to be heard, to be perceived, to be marked, O Maitreyī! When we see, hear, perceive, and know the Self², then all this is known.

6. ‘Whosoever looks for the Brahman-class elsewhere than in the Self, was³ abandoned by the Brahman-class. Whosoever looks for the Kshatra-class elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the Kshatra-class. Whosoever looks for the worlds elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the worlds. Whosoever looks for the Devas elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the Devas⁴. Whosoever looks for creatures elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the creatures. Whosoever looks for anything elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by everything. This Brahman-class, this Kshatra-class, these worlds, these Devas⁵, these⁶ creatures, this everything, all is that Self.

7. ‘Now as⁷ the sounds of a drum, when beaten,

¹ B. inserts, Verily, the Vedas are not dear, &c.

² When the Self has been seen, heard, perceived, and known. B.

³ The commentator translates, ‘should be abandoned.’

⁴ B. inserts, Whosoever looks for the Vedas, &c.

⁵ B. adds, these Vedas.

⁶ B. has, all these creatures.

⁷ I construe sa yathâ with evam vai in § 12, looking upon

cannot be seized externally (by themselves), but the sound is seized, when the drum is seized or the beater of the drum ;

8. 'And as the sounds of a conch-shell, when blown, cannot be seized externally (by themselves), but the sound is seized, when the shell is seized or the blower of the shell ;

9. 'And as the sounds of a lute, when played, cannot be seized externally (by themselves), but the sound is seized, when the lute is seized or the player of the lute ;

¶ 10. 'As clouds of smoke proceed by themselves out of a lighted fire kindled with damp fuel, thus, verily, O Maitreyî, has been breathed forth from this great Being what we have as *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, *Sâma-veda*, *Atharvângirasas*, *Itihâsa* (legends), *Purâna* (cosmogonies), *Vidyâ* (knowledge), the *Upnishads*, *Slokas* (verses), *Sûtras* (prose rules), *Anu-vyâkhyânas* (glosses), *Vyâkhyânas* (commentaries)¹. From him alone all these were breathed forth.

¶ 11. 'As all waters find their centre in the sea, all touches in the skin, all tastes in the tongue, all smells in the nose, all colours in the eye, all sounds in the ear, all percepts in the mind, all knowledge in the heart, all actions in the hands, all movements in the feet, and all the Vedas in speech,—

§ 12. 'As a lump of salt², when thrown into water, becomes dissolved into water, and could not be taken

§ 11 as probably a later insertion. The *sa* is not the pronoun, but a particle, as in *sa yadi*, *sa ket*, &c.

¹ B. adds, what is sacrificed, what is poured out, food, drink, this world and the other world, and all creatures.

² See *Khând. Up.* VI, 13.

out again, but wherever we taste (the water) it is salt,—thus verily, O Maitreyī, does this great Being, endless, unlimited, consisting of nothing but knowledge¹, rise from out these elements, and vanish again in them. When he has departed, there is no more knowledge (name), I say, O Maitreyī.’ Thus spoke Yâgñavalkya.

13. Then Maitreyī said: ‘Here thou hast bewildered me, Sir, when thou sayest that having departed, there is no more knowledge².’

But Yâgñavalkya replied: ‘O Maitreyī, I say nothing that is bewildering. This is enough, O beloved, for wisdom³.

¶ ‘For when there is as it were duality, then one sees the other, one smells the other, one hears the other⁴, one salutes the other⁵, one perceives the other⁶, one knows the other; but when the Self only is all this, how should he smell another⁷, how should he see⁸ another⁹, how should he hear¹⁰ another, how should he salute¹¹ another, how should he perceive another¹², how should he know another? How should he know Him by whom he knows all this?

¹ As a mass of salt has neither inside nor outside, but is altogether a mass of taste, thus indeed has that Self neither inside nor outside, but is altogether a mass of knowledge. B.

² ‘Here, Sir, thou hast landed me in utter bewilderment. Indeed, I do not understand him.’ B.

¶ ³ Verily, beloved, that Self is imperishable, and of an indestructible nature. B.

⁴ B. inserts, one tastes the other.

⁵ B. inserts, one hears the other.

⁶ B. inserts, one touches the other.

⁷ See, B.

⁸ Smell, B.

⁹ B. inserts taste.

¹⁰ Salute, B.

¹¹ Hear, B.

¹² B. inserts, how should he touch another?

How, O beloved, should he know (himself), the Knower¹?

FIFTH BRĀHMANA ².

1. This earth is the honey ³ (madhu, the effect) of all beings, and all beings are the honey (madhu, the effect) of this earth. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this earth, and that bright immortal person incorporated in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

2. This water is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this water. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this water, and that bright, immortal person, existing as seed in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

¹ Instead of the last line, B. adds (IV, 5, 15): 'That Self is to be described by No, no! He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be comprehended; he is imperishable, for he cannot perish; he is unattached, for he does not attach himself; unfettered, he does not suffer, he does not fail. How, O beloved, should he know the Knower? Thus, O Maitreyî, thou hast been instructed. Thus far goes immortality.' Having said so, Yâgñavalkya went away (into the forest). 15. See also *Khând. Up.* VII, 24, 1.

² Mādhyandina text, p. 1064.

³ Madhu, honey, seems to be taken here as an instance of something which is both cause and effect, or rather of things which are mutually dependent on each other, or cannot exist without one other. As the bees make the honey, and the honey makes or supports the bees, bees and honey are both cause and effect, or at all events are mutually dependent on one other. In the same way the earth and all living beings are looked upon as mutually dependent, living beings presupposing the earth, and the earth presupposing living beings. This at all events seems to be the general idea of what is called the Madhuvidyâ, the science of honey, which Dadhyaṅk communicated to the Asvins.

3. This fire is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this fire. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this fire, and that bright, immortal person, existing as speech in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

4. This air is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this air. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this air, and that bright, immortal person existing as breath in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

5. This sun is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this sun. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this sun, and that bright, immortal person existing as the eye in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

6. This space (disa½, the quarters) is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this space. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this space, and that bright, immortal person existing as the ear in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

7. This moon is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this moon. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this moon, and that bright, immortal person existing as mind in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

8. This lightning is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this lightning. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this lightning, and

that bright, immortal person existing as light in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

9. This thunder¹ is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this thunder. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this thunder, and that bright, immortal person existing as sound and voice in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

10. This ether is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this ether. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this ether, and that bright, immortal person existing as heart-ether in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

11. This law (dharma) is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this law. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this law, and that bright, immortal person existing as law in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

12. This true² (satyam) is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this true. Likewise this bright, immortal person in what is true, and that bright, immortal person existing as the true in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

13. This mankind is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this mankind. Likewise

¹ Stanayitnu, thunder, is explained by the commentator as Parganya.

² Satyam, the true, the real, not, as it is generally translated, the truth.

this bright, immortal person in mankind, and that bright, immortal person existing as man in the body (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

14. This Self is the honey of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this Self. Likewise this bright, immortal person in this Self, and that bright, immortal person, the Self (both are madhu). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortal, that Brahman, that All.

15. And verily this Self is the lord of all beings, the king of all beings. And as all spokes are contained in the axle and in the felly of a wheel, all beings, and all those selfs (of the earth, water, &c.) are contained in that Self.

16. Verily Dadhyaċ Âtharvana proclaimed this honey (the madhu-vidyâ) to the two Asvins, and a *Rishi*, seeing this, said (Rv. I, 116, 12):

‘O ye two heroes (Asvins), I make manifest that fearful deed of yours (which you performed) for the sake of gain¹, like as thunder² makes manifest the rain. The honey (madhu-vidyâ) which Dadhyaċ Âtharvana proclaimed to you through the head of a horse,’ . . .

17. Verily Dadhyaċ Âtharvana³ proclaimed this honey to the two Asvins, and a *Rishi*, seeing this, said (Rv. I, 117, 22);

‘O Asvins, you fixed a horse’s head on Âtharvana Dadhyaċ, and he, wishing to be true (to his promise),

¹ The translation here follows the commentary.

² Tanyatu, here explained as Parganya.

³ Saṅkara distinguishes here between Atharvana and Âtharvana, if the text is correct.

proclaimed to you the honey, both that of *Tvashtri*¹ and that which is to be your secret, O ye strong ones.'

18. Verily *Dadhyaċ* *Ātharvana* proclaimed this honey to the two *Asvins*, and a *Rīshi*, seeing this, said :

'He (the Lord) made bodies with two feet, he made bodies with four feet. Having first become a bird, he entered the bodies as *purusha* (as the person).' This very *purusha* is in all bodies the *purīsayā*, i.e. he who lies in the body (and is therefore called *purusha*). There is nothing that is not covered by him, nothing that is not filled by him.

19. Verily *Dadhyaċ* *Ātharvana* proclaimed this honey to the two *Asvins*, and a *Rīshi*, seeing this, said (*Rv.* VI, 47, 18) :

'He (the Lord) became like unto every form², and this is meant to reveal the (true) form of him (the *Ātman*). *Indra* (the Lord) appears multiform through the *Māyās* (appearances), for his horses (senses) are yoked, hundreds and ten.'

This (*Ātman*) is the horses, this (*Ātman*) is the ten, and the thousands, many and endless. This is the *Brahman*, without cause and without effect, without anything inside or outside ; this Self is *Brahman*, omnipresent and omniscient. This is the teaching (of the *Upanishads*).

¹ *Saṅkara* explains *Tvashtri* as the sun, and the sun as the head of the sacrifice which, having been cut off, was to be replaced by the *pravargya* rite. The knowledge of this rite forms the honey of *Tvashtri*. The other honey which is to be kept secret is the knowledge of the Self, as taught before in the *Madhu-brāhmaṇa*.

² He assumed all forms, and such forms, as two-footed or four-footed animals, remained permanent. Comm.

SIXTH BRĀHMANA.

1. Now follows the stem ¹:

1. Pautimāshya from Gaupavana,
2. Gaupavana from Pautimāshya,
3. Pautimāshya from Gaupavana,
4. Gaupavana from Kausika,
5. Kausika from Kaundīnya,
6. Kaundīnya from Sāndīlya,
7. Sāndīlya from Kausika and Gautama,
8. Gautama

2. from Āgnivesya,

9. Āgnivesya from Sāndīlya and Ānabhimlāta,
10. Sāndīlya and Ānabhimlāta from Ānabhimlāta,
11. Ānabhimlāta from Ānabhimlāta,
12. Ānabhimlāta from Gautama,
13. Gautama from Saitava and Prākīnayogya,
14. Saitava and Prākīnayogya from Pârasarya,
15. Pârasarya from Bhâradvâga,
16. Bhâradvâga from Bhâradvâga and Gautama,
17. Gautama from Bhâradvâga,

¹ The line of teachers and pupils by whom the Madhukânda (the fourth Brâhmana) was handed down. The Mādhyandina-sâkhâ begins with ourselves, then 1. Saurpanâyya, 2. Gautama, 3. Vâtsya, 4. Vâtsya and Pârasarya, 5. Sâṅkritya and Bhâradvâga, 6. Audavâhi and Sāndīlya, 7. Vaigavâpa and Gautama, 8. Vaigavâpâyana and Vaishṭapureya, 9. Sāndīlya and Rauhinyâna, 10. Saunaka, Âtreya, and Raibhya, 11. Pautimāshyâyana and Kaundīnyâyana, 12. Kaundīnya, 13. Kaundīnya, 14. Kaundīnya and Āgnivesya, 15. Saitava, 16. Pârasarya, 17. Gâtukarṇya, 18. Bhâradvâga, 19. Bhâradvâga, Âsurâyana, and Gautama, 20. Bhâradvâga, 21. Vaigavâpâyana. Then the same as the Kânvas to Gâtukarṇya, who learns from Bhâradvâga, who learns from Bhâradvâga, Âsurâyana, and Yâska. Then Traivani &c. as in the Kânva-vamśa.

18. Bhâradvâga from Pârâsarya,
19. Pârâsarya from Vaigavâpâyana,
20. Vaigavâpâyana from Kausikâyani,
- 21¹. Kausikâyani
3. from Ghr̥itakausika,
22. Ghr̥itakausika from Pârâsaryâyana,
23. Pârâsaryâyana from Pârâsarya,
24. Pârâsarya from Gâtûkarnya²,
25. Gâtûkarnya from Âsurâyana and Yâska³,
26. Âsurâyana and Yâska from Traivani,
27. Traivani from Aupagandhani,
28. Aupagandhani from Âsuri,
29. Âsuri from Bhâradvâga,
30. Bhâradvâga from Âtreya,
31. Âtreya from Mânti,
32. Mânti from Gautama,
33. Gautama from Gautama,
34. Gautama from Vâtsya,
35. Vâtsya from Sândilya,
36. Sândilya from Kaisorya Kâpya,
37. Kaisorya Kâpya from Kumârahârta,
38. Kumârahârta from Gâlava,
39. Gâlava from Vidarbhi-kaundinya,
40. Vidarbhi - kaundinya from Vatsanapât Bâbhrava,
41. Vatsanapât Bâbhrava from Pathi Saubhara,
42. Pathi Saubhara from Ayâsya Ângirasa,
43. Ayâsya Ângirasa from Âbhûti Tvâshtra,
44. Âbhûti Tvâshtra from Visvarûpa Tvâshtra,
45. Visvarûpa Tvâshtra from Asvinau,

¹ From here the Vamsa agrees with the Vamsa at the end of IV, 6.

² Bhâradvâga, in Mâdhyandina text.

³ Bhâradvâga, Âsurâyana, and Yâska, in Mâdhyandina text.

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46. Asvinau from Dadhyaċ Ātharvana,
 47. Dadhyaċ Ātharvana from Atharvan Daiva,
 48. Atharvan Daiva from Mrityu Prādhvamsana,
 49. Mrityu Prādhvamsana from Pradhvamsana,
 50. Pradhvamsana from Ekarshi,
 51. Ekarshi from Vipraċitti ¹,
 52. Vipraċitti from Vyashċi,
 53. Vyashċi from Sanāru,
 54. Sanāru from Sanātana,
 55. Sanātana from Sanaga,
 56. Sanaga from Parameshċin,
 57. Parameshċin from Brahman,
 58. Brahman is Svayambhu, self-existent.
- Adoration to Brahman ².
-

¹ Vipragitti, in Mādhyandina text.

² Similar genealogies are found *Brh.* Ār. Up. IV, 6, and VI, 5.

THIRD ADHYĀYA.

FIRST BRĀHMAṆA ¹.

Adoration to the Highest Self (Paramâtman)!

1. *Ganaka Vaideha* (the king of the *Videhas*) sacrificed with a sacrifice at which many presents were offered to the priests of (the *Asvamedha*). *Brāhmanas* of the *Kurus* and the *Pāṇkālās* had come thither, and *Ganaka Vaideha* wished to know, which of those *Brāhmanas* was the best read. So he enclosed a thousand cows, and ten *pâdas* (of gold)² were fastened to each pair of horns.

2. And *Ganaka* spoke to them: 'Ye venerable *Brāhmanas*, he who among you is the wisest, let him drive away these cows.'

Then those *Brāhmanas* durst not, but *Yâgñavalkya* said to his pupil: 'Drive them away, my dear.'

He replied: 'O glory of the *Sâman*³,' and drove them away.

The *Brāhmanas* became angry and said: 'How could he call himself the wisest among us?'

Now there was *Asvala*, the *Hotri* priest of *Ganaka Vaideha*. He asked him: 'Are you indeed the

¹ *Mâdhyandina* text, p. 1067.

² *Palakaturbhâgaḥ pâdaḥ suvarṇasya*. Comm.

³ One expects *iti* after *udaga*, but *Sâmasravas* is applied to *Yâgñavalkya*, and not to the pupil. *Yâgñavalkya*, as the commentator observes, was properly a teacher of the *Yagur-veda*, but as the pupil calls him *Sâmasravas*, he shows that *Yâgñavalkya* knew all the four Vedas, because the *Sâmans* are taken from the *Rig-veda*, and the *Atharva-veda* is contained in the other three Vedas. Regnaud, however, refers it to the pupil, and translates, 'Ô toi qui apprends le *Sâma-veda*.'

wisest among us, O Yâgñavalkya?' He replied: 'I bow before the wisest (the best knower of Brahman), but I wish indeed to have these cows.'

Then Asvala, the Hotri priest, undertook to question him.

3. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'everything here (connected with the sacrifice) is reached by death, everything is overcome by death. By what means then is the sacrificer freed beyond the reach of death?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'By the Hotri priest, who is Agni (fire), who is speech. For speech is the Hotri of the sacrifice (or the sacrificer), and speech is Agni, and he is the Hotri. This constitutes freedom, and perfect freedom (from death).'

4. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'everything here is reached by day and night, everything is overcome by day and night. By what means then is the sacrificer freed beyond the reach of day and night?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'By the Adhvaryu priest, who is the eye, who is Âditya (the sun)¹. For the eye is the Adhvaryu of the sacrifice, and the eye is the sun, and he is the Adhvaryu. This constitutes freedom, and perfect freedom.'

5. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'everything here is reached by the waxing and waning of the moon, everything is overcome by the waxing and waning of the moon. By what means then is the sacrificer freed beyond the reach of the waxing and waning of the moon?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'By the Udgâtri priest, who is Vâyu (the wind), who is the breath. For the

¹ One expects âdityena ģakshushâ, instead of ģakshushâdityena, but see § 6.

breath is the Udgâtri of the sacrifice, and the breath is the wind, and he is the Udgâtri. This constitutes freedom, and perfect freedom.'

6. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'this sky is, as it were, without an ascent (staircase.) By what approach does the sacrificer approach the Svarga world?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'By the Brahman priest, who is the mind (manas), who is the moon. For the mind is the Brahman of the sacrifice, and the mind is the moon, and he is the Brahman. This constitutes freedom, and perfect freedom. These are the complete deliverances (from death).'

Next follow the achievements.

7. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'how many *Rik* verses will the Hotri priest employ to-day at this sacrifice?'

'Three,' replied Yâgñavalkya.

'And what are these three?'

'Those which are called Puronuvâkyâ, Yâgyâ, and, thirdly, Sasyâ¹.'

'What does he gain by them?'

'All whatsoever has breath.'

8. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'how many oblations (âhuti) will the Adhvaryu priest employ to-day at this sacrifice?'

'Three,' replied Yâgñavalkya.

'And what are these three?'

'Those which, when offered, flame up; those which, when offered, make an excessive noise; and those which, when offered, sink down².'

¹ The Puronuvâkyâs are hymns employed before the actual sacrifice, the Yâgyâs accompany the sacrifice, the Sasyâs are used for the Sastra. All three are called Stotriyâs.

² These oblations are explained as consisting of wood and oil, of flesh, and of milk and Soma. The first, when thrown on the

‘What does he gain by them?’

‘By those which, when offered, flame up, he gains the Deva (god) world, for the Deva world flames up, as it were. By those which, when offered, make an excessive noise, he gains the Pitṛi (father) world, for the Pitṛi world is excessively (noisy)¹. By those which, when offered, sink down, he gains the Manushya (man) world, for the Manushya world is, as it were, down below.’

9. ‘Yâgñavalkya,’ he said, ‘with how many deities does the Brahman priest on the right protect to-day this sacrifice?’

‘By one,’ replied Yâgñavalkya.

‘And which is it?’

‘The mind alone; for the mind is endless, and the Visvedevas are endless, and he thereby gains the endless world.’

10. ‘Yâgñavalkya,’ he said, ‘how many Stotriyâ hymns will the Udgâṭṛi priest employ to-day at this sacrifice?’

‘Three,’ replied Yâgñavalkya.

‘And what are these three?’

‘Those which are called Puronuvâkyâ, Yâgyâ, and, thirdly, Sasyâ.’

‘And what are these with regard to the body (adhyâtmam)?’

‘The Puronuvâkyâ is Prâna (up-breathing), the Yâgyâ the Apâna (down-breathing), the Sasyâ the Vyâna (back-breathing).’

fire, flame up. The second, when thrown on the fire, make a loud hissing noise. The third, consisting of milk, Soma, &c., sink down into the earth.

¹ On account of the cries of those who wish to be delivered out of it. Comm.

‘What does he gain by them?’

‘He gains the earth by the Puronuvākya, the sky by the Yāgyā, heaven by the Sasyā.’

After that Asvala held his peace.

SECOND BRĀHMANA¹.

1. Then Gāratkārava Ārtabhāga² asked. ‘Yāgñavalkya,’ he said, ‘how many Grahas are there, and how many Atigrahas³?’

‘Eight Grahas,’ he replied, ‘and eight Atigrahas.’

‘And what are these eight Grahas and eight Atigrahas?’

2. ‘Prāna (breath) is one Graha, and that is seized by Apāna (down-breathing) as the Atigrāha⁴, for one smells with the Apāna.’

3. ‘Speech (vāk) is one Graha, and that is seized by name (nāman) as the Atigrāha, for with speech one pronounces names.’

4. ‘The tongue is one Graha, and that is seized by taste as the Atigrāha, for with the tongue one perceives tastes.’

5. ‘The eye is one Graha, and that is seized by form as the Atigrāha, for with the eye one sees forms.’

6. ‘The ear is one Graha, and that is seized by sound as the Atigrāha, for with the ear one hears sounds.’

7. ‘The mind is one Graha, and that is seized by

¹ Mādhyandina text, p. 1069.

² A descendant of Rṛtabhāga of the family of Garatkāru.

³ Graha is probably meant originally in its usual sacrificial sense, as a vessel for offering oblations. But its secondary meaning, in which it is here taken, is a taker, a grasper, i. e. an organ of sense, while atigraha is intended for that which is grasped, i. e. an object of sense.

⁴ Here the ā is long, kṛhāndasatvāt.

desire as the Atigrâha, for with the mind one desires desires.'

7 8. 'The arms are one Graha, and these are seized by work as the Atigrâha, for with the arms one works work.'

8 9. 'The skin is one Graha, and that is seized by touch as the Atigrâha, for with the skin one perceives touch. These are the eight Grahas and the eight Atigrahas.'

10. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'everything is the food of death. What then is the deity to whom death is food?'

'Fire (agni) is death, and that is the food of water. Death is conquered again.'

11. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'when such a person (a sage) dies, do the vital breaths (prâṇas) move out of him or no?'

'No,' replied Yâgñavalkya; 'they are gathered up in him, he swells, he is inflated, and thus inflated the dead lies at rest.'

12. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'when such a man dies, what does not leave him?'

9 'The name,' he replied; 'for the name is endless, the Visvedevas are endless, and by it he gains the endless world.'

13. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'when the speech of this dead person enters into the fire¹, breath into the air, the eye into the sun, the mind into the moon, the hearing into space, into the earth the body, into the ether the self, into the shrubs the hairs of the body, into the trees the hairs of the head, when the

¹ The commentator explains purusha here by asamyagdarsin, one who does not know the whole truth. See also Deussen, Vedânta, p. 405, and p. 399, note.

blood and the seed are deposited in the water, where is then that person ?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'Take my hand, my friend. We two alone shall know of this; let this question of ours not be (discussed) in public.' Then these two went out and argued, and what they said was *karman* (work), what they praised was *karman*¹, viz. that a man becomes good by good work, and — bad by bad work. After that *Gâratkârava* *Ârtabhâga* held his peace.

THIRD BRĀHMAṆA².

1. Then Bhugyu Lâhyâyani asked. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'we wandered about as students³, and came to the house of *Patañkala Kâpya*. He had a daughter who was possessed by a *Gandharva*. We asked him, 'Who art thou?' and he (the *Gandharva*) replied: 'I am *Sudhanvan*, the *Ângirasa*.' And when we asked him about the ends of the world, we said to him, 'Where were the *Pârikshitas*⁴? Where then were the *Pârikshitas*, I ask thee, Yâgñavalkya, where were the *Pârikshitas* ?'

2. Yâgñavalkya said : 'He said to thee, I suppose, that they went where those go who have performed a horse-sacrifice.'

He said : 'And where do they go who have performed a horse-sacrifice ?'

¹ What is intended is that the *samsâra* continues by means of *karman*, while *karman* by itself never leads to *moksha*.

² *Mâdhyandina* text, p. 1070.

³ The commentator explains *karakâh* as *adhyayanârtham vrata-karanâk karakâh*, *adhvaryavo vâ*. See Professor R. G. Bhandarkar, in *Indian Antiquary*, 1883, p. 145.

⁴ An old royal race, supposed to have vanished from the earth.

Yâgñavalkya replied : 'Thirty-two journeys of the car of the sun is this world. The earth surrounds it on every side, twice as large, and the ocean surrounds this earth on every side, twice as large. Now there is between¹ them a space as large as the edge of a razor or the wing of a mosquito. Indra, having become a bird, handed them (through the space) to Vâyu (the air), and Vâyu (the air), holding them within himself, conveyed them to where they dwell who have performed a horse-sacrifice. Somewhat in this way did he praise Vâyu indeed. Therefore Vâyu (air) is everything by itself, and Vâyu is all things together. He who knows this, conquers death.' After that Bhugyu Lâhyâyani held his peace.

FOURTH BRÂHMANA².

1. Then Ushasta *Kâkrâyana* asked. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'tell me the Brahman which is visible, not invisible³, the Self (*âtman*), who is within all.'

Yâgñavalkya replied : 'This, thy Self, who is within all.'

'Which Self, O Yâgñavalkya, is within all?'

Yâgñavalkya replied : 'He who breathes in the up-breathing, he is thy Self, and within all. He who breathes in the down-breathing, he is thy Self, and within all. He who breathes in the on-breathing, he is thy Self, and within all. He who breathes in

¹ The commentator explains that this small space or hole is between the two halves of the mundane egg.

² *Mâdhyandina* text, p. 1071. It follows after what is here the fifth Brâhmana, treating of *Kahodâ Kaushitakeya*.

³ Deussen, *Vedânta*, p. 163, translates, 'das immanente, nicht transcendente Brahman,' which is right, but too modern.

the out-breathing, he is thy Self, and within all. This is thy Self, who is within all.'

2. Ushasta *Kâkrâyana* said: 'As one might say, this is a cow, this is a horse, thus has this been explained by thee. Tell me the Brahman which is visible, not invisible, the Self, who is within all.'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'This, thy Self, who is within all.'

'Which Self, O Yâgñavalkya, is within all?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'Thou couldst not see the (true) seer of sight, thou couldst not hear the (true) hearer of hearing, nor perceive the perceiver of perception, nor know the knower of knowledge. This is thy Self, who is within all. Everything also is of evil.' After that Ushasta *Kâkrâyana* held his peace.

FIFTH BRÂHMANA¹.

1. Then Kahola Kaushîtakeya asked. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'tell me the Brahman which is visible, not invisible, the Self (*âtman*), who is within all.'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'This, thy Self, who is within all.'

'Which Self, O Yâgñavalkya, is within all?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'He who overcomes hunger and thirst, sorrow, passion, old age, and death. When Brâhmanas know that Self, and have risen above the desire for sons², wealth, and (new) worlds³, they wander about as mendicants. For a desire for sons is desire for wealth, a desire for wealth is desire for worlds. Both these are indeed desires. Therefore let a Brâhmana, after he has done with learning,

¹ Mâdhyandina text, p. 1071, standing before the fourth Brâhmana.

² See *Brh. Âr. Up.* IV, 4, 22.

³ Life in the world of the Fathers, or in the world of the Gods.

wish to stand by real strength¹; after he has done with that strength and learning, he becomes a Muni (a Yogin); and after he has done with what is not the knowledge of a Muni, and with what is the knowledge of a Muni, he is a Brâhmana. By whatever means he has become a Brâhmana, he is such indeed². Everything else is of evil.' After that Kahola Kaushîtakeya held his peace.

SIXTH BRÂHMANA³.

1. Then Gârgî Vâknavî asked. 'Yâgñavalkya,' she said, 'everything here is woven, like warp and woof, in water. What then is that in which water is woven, like warp and woof?'

'In air, O Gârgî,' he replied.

'In what then is air woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of the sky, O Gârgî,' he replied.

'In what then are the worlds of the sky woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of the Gandharvas, O Gârgî,' he replied.

¹ Knowledge of the Self, which enables us to dispense with all other knowledge.

² Mr. Gough proposes as an alternative rendering: 'Let a Brâhmana renounce learning and become as a child; and after renouncing learning and a childlike mind, let him become a quietist; and when he has made an end of quietism and non-quietism, he shall become a Brâhmana, a Brâhmana indeed.' Deussen takes a similar view, but I doubt whether 'the knowledge of babes' is not a Christian rather than an Indian idea, in spite of Saṅkara's remarks on Ved. Sûtra, III, 4, 50, which are strangely at variance with his commentary here. Possibly the text may be corrupt, for tish/hâset too is a very peculiar form. We might conjecture balyena, as we have abalyam, in IV, 4, 1. In Kaush. Up. III, 3, âbâlyam stands for âbâlyam, possibly for âbâlyam. The construction of kena syâd yena syât tenedrîsa eva, however, is well known.

³ Mâdhyandina text, p. 1072.

‘In what then are the worlds of the Gandharvas woven, like warp and woof?’

‘In the worlds of Âditya (sun), O Gârgî,’ he replied.

‘In what then are the worlds of Âditya (sun) woven, like warp and woof?’

‘In the worlds of ~~X~~^{ch}andra (moon), O Gârgî,’ he replied.

‘In what then are the worlds of ~~X~~^{ch}andra (moon) woven, like warp and woof?’

‘In the worlds of the Nakshatras (stars), O Gârgî,’ he replied.

‘In what then are the worlds of the Nakshatras (stars) woven, like warp and woof?’

‘In the worlds of the Devas (gods), O Gârgî,’ he replied.

‘In what then are the worlds of the Devas (gods) woven, like warp and woof?’

‘In the worlds of Indra, O Gârgî,’ he replied.

‘In what then are the worlds of Indra woven, like warp and woof?’

‘In the worlds of Pragâpati, O Gârgî,’ he replied.

‘In what then are the worlds of Pragâpati woven, like warp and woof?’

‘In the worlds of Brahman, O Gârgî,’ he replied.

‘In what then are the worlds of Brahman woven, like warp and woof?’

Yâgñavalkya said: ‘O Gârgî, Do not ask too much, lest thy head should fall off. Thou askest too much about a deity about which we are not to ask too much¹. Do not ask too much, O Gârgî.’ After that Gârgî Vâknavî held her peace.

¹ According to the commentator questions about Brahman are to be answered from the Scriptures only, and not to be settled by argument.

SEVENTH BRĀHMANA¹.

1. Then Uddālaka Āruni² asked. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'we dwelt among the Madras in the houses of Patañkala Kâpya, studying the sacrifice. His wife was possessed of a Gandharva, and we asked him: "Who art thou?" He answered: "I am Kabandha Âtharvana." And he said to Patañkala Kâpya and to (us) students: "Dost thou know, Kâpya, that thread by which this world and the other world, and all beings are strung together?" And Patañkala Kâpya replied: "I do not know it, Sir." He said again to Patañkala Kâpya and to (us) students: "Dost thou know, Kâpya, that puller (ruler) within (antaryâmin), who within pulls (rules) this world and the other world and all beings?" And Patañkala Kâpya replied: "I do not know it, Sir." He said again to Patañkala Kâpya and to (us) students: "He, O Kâpya, who knows that thread and him who pulls (it) within, he knows Brahman, he knows the worlds, he knows the Devas, he knows the Vedas, he knows the Bhûtas (creatures), he knows the Self, he knows everything." Thus did he (the Gandharva) say to them, and I know it. If thou, O Yâgñavalkya, without knowing that string and the puller within, drivest away those Brahma-cows (the cows offered as a prize to him who best knows Brahman), thy head will fall off.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'O Gautama, I believe I know that thread and the puller within.'

¹ Mâdhyaṇdina text, p. 1072.

² Afterwards addressed as Gautama; see before, p. 1, note.

The other said: 'Anybody may say, I know, I know. Tell what thou knowest.'

2. Yâgñavalkya said: 'Vâyu (air) is that thread, O Gautama. By air, as by a thread, O Gautama, this world and the other world, and all creatures are strung together. Therefore, O Gautama, people say of a dead person that his limbs have become unstrung; for by air, as by a thread, O Gautama, they were strung together.'

The other said: 'So it is, O Yâgñavalkya. Tell now (who is) the puller within.'

3. Yâgñavalkya said: 'He who dwells in the earth, and within the earth¹, whom the earth does not know, whose body the earth is, and who pulls (rules) the earth within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

4. 'He who dwells in the water, and within the water, whom the water does not know, whose body the water is, and who pulls (rules) the water within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

5. 'He who dwells in the fire, and within the fire, whom the fire does not know, whose body the fire is, and who pulls (rules) the fire within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

6. 'He who dwells in the sky, and within the sky, whom the sky does not know, whose body the sky is, and who pulls (rules) the sky within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

7. 'He who dwells in the air (vâyu), and within the air, whom the air does not know, whose body the

¹ I translate antara by 'within,' according to the commentator, who explains it by abhyantara, but I must confess that I should prefer to translate it by 'different from,' as Deussen does, l. c. p. 160, particularly as it governs an ablative.

air is, and who pulls (rules) the air within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

8. 'He who dwells in the heaven (dyu), and within the heaven, whom the heaven does not know, whose body the heaven is, and who pulls (rules) the heaven within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

9. 'He who dwells in the sun (âditya), and within the sun, whom the sun does not know, whose body the sun is, and who pulls (rules) the sun within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

10. 'He who dwells in the space (disa^h), and within the space, whom the space does not know, whose body the space is, and who pulls (rules) the space within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

11. 'He who dwells in the moon and stars (*kān*-dra-tâarakam), and within the moon and stars, whom the moon and stars do not know, whose body the moon and stars are, and who pulls (rules) the moon and stars within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

12. 'He who dwells in the ether (âkâsa), and within the ether, whom the ether does not know, whose body the ether is, and who pulls (rules) the ether within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

13. 'He who dwells in the darkness (tamas), and within the darkness, whom the darkness does not know, whose body the darkness is, and who pulls (rules) the darkness within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

14. 'He who dwells in the light (tegas), and within the light, whom the light does not know, whose

body the light is, and who pulls (rules) the light within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

So far with respect to the gods (*adhidaivatam*); now with respect to beings (*adhibhûtam*).

15. Yâgñavalkya said: 'He who dwells in all beings, and within all beings, whom all beings do not know, whose body all beings are, and who pulls (rules) all beings within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

16. 'He who dwells in the breath (*prâna*), and within the breath, whom the breath does not know, whose body the breath is, and who pulls (rules) the breath within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

17. 'He who dwells in the tongue (*vâk*), and within the tongue, whom the tongue does not know, whose body the tongue is, and who pulls (rules) the tongue within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

18. 'He who dwells in the eye, and within the eye, whom the eye does not know, whose body the eye is, and who pulls (rules) the eye within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

19. 'He who dwells in the ear, and within the ear, whom the ear does not know, whose body the ear is, and who pulls (rules) the ear within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

20. 'He who dwells in the mind, and within the mind, whom the mind does not know, whose body the mind is, and who pulls (rules) the mind within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

21. 'He who dwells in the skin, and within the skin, whom the skin does not know, whose body the

skin is, and who pulls (rules) the skin within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

22. 'He who dwells in knowledge¹, and within knowledge, whom knowledge does not know, whose body knowledge is, and who pulls (rules) knowledge within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

23. 'He who dwells in the seed, and within the seed, whom the seed does not know, whose body the seed is, and who pulls (rules) the seed within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal; unseen, but seeing; unheard, but hearing; unperceived, but perceiving; unknown, but knowing. There is no other seer but he, there is no other hearer but he, there is no other perceiver but he, there is no other knower but he. This is thy Self, the ruler within, the immortal. Everything else is of evil.' After that Uddālaka Āruṇi held his peace.

EIGHTH BRĀHMANA².

1. Then Vâḷaknavi³ said: 'Venerable Brâhmanas, I shall ask him two questions. If he will answer them, none of you, I think, will defeat him in any argument concerning Brahman.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'Ask, O Gârgi.'

2. She said: 'O Yâgñavalkya, as the son of a warrior from the Kâśts or Videhas might string his loosened bow, take two pointed foe-piercing arrows in his hand and rise to do battle, I have risen to

¹ Self, i.e. the individual Self, according to the Mâdhyandina school; see Deussen, p. 161.

² Mâdhyandina text, p. 1075.

³ Gârgî, not the wife of Yâgñavalkya.

fight thee with two questions. Answer me these questions.'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' Ask, O Gârgî.'

3. She said : ' O Yâgñavalkya, that of which they say that it is above the heavens, beneath the earth, embracing heaven and earth¹, past, present, and future, tell me in what is it woven, like warp and woof?'

4. Yâgñavalkya said : ' That of which they say that it is above the heavens, beneath the earth, embracing heaven and earth, past, present, and future, that is woven, like warp and woof, in the ether (âkâśa).'

5. She said : ' I bow to thee, O Yâgñavalkya, who hast solved me that question. Get thee ready for the second.'

Yâgñavalkya said² : ' Ask, O Gârgî.'

6. She said : ' O Yâgñavalkya, that of which they say that it is above the heavens, beneath the earth, embracing heaven and earth, past, present, and future, tell me in what is it woven, like warp and woof?'

7. Yâgñavalkya said : ' That of which they say that it is above the heavens, beneath the earth, embracing heaven and earth, past, present, and future, that is woven, like warp and woof, in the ether.'

Gârgî said : ' In what then is the ether woven, like warp and woof?'

8. He said : ' O Gârgî, the Brâhmanas call this the Akshara (the imperishable). It is neither coarse nor fine, neither short nor long, neither red (like fire) nor fluid (like water); it is without shadow, without darkness, without air, without ether, without

¹ Deussen, p. 143, translates, 'between heaven and earth,' but that would be the antariksha.

² This repetition does not occur in the Mâdhyandina text.

attachment¹, without taste, without smell, without eyes, without ears, without speech, without mind, without light (vigour), without breath, without a mouth (or door), without measure, having no within and no without, it devours nothing, and no one devours it.'

9. 'By the command of that Akshara (the imperishable), O Gârgī, sun and moon stand apart². By the command of that Akshara, O Gârgī, heaven and earth stand apart. By the command of that Akshara, O Gârgī, what are called moments (nimesha), hours (muhūrta), days and nights, half-months, months, seasons, years, all stand apart. By the command of that Akshara, O Gârgī, some rivers flow to the East from the white mountains, others to the West, or to any other quarter. By the command of that Akshara, O Gârgī, men praise those who give, the gods follow the sacrificer, the fathers the Darvī-offering.'

10. 'Whosoever, O Gârgī, without knowing that Akshara (the imperishable), offers oblations in this world, sacrifices, and performs penance for a thousand years, his work will have an end. Whosoever, O Gârgī, without knowing this Akshara, departs this world, he is miserable (like a slave)³. But he, O Gârgī, who departs this world, knowing this Akshara, he is a Brāhmaṇa.'

11. 'That Brahman,' O Gârgī, 'is unseen, but seeing; unheard, but hearing; unperceived, but perceiving; unknown, but knowing. There is nothing

¹ Not adhering to anything, like lac or gum.

² Each follows its own course.

³ 'He stores up the effects from work, like a miser his riches,' Roer. 'He is helpless,' Gough.

that sees but it, nothing that hears but it, nothing that perceives but it, nothing that knows but it. In that Akshara then, O Gârgî, the ether is woven, like warp and woof.'

12. Then said Gârgî: 'Venerable Brâhmans, you may consider it a great thing, if you get off by bowing before him. No one, I believe, will defeat him in any argument concerning Brahman.' After that Vâknavî held her peace.

NINTH BRĀHMANA¹.

1. Then Vidagdha Sâkalya asked him²: 'How many gods are there, O Yâgñavalkya?' He replied with this very Nivid³: 'As many as are mentioned in the Nivid of the hymn of praise addressed to the Visvedevas, viz. three and three hundred, three and three thousand⁴.'

'Yes,' he said, and asked again: 'How many gods are there really, O Yâgñavalkya?'

'Thirty-three,' he said.

¹ Mâdhyandina text, p. 1076.

² This disputation between Yâgñavalkya and Vidagdha Sâkalya occurs in a simpler form in the Satapatha-brâhmana, XI, p. 873. He is here represented as the first who defies Yâgñavalkya, and whom Yâgñavalkya asks at once, whether the other Brâhmans had made him the *ulmukâvakshayana*, the cat's paw, literally one who has to take a burning piece of wood out of the fire (*ardha-dagdhakâshtham ulmukam*; *tasya vahirnirasanam avakshayanam vinâsah*). The end, however, is different, for on asking the nature of the one god, the *Prâna*, he is told by Yâgñavalkya that he has asked for what he ought not to ask, and that therefore he will die and thieves will carry away his bones.

³ Nivid, old and short invocations of the gods; *devatâsaṅkhyâ-vâkâkâni mantrapadâni kânikîd vaisvadeve sastre sasyante*. *Saṅkara* and *Dvivedagaṅga*.

⁴ This would make 3306 *devatâs*.

‘Yes,’ he said, and asked again : ‘How many gods are there really, O Yâgñavalkya?’

‘Six,’ he said.

‘Yes,’ he said, and asked again : ‘How many gods are there really, O Yâgñavalkya?’

‘Three,’ he said.

‘Yes,’ he said, and asked again : ‘How many gods are there really, O Yâgñavalkya?’

‘Two,’ he said.

‘Yes,’ he said, and asked again : ‘How many gods are there really, O Yâgñavalkya?’

‘One and a half (adhyardha),’ he said.

‘Yes,’ he said, and asked again : ‘How many gods are there really, O Yâgñavalkya?’

‘One,’ he said.

‘Yes,’ he said, and asked : ‘Who are these three and three hundred, three and three thousand?’

2. Yâgñavalkya replied : ‘They are only the various powers of them, in reality there are only thirty-three gods¹.’

He asked : ‘Who are those thirty-three?’

Yâgñavalkya replied : ‘The eight Vasus, the eleven Rudras, the twelve Âdityas. They make thirty-one, and Indra and Pragâpati make the thirty-three².’

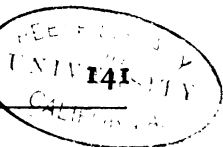
3. He asked : ‘Who are the Vasus.’

Yâgñavalkya replied : ‘Agni (fire), Prithivî (earth), Vâyu (air), Antariksha (sky), Âditya (sun), Dyû (heaven), Kandramas (moon), the Nakshatras (stars), these are the Vasus, for in them all that dwells (this world)³ rests; and therefore they are called Vasus.’

¹ ‘The glories of these are three and thirty.’ Gough, p. 172.

² Trayastrimsau, i. e. trayastrimsatah pûranau.

³ The etymological explanation of Vasu is not quite clear, and



4. He asked : 'Who are the Rudras ?'

Yāgñavalkya replied : ' These ten vital breaths (prānas, the senses, i. e. the five *gñānendriyas*, and the five *karmendriyas*), and Ātman¹, as the eleventh. When they depart from this mortal body, they make us cry (rodayanti), and because they make us cry, they are called Rudras.'

5. He asked : ' Who are the Ādityas ?'

Yāgñavalkya replied : ' The twelve months of the year, and they are Ādityas, because they move along (yanti), taking up everything² (*ādadānāḥ*). Because they move along, taking up everything, therefore they are called Ādityas.'

6. He asked : ' And who is Indra, and who is Pragâpati ?'

Yāgñavalkya replied : ' Indra is thunder, Pragâpati is the sacrifice.'

He asked : ' And what is the thunder ?'

Yāgñavalkya replied : ' The thunderbolt.'

He asked : ' And what is the sacrifice ?'

Yāgñavalkya replied : ' The (sacrificial) animals.'

7. He asked : ' Who are the six ?'

Yāgñavalkya replied : ' Agni (fire), Prithivī (earth), Vāyu (air), Antariksha (sky), Āditya (sun), Dyū (heaven), they are the six, for they are all³ this, the six.'

8. He asked : ' Who are the three gods ?'

the commentator hardly explains our text. Perhaps *vasu* is meant for the world or the dwellers therein. The more usual explanation occurs in the *Satap. Brâh.* p. 1077, etc *hīdam sarvam vāsayinge tadyad idam sarvam vāsayinge tasmād vasava iti*; or on p. 874, where we read *te yad idam sarvam &c.*

¹ Ātman is here explained as *manas*, the common sensory.

² The life of men, and the fruits of their work.

³ They are the thirty-three gods..

Yâgñavalkya replied : 'These three worlds, for in them all these gods exist.'

He asked : 'Who are the two gods?'

Yâgñavalkya replied : 'Food and breath.'

He asked : 'Who is the one god and a half?'

Yâgñavalkya replied : 'He that blows.'

9. Here they say : 'How is it that he who blows like one only, should be called one and a half (adhyardha)?' And the answer is : 'Because, when the wind was blowing, everything grew (adhyardhnot).'

He asked : 'Who is the one god?'

Yâgñavalkya replied : 'Breath (prâna), and he is Brahman (the Sûtrâtman), and they call him That (tyad).'

10. Sâkalya said¹ : 'Whosoever knows that person (or god) whose dwelling (body) is the earth, whose sight (world) is fire², whose mind is light,—the prin-

¹ I prefer to attribute this to Sâkalya, who is still the questioner, and not Yâgñavalkya; but I am not quite satisfied that I am right in this, or in the subsequent distribution of the parts, assigned to each speaker. If Sâkalya is the questioner, then the sentence, *veda vâ aham tam purusham sarvasyâtmanaḥ parâyanam yam âttha*, must belong to Yâgñavalkya, because he refers to the words of another speaker. Lastly, the sentence *vadaiva* has to be taken as addressed to Sâkalya. The commentator remarks that, he being the questioner, one expects *prikkha* instead of *vada*. But Yâgñavalkya may also be supposed to turn round on Sâkalya and ask him a question in turn, more difficult than the question addressed by Sâkalya to Yâgñavalkya, and in that case the last sentence must be taken as an answer, though an imperfect one, of Sâkalya's. The commentator seems to think that after Yâgñavalkya told Sâkalya to ask this question, Sâkalya was frightened and asked it, and that then Yâgñavalkya answered in turn.

² The Mâdhyandina text varies considerably. It has the first time, *kashur lokaḥ* for *agnir lokaḥ*. I keep to the same construction throughout, taking *mano gyoṭiḥ*, not as a compound, but like *agnir loko yasya*, as a sentence, i. e. *mano gyoṭir yasya*.

ciple of every (living) self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. This corporeal (material, earthy) person, "he is he." But tell me¹, Sâkalya, who is his devatâ² (deity)?'

Sâkalya replied : ' The Immortal³.'

11. Sâkalya said : ' Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling is love (a body capable of sensual love), whose sight is the heart, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya replied : ' I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. This love-made (loving) person, "he is he." But tell me, Sâkalya, who is his devatâ?'

Sâkalya replied : ' The women⁴.'

12. Sâkalya said : ' Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling are the colours, whose sight is the eye, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya replied : ' I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. That person in the sun, "he is he." But tell me, Sâkalya, who is his devatâ?'

Sâkalya replied : ' The True⁵.'

13. Sâkalya said : ' Whosoever knows that person

¹ Ask me. Comm.

² That from which he is produced, that is his devatâ. Comm.

³ According to the commentator, the essence of food, which produces blood, from which the germ receives life and becomes an embryo and a living being.

⁴ Because they excite the fire of love. Comm.

⁵ The commentator explains satya, the true, by the eye, because the sun owes its origin to the eye.

whose dwelling is ether, whose sight is the ear, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. The person who hears¹ and answers, "he is he." But tell me, Sâkalya, who is his devatâ?'

Sâkalya replied: 'Space.'

14. Sâkalya said: 'Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling is darkness, whose sight is the heart, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. The shadowy² person, "he is he." But tell me, Sâkalya, who is his devatâ?'

Sâkalya replied: 'Death.'

15. Sâkalya said: 'Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling are (bright) colours, whose sight is the eye, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. The person in the looking-glass, "he is he." But tell me, Sâkalya, who is his devatâ?'

Sâkalya replied: 'Vital breath' (asu).

16. Sâkalya said: 'Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling is water, whose sight is the heart, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yâgñavalkya.'

¹ Read srautra instead of srotra; see Bṛh. Âr. Up. II, 5, 6.

² Shadow, *kḥâyâ*, is explained here by *agnâna*, ignorance, not by *gñâna*, knowledge.

Yâgñavalkya replied : ' I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. The person in the water, " he is he." But tell me, Sâkalya, who is his devatâ? '

Sâkalya replied : ' Varuna. '

17. Sâkalya said : ' Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling is seed, whose sight is the heart, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yâgñavalkya. '

Yâgñavalkya replied : ' I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. The filial person, " he is he." But tell me, Sâkalya, who is his devatâ? '

Sâkalya replied : ' Pragâpati. '

18. Yâgñavalkya said : ' Sâkalya, did those Brâhmanas (who themselves shrank from the contest) make thee the victim¹? '

Sâkalya said : ' Yâgñavalkya, because thou hast decried the Brâhmanas of the Kuru-Pañkâlas, what² Brahman dost thou know? '

19. Yâgñavalkya said : ' I know the quarters with their deities and their abodes. '

¹ Ângârâvakshayana is explained as a vessel in which coals are extinguished, and Ânandagiri adds that Yâgñavalkya, in saying that Sâkalya was made an ângârâvakshayana by his fellow Brâhmanas, meant that he was given up by them as a victim, in fact that he was being burnt or consumed by Yâgñavalkya. I should prefer to take ângârâvakshayana in the sense of ulmukâvakshayana, an instrument with which one takes burning coals from the fire to extinguish them, a pair of tongs. Read sandamsa instead of sandesa. Kshi with ava means to remove, to take away. We should call an ângârâvakshayana a cat's paw. The Brâhmanas used Sâkalya as a cat's paw.

² It seems better to take kim as the interrogative pronoun than as an interrogative particle.

Sākalya said : ' If thou knowest the quarters with their deities and their abodes,

20. ' Which is thy deity in the Eastern quarter?'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' Âditya (the sun).'

Sākalya said : ' In what does that Âditya abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' In the eye.'

Sākalya said : ' In what does the eye abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' In the colours, for with the eye he sees the colours.'

Sākalya said : ' And in what then do the colours abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' In the heart¹, for we know colours by the heart, for colours abide in the heart².'

Sākalya said : ' So it is indeed, O Yâgñavalkya.'

21. Sākalya said : ' Which is thy deity in the Southern quarter?'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' Yama.'

Sākalya said : ' In what does that Yama abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' In the sacrifice.'

Sākalya said : ' In what does the sacrifice abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' In the Dakshinâ (the gifts to be given to the priests).'

Sākalya said : ' In what does the Dakshinâ abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' In Sradhâ (faith), for if a man believes, then he gives Dakshinâ, and Dakshinâ truly abides in faith.'

Sākalya said : ' And in what then does faith abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' In the heart, for by the heart faith knows, and therefore faith abides in the heart.'

Sākalya said : ' So it is indeed, O Yâgñavalkya.'

¹ Heart stands here for buddhi and manas together. Comm.

² In the text, published by Dr. Roer in the Bibliotheca Indica, a sentence is left out, viz. *hrīdaya ity uvāka, hrīdayena hi rūpāni gānāti, hrīdaye hy eva rūpāni pratishṭhitāni bhavantīty*.

22. Sākalya said : 'Which is thy deity in the Western quarter ?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'Varuna.'

Sākalya said : 'In what does that Varuna abide ?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'In the water.'

Sākalya said : 'In what does the water abide ?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'In the seed.'

Sākalya said : 'And in what does the seed abide ?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'In the heart. And therefore also they say of a son who is like his father, that he seems as if slipt from his heart, or made from his heart; for the seed abides in the heart.'

Sākalya said : 'So it is indeed, O Yâgñavalkya.'

23. Sākalya said : 'Which is thy deity in the Northern quarter ?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'Soma.'

Sākalya said : 'In what does that Soma abide ?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'In the Dīkshâ¹.'

Sākalya said : 'In what does the Dīkshâ abide ?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'In the True; and therefore they say to one who has performed the Dīkshâ, Speak what is true, for in the True indeed the Dīkshâ abides.'

Sākalya said : 'And in what does the True abide ?'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'In the heart, for with the heart do we know what is true, and in the heart indeed the True abides.'

Sākalya said : 'So it is indeed, O Yâgñavalkya.'

24. Sākalya said : 'Which is thy deity in the zenith ?'

¹ Dīkshâ is the initiatory rite for the Soma sacrifice. Having sacrificed with Soma which has to be bought, the sacrificer becomes endowed with wisdom, and wanders to the North, which is the quarter of Soma.

Yâgñavalkya said: 'Agni.'

Sâkalya said: 'In what does that Agni abide.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'In speech.'

Sâkalya said: 'And in what does speech abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'In the heart.'

Sâkalya said: 'And in what does the heart abide?'

25. Yâgñavalkya said: 'O Ahallika¹, when you think the heart could be anywhere else away from us, if it were away from us, the dogs might eat it, or the birds tear it.'

26. Sâkalya said: 'And in what dost thou (thy body) and the Self (thy heart) abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'In the Prâna (breath).'

Sâkalya said: 'In what does the Prâna abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'In the Apâna (down-breathing)².'

Sâkalya said: 'In what does the Apâna abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'In the Vyâna (back-breathing)³.'

Sâkalya said: 'In what does the Vyâna abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'In the Udâna (the out-breathing)⁴.'

Sâkalya said: 'In what does the Udâna abide?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'In the Samâna⁵. That Self

¹ A term of reproach, it may be a ghost or preta, because ahani lîyate, it disappears by day.

² Because the prâna would run away, if it were not held back by the apâna.

³ Because the apâna would run down, and the prâna up, if they were not held back by the vyâna.

⁴ Because all three, the prâna, apâna, and vyâna, would run away in all directions, if they were not fastened to the udâna.

⁵ The Samâna can hardly be meant here for one of the five prânas, generally mentioned before the udâna, but, as explained by Dvivedagāṅga, stands for the Sûtrâtman. This Sûtrâtman abides in the Antaryâmin, and this in the Brahman (Kûâstha), which is

(âtman) is to be described by No, no¹! He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be (is not) comprehended; he is imperishable, for he cannot perish; he is unattached, for he does not attach himself; unfettered, he does not suffer, he does not fail.'

* 'These are the eight abodes (the earth, &c.), the eight worlds (fire, &c.), the eight gods (the immortal food, &c.), the eight persons (the corporeal, &c.) He who after dividing and uniting these persons², went beyond (the Samâna), that person, taught in the Upanishads, I now ask thee (to teach me). If thou shalt not explain him to me, thy head will fall.'

Sākalya did not know him, and his head fell, nay, thieves took away his bones, mistaking them for something else.

27. Then Yâgñavalkya said: 'Reverend Brâhmanas, whosoever among you desires to do so, may now question me. Or question me, all of you. Or whosoever among you desires it, I shall question him, or I shall question all of you.

But those Brâhmanas durst not (say anything).

28. Then Yâgñavalkya questioned them with these Ślokas:

1. 'As a mighty tree in the forest, so in truth is man, his hairs are the leaves, his outer skin is the bark.

2. 'From his skin flows forth blood, sap from the skin (of the tree); and thus from the wounded

therefore described next. Could Samâna be here the same as in IV, 3, 7?

¹ See before, II, 3, 6; also IV, 2, 4; IV, 4, 22; IV, 5, 15.

² Dividing them according to the different abodes, worlds, and persons, and uniting them at last in the heart.

man¹ comes forth blood, as from a tree that is struck.

3. 'The lumps of his flesh are (in the tree) the layers of wood, the fibre is strong like the tendons². The bones are the (hard) wood within, the marrow is made like the marrow of the tree.

4. 'But, while the tree, when felled, grows up again more young from the root, from what root, tell me, does a mortal grow up, after he has been felled by death?

5. 'Do not say, "from seed," for seed is produced from the living³; but a tree, springing from a grain, clearly⁴ rises again after death⁵.

6. 'If a tree is pulled up with the root, it will not grow again; from what root then, tell me, does a mortal grow up, after he has been felled by death?

7. 'Once born, he is not born (again); for who should create him again⁶?'

¹ In the Mādhyandina-sâkhâ, p. 1080, *tasmât tadâtunnât*, instead of *tasmât tadâtrimât*.

² Saṅkara seems to have read *snâvavat*, instead of *snâva tatsthiram*, as we read in both Sâkhâs.

³ Here the Mādhyandinas (p. 1080) add, *gâta eva na gâyate, ko nv enam ganayet punaḥ*, which the Kânvas place later.

⁴ Instead of *aṅgasâ*, the Mādhyandinas have *anyataḥ*.

⁵ The Mādhyandinas have *dhânâruha u vai*, which is better than *iva vai*, the *iva* being, according to Saṅkara's own confession, useless. The thread of the argument does not seem to have been clearly perceived by the commentators. What the poet wants to say is, that a man, struck down by death, does not come to life again from seed, because human seed comes from the living only, while trees, springing from grain, are seen to come to life after the tree (which yielded the grain or the seed) is dead. *Pretya-sambhava*, like *pretya-bhâva*, means life after death, and *pretyasambhava*, as an adjective, means coming to life after death.

⁶ This line too is taken in a different sense by the commentator. According to him, it would mean: 'If you say, He has been born

‘Brahman, who is knowledge and bliss, he is the principle, both to him who gives gifts¹, and also to him who stands firm, and knows.’

(and there is an end of all questioning), I say, No; he is born again, and the question is, How?’ This is much too artificial. The order of the verses in the Mādhyandina-jâkhâ is better on the whole, leading up more naturally to the question, ‘From what root then does a mortal grow up, after he has been felled by death?’ When the Brâhmans cannot answer, Yâgñavalkya answers, or the Sruti declares, that the root from whence a mortal springs again, after death, is Brahman.

¹ Saṅkara explains *râtir dâtuḥ as râter dâtuḥ*, a reading adopted by the Mādhyandinas. He then arrives at the statement that Brahman is the principle or the last source, also the root of a new life, both for those who practise works and for those who, having relinquished works, stand firm in knowledge. Regnaud (II, p. 138) translates: ‘C’est Brahma (qui est) l’intelligence, le bonheur, la richesse, le but suprême de celui qui offre (des sacrifices), et de celui qui réside (en lui), de celui qui connaît.’

FOURTH ADHYÂYA.

FIRST BRÂHMANA.

1. When Ganaka Vaideha was sitting (to give audience), Yâgñavalkya approached, and Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Yâgñavalkya, for what object did you come, wishing for cattle, or for subtle questions¹?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'For both, Your Majesty;
2. 'Let us hear what anybody may have told you.'

Ganaka Vaideha replied: 'Gitvan Sailini told me that speech (vâk) is Brahman.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'As one who had (the benefit of a good) father, mother, and teacher might tell, so did Sailini² tell you, that speech is Brahman; for what is the use of a dumb person? But did he tell you the body (âyatana) and the resting-place (pratishtâ) of that Brahman?'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'He did not tell me.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'Your Majesty, this (Brahman) stands on one leg only³.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Then tell me, Yâgñavalkya.'

¹ *Anv-anta*, formed like *Sûtrânta*, *Siddhânta*, and probably *Ve-dânta*, means subtle questions.

² Roer and Poley give here *Sailina*; Weber also (pp. 1080 and 1081) has twice *Sailina* (*Silinasyâpatyam*).

³ This seems to mean that Gitvan's explanation of Brahman is lame or imperfect, because there are four *pâdas* of that Brahman, and he taught one only. The other three are its body, its place, and its form of worship (*pragñetīyam upanishad brahmanas katur-thaḥ pâdaḥ*). See also Maitr. Up. VII, p. 221.

Yâgñavalkya said: 'The tongue is its body, ether its place, and one should worship it as knowledge.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'What is the nature of that knowledge?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'Your Majesty, speech itself (is knowledge). For through speech, Your Majesty, a friend is known (to be a friend), and likewise the *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, *Sâma-veda*, the *Atharvângi-rasas*, the *Itihâsa* (tradition), *Purâna-vidyâ* (knowledge of the past), the *Upanishads*, *Slokas* (verses), *Sûtras* (rules), *Anuvyâkhyânas* and *Vyâkhyânas* (commentaries¹, &c.); what is sacrificed, what is poured out, what is (to be) eaten and drunk, this world and the other world, and all creatures. By speech alone, Your Majesty, Brahman is known, speech indeed, O King, is the Highest Brahman. Speech does not desert him who worships that (Brahman) with such knowledge, all creatures approach him, and having become a god, he goes to the gods.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'I shall give you (for this) a thousand cows with a bull as big as an elephant.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'My father was of opinion that one should not accept a reward without having fully instructed a pupil.'

3. Yâgñavalkya said: 'Let us hear what anybody may have told you.'

Ganaka Vaideha replied: 'Udañka Saulbâyana told me that life (*prâna*)² is Brahman.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'As one who had (the benefit of a good) father, mother, and teacher might tell, so did

¹ See before, II, 4, 10; and afterwards, IV, 5, 11.

² See *Taitt. Up.* III, 3.

Udañka Saulbâyana tell you that life is Brahman ; for what is the use of a person without life ? But did he tell you the body and the resting-place of that Brahman ?'

Ganaka Vaideha said : ' He did not tell me.'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' Your Majesty, this (Brahman) stands on one leg only.'

Ganaka Vaideha said ; ' Then tell me, Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' Breath is its body, ether its place, and one should worship it as what is dear.'

Ganaka Vaideha said : ' What is the nature of that which is dear ?'

Yâgñavalkya replied : ' Your Majesty, life itself (is that which is dear) ;' because for the sake of life, Your Majesty, a man sacrifices even for him who is unworthy of sacrifice, he accepts presents from him who is not worthy to bestow presents, nay, he goes to a country, even when there is fear of being hurt¹, for the sake of life. Life, O King, is the Highest Brahman. Life does not desert him who worships that (Brahman) with such knowledge, all creatures approach him, and having become a god, he goes to the gods.'

Ganaka Vaideha said : ' I shall give you (for this) a thousand cows with a bull as big as an elephant.'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' My father was of opinion that one should not accept a reward without having fully instructed a pupil.'

4. Yâgñavalkya said : ' Let us hear what anybody may have told you.'

¹ Or it may mean, he is afraid of being hurt, to whatever country he goes, for the sake of a livelihood.

Ganaka Vaideha replied : 'Barku Vârshna told me that sight (*lakshus*) is Brahman.'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'As one who had (the benefit of a good) father, mother, and teacher might tell, so did Barku Vârshna tell you that sight is Brahman ; for what is the use of a person who cannot see ? But did he tell you the body and the resting-place of that Brahman ?'

Ganaka Vaideha said : 'He did not tell me.'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'Your Majesty, this (Brahman) stands on one leg only.'

Ganaka Vaideha said : 'Then tell me, Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'The eye is its body, ether its place, and one should worship it as what is true.'

Ganaka Vaideha said : 'What is the nature of that which is true ?'

Yâgñavalkya replied : 'Your Majesty, sight itself (is that which is true) ; for if they say to a man who sees with his eye, "Didst thou see ?" and he says, "I saw," then it is true. Sight, O King, is the Highest Brahman. Sight does not desert him who worships that (Brahman) with such knowledge, all creatures approach him, and having become a god, he goes to the gods.'

Ganaka Vaideha said : 'I shall give you (for this) a thousand cows with a bull as big as an elephant.'

Yâgñavalkya said : 'My father was of opinion that one should not accept a reward without having fully instructed a pupil.'

5. Yâgñavalkya said : 'Let us hear what anybody may have told you.'

Ganaka Vaideha replied : 'Gardabhîvibhîta Bhâradvâga told me that hearing (*śrotra*) is Brahman.'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' As one who had (the benefit of a good) father, mother, and teacher might tell, so did Gardabhîvibhîta Bhâradvâga tell you that hearing is Brahman; for what is the use of a person who cannot hear? But did he tell you the body and the resting-place of that Brahman?'

Ganaka Vaideha said : ' He did not tell me.'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' Your Majesty, this (Brahman) stands on one leg only.'

Ganaka Vaideha said : ' Then tell me, Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' The ear is its body, ether its place, and we should worship it as what is endless.'

Ganaka Vaideha said : ' What is the nature of that which is endless?'

Yâgñavalkya replied : ' Your Majesty, space (disaḥ) itself (is that which is endless), and therefore to whatever space (quarter) he goes, he never comes to the end of it. For space is endless. Space indeed, O King, is hearing¹, and hearing indeed, O King, is the Highest Brahman. Hearing does not desert him who worships that (Brahman) with such knowledge, all creatures approach him, and having become a god, he goes to the gods.'

Ganaka Vaideha said : ' I shall give you (for this) a thousand cows with a bull as big as an elephant.'

Yâgñavalkya said : ' My father was of opinion that one should not accept a reward without having fully instructed a pupil.'

6. Yâgñavalkya said : ' Let us hear what anybody may have told you.'

¹ Dvivedagaṅga states, digbhâgo hi pâṛthivâdhish/hânâvakk/hin-naḥ srotram ity ukyate, atas tayoṛ ekatvam.

Ganaka Vaideha replied: 'Satyakâma Gâbâla told me that mind ¹ (manas) is Brahman.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'As one who had (the benefit of a good) father, mother, and teacher might tell, so did Satyakâma Gâbâla tell you that mind is Brahman; for what is the use of a person without mind? But did he tell you the body and the resting-place of that Brahman?'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'He did not tell me.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'Your Majesty, this (Brahman) stands on one leg only.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Then tell me, Yâgñavalkya.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'Mind itself is its body, ether its place, and we should worship it as bliss.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'What is the nature of bliss?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'Your Majesty, mind itself; for with the mind does a man desire a woman, and a like son is born of her, and he is bliss. Mind indeed, O King, is the Highest Brahman. Mind does not desert him who worships that (Brahman) with such knowledge, all creatures approach him, and having become a god, he goes to the gods.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'I shall give you (for this) a thousand cows with a bull as big as an elephant.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'My father was of opinion that one should not accept a reward without having fully instructed a pupil.'

7. Yâgñavalkya said: 'Let us hear what anybody may have told you.'

Ganaka Vaideha replied: 'Vidagdha Sâkalya told me that the heart (hrîdaya) is Brahman.'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'As one who had (the benefit

¹ See also Taitt. Up. III, 4.

of a good) father, mother, and teacher might tell, so did Vidagdha Sākalya tell you that the heart is Brahman; for what is the use of a person without a heart? But did he tell you the body and the resting-place of that Brahman?’

Ganaka Vaideha said: ‘He did not tell me.’

Yāgñavalkya said: ‘Your Majesty, this (Brahman) stands on one leg only.’

Ganaka Vaideha said: ‘Then tell me, Yāgñavalkya.’

Yāgñavalkya said: ‘The heart itself is its body, ether its place, and we should worship it as certainty (sthiti).’

Ganaka Vaideha said: ‘What is the nature of certainty?’

Yāgñavalkya replied: ‘Your Majesty, the heart itself; for the heart indeed, O King, is the body of all things, the heart is the resting-place of all things, for in the heart, O King, all things rest. The heart indeed, O King, is the Highest Brahman. The heart does not desert him who worships that (Brahman) with such knowledge, all creatures approach him, and having become a god, he goes to the gods.’

Ganaka Vaideha said: ‘I shall give you (for this) a thousand cows with a bull as big as an elephant.’

Yāgñavalkya said: ‘My father was of opinion that one should not accept a reward without having fully instructed a pupil.’

SECOND BRĀHMAṆA.

1. Ganaka Vaideha, descending from his throne, said: ‘I bow to you, O Yāgñavalkya, teach me.’

Yāgñavalkya said: ‘Your Majesty, as a man who wishes to make a long journey, would furnish himself with a chariot or a ship, thus is your mind well

furnished by these Upanishads¹. You are honourable, and wealthy, you have learnt the Vedas and been told the Upanishads. Whither then will you go when departing hence?’

Ganaka Vaideha said: ‘Sir, I do not know whither I shall go.’

Yâgñavalkya said: ‘Then I shall tell you this, whither you will go.’

Ganaka Vaideha said: ‘Tell it, Sir.’

2. Yâgñavalkya said: ‘That person who is in the right eye², he is called Indha, and him who is Indha they call indeed³ Indra mysteriously, for the gods love what is mysterious, and dislike what is evident.

3. ‘Now that which in the shape of a person is in the right eye, is his wife, Virâg⁴. Their meeting-place⁵ is the ether within the heart, and their food the red lump within the heart. Again, their covering⁶ is that which is like net-work within the heart, and the road on which they move (from sleep to waking) is the artery that rises upwards from the heart. Like a hair divided into a thousand parts, so are the veins of it, which are called Hita⁷, placed

¹ This refers to the preceding doctrines which had been communicated to Ganaka by other teachers, and particularly to the upâsanâs of Brahman as knowledge, dear, true, endless, bliss, and certainty.

² See also Maitr. Up. VII, p. 216.

³ The Mâdhyandinas read *paroksheneva*, but the commentator explains *iva* by *eva*. See also Ait. Up. I, 3, 14.

⁴ Indra is called by the commentator Vaisvânara, and his wife Virâg. This couple, in a waking state, is Visva; in sleep, Taigasa.

⁵ *Samstâva*, lit. the place where they sing praises together, that is, where they meet.

⁶ *Prâvarana* may also mean hiding-place, retreat.

⁷ Hita, a name frequently given to these *nâdis*; see IV, 3, 20; *Khând. Up.* VI, 5, 3, comm.; *Kaush. Up.* IV, 20. See also *Kaṭha Up.* VI, 16.

firmly within the heart. Through these indeed that (food) flows on flowing, and he (the Taigasa) receives as it were purer food¹ than the corporeal Self (the Vaisvânara).

4. 'His (the Taigasa's) Eastern quarter are the prâṇas (breath) which go to the East;

'His Southern quarter are the prâṇas which go to the South;

'His Western quarter are the prâṇas which go to the West;

'His Northern quarter are the prâṇas which go to the North;

'His Upper (Zenith) quarter are the prâṇas which go upward;

'His Lower (Nadir) quarter are the prâṇas which go downward;

'All the quarters are all the prâṇas. And he (the Âtman in that state) can only be described by No², no! He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be comprehended; he is undecaying, for he cannot decay; he is not attached, for he does not attach himself; he is unbound, he does not suffer, he does not perish. O Ganaka, you have indeed reached fearlessness,'—thus said Yâgñavalkya.

Then Ganaka said: 'May that fearlessness come to you also who teachest us fearlessness. I bow to you. Here are the Videhas, and here am I (thy slave).'

¹ Dvivedagaṅga explains that food, when it is eaten, is first of all changed into the coarse food, which goes away downward, and into the subtler food. This subtler food is again divided into the middle juice that feeds the body, and the finest, which is called the red lump.

² See Brĕh. Up. II, 3, 6; IV, 9, 26.

THIRD BRÂHMANA.

1. Yâgñavalkya came to Ganaka Vaideha, and he did not mean to speak with him¹. But when formerly

¹ The introduction to this Brâhmana has a very peculiar interest, as showing the close coherence of the different portions which together form the historical groundwork of the Upanishads. Ganaka Vaideha and Yâgñavalkya are leading characters in the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka-upanishad*, and whenever they meet they seem to converse quite freely, though each retains his own character, and Yâgñavalkya honours Ganaka as king quite as much as Ganaka honours Yâgñavalkya as a Brâhmana. Now in our chapter we read that Yâgñavalkya did not wish to enter on a discussion, but that Ganaka was the first to address him (*pūrvam paprakṣha*). This was evidently considered not quite correct, and an explanation is given, that Ganaka took this liberty because on a former occasion Yâgñavalkya had granted him permission to address questions to him, whenever he liked. It might be objected that such an explanation looks very much like an after-thought, and we find indeed that in India itself some of the later commentators tried to avoid the difficulty by dividing the words *sa mene na vadishya iti*, into *sam enena vadishya iti*, so that we should have to translate, 'Yâgñavalkya came to Ganaka intending to speak with him.' (See *Dvivedagaṅga's Comm.* p. 1141.) This is, no doubt, a very ingenious conjecture, which might well rouse the envy of European scholars. But it is no more. The accents decide nothing, because they are changed by different writers, according to their different views of what the Pada text ought to be. What made me prefer the reading which is supported by Sāṅkara and Dvivedagaṅga, though the latter alludes to the other *padakṣheda*, is that the tmesis, *sam enena vadishye*, does not occur again, while *sa mene* is a common phrase. But the most interesting point, as I remarked before, is that this former disputation between Ganaka and Yâgñavalkya and the permission granted to the King to ask any question he liked, is not a mere invention to account for the apparent rudeness by which Yâgñavalkya is forced to enter on a discussion against his will, but actually occurs in a former chapter. In *Satap. Br. XI, 6, 2, 10*, we read: *tasmai ha Yâgñavalkyo varam dadau; sa hovâta, kâma-*

Ganaka Vaideha and Yâgñavalkya had a disputation on the Agnihotra, Yâgñavalkya had granted him a boon, and he chose (for a boon) that he might be free to ask him any question he liked. Yâgñavalkya granted it, and thus the King was the first to ask him a question.

2. 'Yâgñavalkya,' he said, 'what is the light of man¹?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'The sun, O King; for, having the sun alone for his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'So indeed it is, O Yâgñavalkya.'

3. Ganaka Vaideha said: 'When the sun has set, O Yâgñavalkya, what is then the light of man?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'The moon indeed is his light; for, having the moon alone for his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'So indeed it is, O Yâgñavalkya.'

4. Ganaka Vaideha said: 'When the sun has set, O Yâgñavalkya, and the moon has set, what is the light of man?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'Fire indeed is his light;

prasna eva me tvayi Yâgñavalkyâsad iti, tato brahmâ Ganaka âsa. This would show that Ganaka was considered almost like a Brâhmana, or at all events enjoyed certain privileges which were supposed to belong to the first caste only. See, for a different view, Deussen, *Vedânta*, p. 203; Regnaud (*Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la philosophie de l'Inde*), *Errata*; and *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. i, p. lxxiii.

¹ Read *kimgyotir* as a *Bahuvrîhi*. *Purusha* is difficult to translate. It means man, but also the true essence of man, the soul, as we should say, or something more abstract still, the person, as I generally translate it, though a person beyond the Ego.

for, having fire alone for his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns.'

5. Ganaka Vaideha said: 'When the sun has set, O Yâgñavalkya, and the moon has set, and the fire is gone out, what is then the light of man?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'Sound indeed is his light; for, having sound alone for his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns. Therefore, O King, when one cannot see even one's own hand, yet when a sound is raised, one goes towards it.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'So indeed it is, O Yâgñavalkya.'

6. Ganaka Vaideha said: 'When the sun has set, O Yâgñavalkya, and the moon has set, and the fire is gone out, and the sound hushed, what is then the light of man?'

Yâgñavalkya said: 'The Self indeed is his light; for, having the Self alone as his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns.'

7. Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Who is that Self?'

Yâgñavalkya replied: 'He who is within the heart, surrounded by the Prâṇas¹ (senses), the person of light, consisting of knowledge. He, remaining the same, wanders along the two worlds², as if³ thinking, as if moving. During sleep (in dream) he transcends this world and all the forms of death (all that falls under the sway of death, all that is perishable).

8. 'On being born that person, assuming his body,

¹ Sâṃpyalakshanâ saptamî, Dvivedagaṅga. See Brîh. Up. IV, 4, 22.

² In this world, while awake or dreaming; in the other world, while in deep sleep.

³ The world thinks that he thinks, but in reality he does not, he only witnesses the acts of buddhi, or thought.

becomes united with all evils ; when he departs and dies, he leaves all evils behind.

9. 'And there are two states for that person, the one here in this world, the other in the other world, and as a third¹ an intermediate state, the state of sleep. When in that intermediate state, he sees both those states together, the one here in this world, and the other in the other world. Now whatever his admission to the other world may be, having gained that admission, he sees both the evils and the blessings².

'And when he falls asleep, then after having taken away with him the material from the whole world, destroying³ and building it up again, he sleeps (dreams) by his own light. In that state the person is self-illuminated.

10. 'There are no (real) chariots in that state, no horses, no roads, but he himself sends forth (creates) chariots, horses, and roads. There are no blessings there, no happiness, no joys, but he himself sends forth (creates) blessings, happiness, and joys. There

¹ There are really two sthânas or states only ; the place where they meet, like the place where two villages meet, belongs to both, but it may be distinguished as a third. Dvivedagaṅga (p. 1141) uses a curious argument in support of the existence of another world. In early childhood, he says, our dreams consist of the impressions of a former world, later on they are filled with the impressions of our senses, and in old age they contain visions of a world to come.

² By works, by knowledge, and by remembrance of former things ; see Br̥h. Up. IV, 4, 2.

³ Dividing and separating the material, i. e. the impressions received from this world. The commentator explains mâtṛā as a portion of the impressions which are taken away into sleep. 'Destroying' he refers to the body, which in sleep becomes senseless, and 'building up' to the imaginations of dreams.

are no tanks there, no lakes, no rivers, but he himself sends forth (creates) tanks, lakes, and rivers. He indeed is the maker.

11. 'On this there are these verses :

'After having subdued by sleep all that belongs to the body, he, not asleep himself, looks down upon the sleeping (senses). Having assumed light, he goes again to his place, the golden person¹, the lonely bird. (1)

12. 'Guarding with the breath (*prāṇa*, life) the lower nest, the immortal moves away from the nest ; that immortal one goes wherever he likes, the golden person, the lonely bird. (2)

13. 'Going up and down in his dream, the god makes manifold shapes for himself, either rejoicing together with women, or laughing (with his friends), or seeing terrible sights. (3)

14. 'People may see his playground², but himself no one ever sees. Therefore they say, "Let no one wake a man suddenly, for it is not easy to remedy, if he does not get back (rightly to his body)."

'Here some people (object and) say : "No, this (sleep) is the same as the place of waking, for what he sees while awake, that only he sees when asleep³."

¹ The Mādhyandinas read *paurusha*, as an adjective to *ekahamśa*, but Dvivedagaṅga explains *paurusha* as a synonym of *purusha*, which is the reading of the Kāṇvas.

² Cf. *Susruta* III, 7, 1.

³ I have translated this according to the commentator, who says : 'Therefore the Self is self-illuminated during sleep. But others say the state of waking is indeed the same for him as sleep ; there is no other intermediate place, different from this and from the other world. . . . And if sleep is the same as the state of waking, then is this Self not separate, not cause and effect, but mixed with them, and the Self therefore not self-illuminated. What he means

No, here (in sleep) the person is self-illuminated (as we explained before).'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'I give you, Sir, a thousand. Speak on for the sake of (my) emancipation.'

15. Yâgñavalkya said: 'That (person) having enjoyed himself in that state of bliss (*samprasâda*, deep sleep), having moved about and seen both good and evil, hastens back again as he came, to the place from which he started (the place of sleep), to dream¹. And whatever he may have seen there, he is not followed (affected) by it, for that person is not attached to anything.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'So it is indeed, Yâgñā-

is that others, in order to disprove the self-illumination, say that this sleep is the same as the state of waking, giving as their reason that we see in sleep or in dreams exactly what we see in waking. But this is wrong, because the senses have stopped, and only when the senses have stopped does one see dreams. Therefore there is no necessity for admitting another light in sleep, but only the light inherent in the Self. This has been proved by all that went before.' Dr. Roer takes the same view in his translation, but Deussen (*Vedānta*, p. 205) takes an independent view, and translates: 'Therefore it is said: It (sleep) is to him a place of waking only, for what he sees waking, the same he sees in sleep. Thus this spirit serves there for his own light.' Though the interpretations of Saṅkara and Dvivedagaṅga sound artificial, still Dr. Deussen's version does not remove all difficulties. If the *puruṣa* saw in sleep no more than what he had seen before in waking, then the whole argument in favour of the independent action, or the independent light of the *puruṣa*, would go; anyhow it would be no argument on Yâgñavalkya's side. See also note to paragraph 9, before.

¹ The Mādhyandinas speak only of his return from *svapnānta* to *buddhānta*, from sleep to waking, instead of his going from *samprasâda* (deep sleep) to *svapnâ* (dream), from *svapnâ* to *buddhānta*, and from *buddhānta* again to *svapnānta*, as the Kâṇvas have it. In § 18 the Kâṇvas also mention *svapnānta* and *buddhānta* only, but the next paragraph refers to *sushupti*.

valkya. I give you, Sir, a thousand. Speak on for the sake of emancipation.'

16. Yâgñavalkya said : ' That (person) having enjoyed himself in that sleep (dream), having moved about and seen both good and evil, hastens back again as he came, to the place from which he started, to be awake. And whatever he may have seen there, he is not followed (affected) by it, for that person is not attached to anything.'

Ganaka Vaideha said : ' So it is indeed, Yâgñavalkya. I give you, Sir, a thousand. Speak on for the sake of emancipation.'

17. Yâgñavalkya said : ' That (person) having enjoyed himself in that state of waking, having moved about and seen both good and evil, hastens back again as he came, to the place from which he started, to the state of sleeping (dream).

18. ' In fact, as a large fish moves along the two banks of a river, the right and the left, so does that person move along these two states, the state of sleeping and the state of waking.

19. ' And as a falcon, or any other (swift) bird, after he has roamed about here in the air, becomes tired, and folding his wings is carried to his nest, so does that person hasten to that state where, when asleep, he desires no more desires, and dreams no more dreams.

20. ' There are in his body the veins called Hitâ, which are as small as a hair divided a thousandfold, full of white, blue, yellow, green, and red¹. Now

¹ Dvivedagaṅga explains that if phlegm predominates, qualified by wind and bile, the juice in the veins is white ; if wind predominates, qualified by phlegm and bile, it is blue ; if bile predominates, qualified by wind and phlegm, it is yellow ; if wind and phlegm

when, as it were, they kill him, when, as it were, they overcome him, when, as it were, an elephant chases him, when, as it were, he falls into a well, he fancies, through ignorance, that danger which he (commonly) sees in waking. But when he fancies that he is, as it were, a god, or that he is, as it were, a king¹, or "I am this altogether," that is his highest world².

21. 'This indeed is his (true) form, free from desires, free from evil, free from fear³. Now as a man, when embraced by a beloved wife, knows nothing that is without, nothing that is within, thus this person, when embraced by the intelligent (*prâgña*) Self, knows nothing that is without, nothing that is within. This indeed is his (true) form, in which his wishes are fulfilled, in which the Self (only) is

predominate, with little bile only, it is green; and if the three elements are equal, it is red. See also Ânandagiri's gloss, where Susruta is quoted. Why this should be inserted here, is not quite clear, except that in sleep the purusha is supposed to move about in the veins.

¹ Here, again, the commentator seems to be right, but his interpretation does violence to the context. The dangers which a man sees in his sleep are represented as mere imaginations, so is his idea of being of god or a king, while the idea that he is all this (*aham evedam sarvaḥ*, i. e. *idam sarvam*, see Saṅkara, p. 873, l. 11) is represented as the highest and real state. But it is impossible to begin a new sentence with *aham evedam sarvam*, and though it is true that all the preceding fancies are qualified by *iva*, I prefer to take *deva* and *râga*n as steps leading to the *sarvâtmatva*.

² The Mâdhyandinas repeat here the sentence from *yatra supto to payati*, from the end of § 19.

³ The Kânva text reads *atikkhandâ apahatapâpmâ*. Saṅkara explains *atikkhandâ* by *atikkhandam*, and excuses it as *svâdhyâya-dharmaḥ pâṭhaḥ*. The Mâdhyandinas read *atikkhando*, but place the whole sentence where the Kânvas put *âptakâmam &c.*, at the end of § 21.

his wish, in which no wish is left,—free from any sorrow ¹.

22. 'Then a father is not a father, a mother not a mother, the worlds not worlds, the gods not gods, the Vedas not Vedas. Then a thief is not a thief, a murderer not a murderer ², a ~~Kāṇḍāla~~ ³ not a ~~Kāṇḍāla~~, ⁴ a Paulkasa ⁵ not a Paulkasa, a Sramana ⁶ not a Sramana, a Tâpasa ⁷ not a Tâpasa. He is not followed by good, not followed by evil, for he has then overcome all the sorrows of the heart ⁷.

23. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not see, yet he is seeing, though he does not see ⁸. For sight is inseparable from the

¹ The Kânvas read sokântaram, the Mâdhyandinas asokântaram, but the commentators arrive at the same result, namely, that it means sokaśūnyam, free from grief. Sāṅkara says: sokântaram sokaśśhidram sokaśūnyam ityetaḥ, śhokamadhyaman iti vâ; sarvathâpy asokam. Dvivedagaṅga says: na vidyate soko 'ntare madhye yasya tad asokântaram (ra, Weber) sokaśūnyam.

² Bhrûnahan, varish/habrahmahantâ.

³ The son of a Sûdra father and a Brâhmana mother.

⁴ The son of a Sûdra father and a Kshatriya mother.

⁵ A mendicant.

⁶ A Vânaprastha, who performs penances.

⁷ I have translated as if the text were ananvâgataḥ puṇyena ananvâgataḥ pâpena. We find anvâgata used in a similar way in §§ 15, 16, &c. But the Kânvas read ananvâgatam puṇyena ananvâgatam pâpena, and Sāṅkara explains the neuter by referring it to rūpam (rûpaparatvân napumsakaliṅgam). The Mâdhyandinas, if we may trust Weber's edition, read ananvâgataḥ puṇyenânvâgataḥ pâpena. The second anvâgataḥ may be a mere misprint, but Dvivedagaṅga seems to have read ananvâgatam, like the Kânvas, for he says: ananvâgatam iti rūpavishayo napumsakanirdesaḥ.

⁸ This is the old Upanishad argument that the true sense is the Self, and not the eye. Although therefore in the state of profound sleep, where the eye and the other senses rest, it might be said that the purusha does not see, yet he is a seer all the time, though he does not see with the eye. The seer cannot lose his character

seer, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could see.

24. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not smell, yet he is smelling, though he does not smell. For smelling is inseparable from the smeller, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could smell.

25. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not taste, yet he is tasting, though he does not taste. For tasting is inseparable from the taster, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could taste.

26. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not speak, yet he is speaking, though he does not speak. For speaking is inseparable from the speaker, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could speak.

27. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not hear, yet he is hearing, though he does not hear. For hearing is inseparable from the hearer, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could hear.

28. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not think, yet he is thinking, though he does not think. For thinking is inseparable from the thinker, because it cannot perish.

of seeing, as little as the fire can lose its character of burning, so long as it is fire. The Self sees by its own light, like the sun, even where there is no second, no object but the Self, that could be seen.

But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could think.

29. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not touch, yet he is touching, though he does not touch. For touching is inseparable from the toucher, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could think.

30. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not know, yet he is knowing, though he does not know. For knowing is inseparable from the knower, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could know.

31. 'When (in waking and dreaming) there is, as it were, another, then can one see the other, then can one smell the other, then can one speak to the other, then can one hear the other, then can one think the other, then can one touch the other, then can one know the other.

32. 'An ocean¹ is that one seer, without any duality; this is the Brahma-world², O King.' Thus did Yâgñavalkya teach him. This is his highest goal, this is his highest success, this is his highest world, this is his highest bliss. All other creatures live on a small portion of that bliss.

33. 'If a man is healthy, wealthy, and lord of others, surrounded by all human enjoyments, that

¹ Salila is explained as salilavat, like the ocean, the seer being one like the ocean, which is one only. Dr. Deussen takes salila as a locative, and translates it 'In dem Gewoge,' referring to Svetâsvatara-upanishad VI, 15.

² Or this seer is the Brahma-world, dwells in Brahman, or is Brahman.

is the highest blessing of men. Now a hundred of these human blessings make one blessing of the fathers who have conquered the world (of the fathers). A hundred blessings of the fathers who have conquered this world make one blessing in the Gandharva world. A hundred blessings in the Gandharva world make one blessing of the Devas by merit (work, sacrifice), who obtain their godhead by merit. A hundred blessings of the Devas by merit make one blessing of the Devas by birth, also (of) a Srotriya¹ who is without sin, and not overcome by desire. A hundred blessings of the Devas by birth make one blessing in the world of Pragâpati, also (of) a Srotriya who is without sin, and not overcome by desire. A hundred blessings in the world of Pragâpati make one blessing in the world of Brahman, also (of) a Srotriya who is without sin, and not overcome by desire. And this is the highest blessing².

‘This is the Brahma-world, O king,’ thus spake Yâgñavalkya.

Ganaka Vaideha said: ‘I give you, Sir, a thousand. Speak on for the sake of (my) emancipation.’

Then Yâgñavalkya was afraid lest the King, having become full of understanding, should drive him from all his positions³.

34. And Yâgñavalkya said: ‘That (person), having enjoyed himself in that state of sleeping (dream),

¹ An accomplished student of the Veda.

² See Taitt. Up. II, 8, p. 59; *Khând. Up.* VIII, 2, 1-10; Kaush. Up. I, 3-5; Regnaud, II, p. 33 seq.

³ Saṅkara explains that Yâgñavalkya was not afraid that his own knowledge might prove imperfect, but that the king, having the right to ask him any question he liked, might get all his knowledge from him.

having moved about and seen both good and bad, hastens back again as he came, to the place from which he started, to the state of waking¹.

35. 'Now as a heavy-laden carriage moves along groaning, thus does this corporeal Self, mounted by the intelligent Self, move along groaning, when a man is thus going to expire².

36. 'And when (the body) grows weak through old age, or becomes weak through illness, at that time that person, after separating himself from his members, as an Amra (mango), or Udumbara (fig), or Pippala-fruit is separated from the stalk, hastens back again as he came, to the place from which he started, to (new) life.

37. 'And as policemen, magistrates, equerries, and governors wait for a king who is coming back, with food and drink, saying, "He comes back, he approaches," thus do all the elements wait on him who knows this, saying, "That Brahman comes, that Brahman approaches."

38. 'And as policemen, magistrates, equerries, and governors gather round a king who is departing, thus do all the senses (prâṇas) gather round the Self at the time of death, when a man is thus going to expire.'

FOURTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Yâgñavalkya continued: 'Now when that Self, having sunk into weakness³, sinks, as it were, into

¹ See § 17, before.

² Sāṅkara seems to take *ukḥhvâsî* as a noun. He writes: *yatraitad bhavati; etad iti kriyâvishesham ūrdhvôkḥhvâsî yatror-dhvoḥkḥhvâsītvam asya bhavatītyarthaḥ.*

³ In the Kaush. Up. III, 3, we read *yatraitat purusha āto*

unconsciousness, then gather those senses (prâṇas) around him, and he, taking with him those elements of light, descends into the heart. When that person in the eye¹ turns away, then he ceases to know any forms.

2. “He has become one,” they say, “he does not see².” “He has become one,” they say, “he does not smell.” “He has become one,” they say, “he does not taste.” “He has become one,” they say, “he does not speak.” “He has become one,” they say, “he does not hear.” “He has become one,” they say, “he does not think.” “He has become one,” they say, “he does not touch.” “He has become one,” they say, “he does not know.” The point of his heart³ becomes lighted up, and by that light the Self departs, either through the eye⁴, or through the skull⁵, or through other places of the body. And when he thus departs, life (the chief prâṇa) departs after him, and when life thus departs, all the other

marishyan âbâlyam etya sammohati. Here âbâlyam should certainly be âbâlyam, as in the commentary; but should it not be ābâlyam, as here. See also Brîh. Up. III, 5, 1, note.

¹ Kâkshusha purusha is explained as that portion of the sun which is in the eye, while it is active, but which, at the time of death, returns to the sun.

² Ekîbhavati is probably a familiar expression for dying, but it is here explained by Saṅkara, and probably was so intended, as meaning that the organs of the body have become one with the Self (lîṅgâtman). The same thoughts are found in the Kaush. Up. III, 3, prâṇa ekadhâ bhavati.

³ The point where the nâḍīs or veins go out from the heart.

⁴ When his knowledge and deeds qualify him to proceed to the sun. Saṅkara.

⁵ When his knowledge and deeds qualify him to proceed to the Brahma-world.

vital spirits (prâṇas) depart after it. He is conscious, and being conscious he follows¹ and departs.

‘Then both his knowledge and his work take hold of him, and his acquaintance with former things².’

3. ‘And as a caterpillar, after having reached the end of a blade of grass, and after having made another approach (to another blade)³, draws itself together towards it, thus does this Self, after having thrown off this body⁴ and dispelled all ignorance, and after making another approach (to another body), draw himself together towards it.

4. ‘And as a goldsmith, taking a piece of gold, turns it into another, newer and more beautiful shape, so does this Self, after having thrown off this body

¹ This is an obscure passage, and the different text of the Mādhyandinas shows that the obscurity was felt at an early time. The Mādhyandinas read: *Samgñānam anvavakrāmati sa esha gñāṇaḥ savigñāno bhavati*. This would mean, ‘Consciousness departs after. He the knowing (Self) is self-conscious.’ The Kāṇvas read: *Savigñāno bhavati, savigñānam evānvavakrāmati*. Roer translates: ‘It is endowed with knowledge, endowed with knowledge it departs;’ and he explains, with Saṅkara, that the knowledge here intended is such knowledge as one has in a dream, a knowledge of impressions referring to their respective objects, a knowledge which is the effect of actions, and not inherent in the self. Deussen translates: ‘Sie (die Seele) ist von Erkenntnissart, und was von Erkenntnissart ist, ziehet ihr nach.’ The Persian translator evidently thought that self-consciousness was implied, for he writes: ‘Cum quovis corpore additionem sumat . . . in illo corpore aham est, id est, ego sum.’

² This acquaintance with former things is necessary to explain the peculiar talents or deficiencies which we observe in children. The three words vidyā, karman, and pūrvapragñā often go together (see Saṅkara on Br̥h. Up. IV, 3, 9). Deussen’s conjecture, apūrvapragñā, is not called for.

³ See Br̥h. Up. IV, 3, 9, a passage which shows how difficult it would be always to translate the same Sanskrit words by the same words in English; see also Brahmopanishad, p. 245.

⁴ See Br̥h. Up. IV, 3, 9, and IV, 3, 13.

and dispelled all ignorance, make unto himself another, newer and more beautiful shape, whether it be like the Fathers, or like the Gandharvas, or like the Devas, or like Pragâpati, or like Brahman, or like other beings.

5. 'That Self is indeed Brahman, consisting of knowledge, mind, life, sight, hearing, earth, water, wind, ether, light and no light, desire and no desire, anger and no anger, right or wrong, and all things. Now as a man is like this or like that¹, according as he acts and according as he behaves, so will he be :— a man of good acts will become good, a man of bad acts, bad. He becomes pure by pure deeds, bad by bad deeds.

'And here they say that a person consists of desires. And as is his desire, so is his will ; and as is his will, so is his deed ; and whatever deed he does, that he will reap.

6. 'And here there is this verse: "To whatever object a man's own mind is attached, to that he goes strenuously together with his deed ; and having obtained the end (the last results) of whatever deed he does here on earth, he returns again from that world (which is the temporary reward of his deed) to this world of action."

'So much for the man who desires. But as to the man who does not desire, who, not desiring, freed from desires, is satisfied in his desires, or desires the Self only, his vital spirits do not depart elsewhere,—being Brahman, he goes to Brahman.

7. 'On this there is this verse : "When all desires

¹ The *iti* after *adomaya* is not clear to me, but it is quite clear that a new sentence begins with *tadyadetat*, which Regnaud, II, p. 101 and p. 139, has not observed.

which once entered his heart are undone, then does the mortal become immortal, then he obtains Brahman."

'And as the slough of a snake lies on an ant-hill, dead and cast away, thus lies this body; but that disembodied immortal spirit (*prāṇa*, life) is Brahman only, is only light.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Sir, I give you a thousand.'

8¹. 'On this there are these verses :

'The small, old path stretching far away² has been found by me. On it sages who know Brahman move on to the Svarga-loka (heaven), and thence higher on, as entirely free³.

9. 'On that path they say that there is white, or blue, or yellow, or green, or red⁴; that path was found by Brahman, and on it goes whoever knows Brahman, and who has done good, and obtained splendour.

10. 'All who worship what is not knowledge (*avidyā*) enter into blind darkness: those who delight in knowledge, enter, as it were, into greater darkness⁵.

11. 'There are⁶ indeed those unblest worlds,

¹ This may be independent matter, or may be placed again into the mouth of Yâgñavalkya.

² Instead of *vitataḥ*, which perhaps seemed to be in contradiction with *anu*, there is a Mādhyandina reading *vitara*, probably intended originally to mean leading across. The other adjective *mâṃsprishṭa* I cannot explain. Saṅkara explains it by *mâm sprishṭaḥ*, *mayâ labdhaḥ*.

³ That this is the true meaning, is indicated by the various readings of the Mādhyandinas, *tena dhîrâ apiyanti brahmavida utkrāmya svargam lokam ito vimuktāḥ*. The road is not to lead to Svarga only, but beyond.

⁴ See the colours of the veins as given before, IV, 3, 20.

⁵ See Vâg. Up. 9. Saṅkara in our place explains *avidyā* by works, and *vidyā* by the Veda, excepting the Upanishads.

⁶ See Vâg. Up. 3; *Kaṭha* Up. I, 3.

covered with blind darkness. Men who are ignorant and not enlightened go after death to those worlds.

12. 'If a man understands the Self, saying, "I am He," what could he wish or desire that he should pine after the body¹.

13. 'Whoever has found and understood the Self that has entered into this patched-together hiding-place², he indeed is the creator, for he is the maker of everything, his is the world, and he is the world itself³.

14. 'While we are here, we may know this; if not, I am ignorant⁴, and there is great destruction. Those who know it, become immortal, but others suffer pain indeed.

15. 'If a man clearly beholds this Self as God, and as the lord of all that is and will be, then he is no more afraid.

16. 'He behind whom the year revolves with the days, him the gods worship as the light of lights, as immortal time.

17. 'He in whom the five beings⁵ and the ether rest, him alone I believe to be the Self,—I who

¹ That he should be willing to suffer once more the pains inherent in the body. The Mādhyandinas read *sañram* and *sañkaret*, instead of *sañgvaret*.

² The body is meant, and is called *deha* from the root *dih*, to knead together. Roer gives *saṁdehye gahane*, which Sāṅkara explains by *saṁdehe*. Poley has *saṁdeghe*, which is the right Kāṇva reading. The Mādhyandinas read *saṁdehe*. *Gahane* might be taken as an adjective also, referring to *saṁdehe*.

³ Sāṅkara takes *loka*, world, for *âtma*, self.

⁴ I have followed Sāṅkara in translating *avediḥ* by ignorant, but the text seems corrupt.

⁵ The five *ganas*, i. e. the Gandharvas, *Pitrîs*, Devas, Asuras, and Rakshas; or the four castes with the Nishâdas; or breath, eye, ear, food, and mind.

know, believe him to be Brahman; I who am immortal, believe him to be immortal.

18. 'They who know the life of life, the eye of the eye, the ear of the ear, the mind of the mind, they have comprehended the ancient, primeval Brahman¹.

19. 'By the mind alone it is to be perceived², there is in it no diversity. He who perceives therein any diversity, goes from death to death.

20. 'This eternal being that can never be proved, is to be perceived in one way only; it is spotless, beyond the ether, the unborn Self, great and eternal.

21. 'Let a wise Brāhmaṇa, after he has discovered him, practise wisdom³. Let him not seek after many words, for that is mere weariness of the tongue.

22. 'And he is that great unborn Self, who consists of knowledge, is surrounded by the Prāṇas, the ether within the heart⁴. In it there reposes the ruler of all, the lord of all, the king of all. He does not become greater by good works, nor smaller by evil works. He is the lord of all, the king of all things, the protector of all things. He is a bank⁵ and a boundary, so that these worlds may not be confounded. Brāhmaṇas seek to know him by the study of the Veda, by sacrifice, by gifts, by penance, by fasting, and he who knows him, becomes a Muni. Wishing for that world (for Brahman) only, mendicants leave their homes.

'Knowing this, the people of old did not wish for offspring. What shall we do with offspring, they said,

¹ See Talavak. Up. I, 2.

² See Katha Up. IV, 10-11.

³ Let him practise abstinence, patience, &c., which are the means of knowledge.

⁴ See Brh. Up. IV, 3, 7.

⁵ See Khând. Up. VIII, 4.

we who have this Self and this world (of Brahman)¹? And they, having risen above the desire for sons, wealth, and new worlds, wander about as mendicants. For desire for sons is desire for wealth, and desire for wealth is desire for worlds. Both these are indeed desires only. He, the Self, is to be described by No, no²! He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be comprehended; he is imperishable, for he cannot perish; he is unattached, for he does not attach himself; unfettered, he does not suffer, he does not fail. Him (who knows), these two do not overcome, whether he says that for some reason he has done evil, or for some reason he has done good—he overcomes both, and neither what he has done, nor what he has omitted to do, burns (affects) him.

23. 'This has been told by a verse (*Rik*): "This eternal greatness of the Brāhmaṇa does not grow larger by work, nor does it grow smaller. Let man try to find (know) its trace, for having found (known) it, he is not sullied by any evil deed."

'He therefore that knows it, after having become quiet, subdued, satisfied, patient, and collected³, sees self in Self, sees all as Self. Evil does not overcome him, he overcomes all evil. Evil does not burn him, he burns all evil. Free from evil, free from spots, free from doubt, he becomes a (true) Brāhmaṇa; this is the Brahma-world, O King,'—thus spoke Yâgñavalkya.

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Sir, I give you the Videhas, and also myself, to be together your slaves.'

24. This⁴ indeed is the great, the unborn Self, the

¹ Cf. *Brīh. Up.* III, 5, 1. ² See *Brīh. Up.* III, 9, 26; IV, 2, 4.

³ See Deussen, *Vedānta*, p. 85.

⁴ As described in the dialogue between Ganaka and Yâgñavalkya.

strong¹, the giver of wealth. He who knows this obtains wealth.

25. This great, unborn Self, undecaying, undying, immortal, fearless, is indeed Brahman. Fearless is Brahman, and he who knows this becomes verily the fearless Brahman.

FIFTH BRÂHMANA².

✓ 1. Yâgñavalkya had two wives, Maitreyî and Kâtâyâni. Of these Maitreyî was conversant with Brahman, but Kâtâyâni possessed such knowledge only as women possess. And Yâgñavalkya, when he wished to get ready for another state of life (when he wished to give up the state of a householder, and retire into the forest),

2. Said, 'Maitreyî, verily I am going away from this my house (into the forest). Forsooth, let me make a settlement between thee and that Kâtâyâni.'

3. Maitreyî said: 'My Lord, if this whole earth, full of wealth, belonged to me, tell me, should I be immortal by it, or no?'

'No,' replied Yâgñavalkya, 'like the life of rich people will be thy life. But there is no hope of immortality by wealth.'

4. And Maitreyî said: 'What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal? What my Lord knoweth³ (of immortality), tell that clearly to me.'

5. Yâgñavalkya replied: 'Thou who art truly dear to me, thou hast increased what is dear (to me in

¹ Annâda is here explained as 'dwelling in all beings, and eating all food which they eat.'

² See before, II, 4.

³ The Kânva text has vettha instead of veda.

thee)¹. Therefore, if you like, Lady, I will explain it to thee, and mark well what I say.'

6. And he said: 'Verily, a husband is not dear, that you may love the husband; but that you may love the Self, therefore a husband is dear.

'Verily, a wife is not dear, that you may love the wife; but that you may love the Self, therefore a wife is dear.

'Verily, sons are not dear, that you may love the sons; but that you may love the Self, therefore sons are dear.

'Verily, wealth is not dear, that you may love wealth; but that you may love the Self, therefore wealth is dear.

'Verily, cattle² are not dear, that you may love cattle; but that you may love the Self, therefore cattle are dear.

'Verily, the Brahman-class is not dear, that you may love the Brahman-class; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Brahman-class is dear.

'Verily, the Kshatra-class is not dear, that you may love the Kshatra-class; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Kshatra-class is dear.

'Verily, the worlds are not dear, that you may love the worlds; but that you may love the Self, therefore the worlds are dear.

'Verily, the Devas are not dear, that you may love the Devas; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Devas are dear.

¹ The Kânva text has *avridhat*, which Saṅkara explains by *vardhitavati nirdhâritavaty asi*. The Mâdhyandinas read *avritat*, which the commentator explains by *avartayat, vartitavaty asi*.

² Though this is added here, it is not included in the summing up in § 6.

‘Verily, the Vedas are not dear, that you may love the Vedas; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Vedas are dear.

‘Verily, creatures are not dear, that you may love the creatures; but that you may love the Self, therefore are creatures dear.

‘Verily, everything is not dear, that you may love everything; but that you may love the Self, therefore everything is dear.

‘Verily, the Self is to be seen, to be heard, to be perceived, to be marked, O Maitreyi! When the Self has been seen, heard, perceived, and known, then all this is known.’

7. ‘Whosoever looks for the Brahman-class elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the Brahman-class. Whosoever looks for the Kshatra-class elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the Kshatra-class. Whosoever looks for the worlds elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the worlds. Whosoever looks for the Devas elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the Devas. Whosoever looks for the Vedas elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the Vedas. Whosoever looks for the creatures elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the creatures. Whosoever looks for anything elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by anything.

‘This Brahman-class, this Kshatra-class, these worlds, these Devas, these Vedas, all these beings, this everything, all is that Self.

8. ‘Now as the sounds of a drum, when beaten, cannot be seized externally (by themselves), but the sound is seized, when the drum is seized, or the beater of the drum;

9. 'And as the sounds of a conch-shell, when blown, cannot be seized externally (by themselves), but the sound is seized, when the shell is seized, or the blower of the shell ;

10. 'And as the sounds of a lute, when played, cannot be seized externally (by themselves), but the sound is seized, when the lute is seized, or the player of the lute ;

11. 'As clouds of smoke proceed by themselves out of lighted fire kindled with damp fuel, thus verily, O Maitreyī, has been breathed forth from this great Being what we have as *Rīg-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, *Sāma-veda*, *Atharvāṅgirasas*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāna*, *Vidyā*, the *Upanishads*, *Slokas*, *Sūtras*, *Anuvyākhyānas*, *Vyākhyānas*, what is sacrificed, what is poured out, food, drink¹, this world and the other world, and all creatures. From him alone all these were breathed forth.

12. 'As all waters find their centre in the sea, all touches in the skin, all tastes in the tongue, all smells in the nose, all colours in the eye, all sounds in the ear, all percepts in the mind, all knowledge in the heart, all actions in the hands, all movements in the feet, and all the Vedas in speech,—

13. 'As a mass of salt has neither inside nor outside, but is altogether a mass of taste, thus indeed has that Self neither inside nor outside, but is altogether a mass of knowledge ; and having risen from out these elements, vanishes again in them. When he has departed, there is no more knowledge (name), I say, O Maitreyī,'—thus spoke Yāgñavalkya.

¹ Explained by *annadānanimittam* and *peyadānanimittam* *dharma-gātam*. See before, IV, 1, 2.

14. Then Maitreyī said: 'Here, Sir, thou hast landed me in utter bewilderment. Indeed, I do not understand him.'

But he replied: 'O Maitreyī, I say nothing that is bewildering. Verily, beloved, that Self is imperishable, and of an indestructible nature.'

15. 'For when there is as it were duality, then one sees the other, one smells the other, one tastes the other, one salutes the other, one hears the other, one perceives the other, one touches the other, one knows the other; but when the Self only is all this, how should he see another, how should he smell another, how should he taste another, how should he salute another, how should he hear another, how should he touch another, how should he know another? How should he know Him by whom he knows all this? That Self is to be described by No, no¹! He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be comprehended; he is imperishable, for he cannot perish; he is unattached, for he does not attach himself; unfettered, he does not suffer, he does not fail. How, O beloved, should he know the Knower? Thus, O Maitreyī, thou hast been instructed. Thus far goes immortality.' Having said so, Yâgñavalkya went away (into the forest).

SIXTH BRĀHMAṆA.

I. Now follows the stem²:

1. (We) from Pautimāshya,
2. Pautimāshya from Gaupavana,
3. Gaupavana from Pautimāshya,

¹ See *Bṛh. Up.* III, 9, 26; IV, 2, 4; IV, 4, 22.

² The line of teachers and pupils by whom the Yâgñavalkya-

4. Pautimāshya from Gaupavana,
5. Gaupavana from Kausika,
6. Kausika from Kaundīnya,
7. Kaundīnya from Sândīlya,
8. Sândīlya from Kausika and Gautama,
9. Gautama
2. from Âgnivesya,
10. Âgnivesya from Gârgya,
11. Gârgya from Gârgya,
12. Gârgya from Gautama,
13. Gautama from Saitava,
14. Saitava from Pârāsaryâyana,
15. Pârāsaryâyana from Gârgyâyana,
16. Gârgyâyana from Uddâlakâyana,
17. Uddâlakâyana from Gâbâlâyana,
18. Gâbâlâyana from Mâdhyandinâyana,
19. Mâdhyandinâyana from Saukarâyana,
20. Saukarâyana from Kâshâyana,
21. Kâshâyana from Sâyakâyana,
22. Sâyakâyana from Kausikâyani ¹,
23. Kausikâyani
3. from Ghrîtakausika,
24. Ghrîtakausika from Pârāsaryâyana,

kânda was handed down. From 1-10 the Vamsa agrees with the Vamsa at the end of II, 6.

The Mâdhyandina text begins with vayam, we, and proceeds to 1. Saurpanâyya, 2. Gautama, 3. Vâtsya, 4. Pârasarya, &c., as in the Madhukânda, p. 118, except in 10, where it gives Gaivantâyana for Âtreya. Then after 12. Kaundīnyâyana, it gives 13. 14. the two Kaundīnyas, 15. the Aurnavâbhas, 16. Kaundīnya, 17. Kaundīnya, 18. Kaundīnya and Âgnivesya, 19. Saitava, 20. Pârāsarya, 21. Gâtukarnya, 22. Bhâradvâga, 23. Bhâradvâga, Âsurâyana, and Gautama, 24. Bhâradvâga, 25. Valâkâkausika, 26. Kâshâyana, 27. Saukarâyana, 28. Traivani, 29. Aupagandhani, 30. Sâyakâyana, 31. Kausikâyani, &c., as in the Kânva text, from No. 22 to Brahman.

¹ From here the Vamsa agrees again with that given at the end of II, 6.

25. Pârâsaryâyana from Pârâsarya,
26. Pârâsarya from *Gâtukarnya*,
27. *Gâtukarnya* from Âsurâyana and Yâska¹,
28. Âsurâyana from Travani,
29. Travani from Aupagandhani,
30. Aupagandhani from Âsuri,
31. Âsuri from Bhâradvâga,
32. Bhâradvâga from Âtreya,
33. Âtreya from Mânti,
34. Mânti from Gautama,
35. Gautama from Gautama,
36. Gautama from Vâtsya,
37. Vâtsya from *Sândilya*,
38. *Sândilya* from Kaisorya Kâpya,
39. Kaisorya Kâpya from Kumârahârta,
40. Kumârahârta from Gâlava,
41. Gâlava from Vidarbhi-kaundînya,
42. Vidarbhi-kaundînya from Vatsanapât Bâ-
bhrava,
43. Vatsanapât Bâbhrava from Pathi Saubhara,
44. Pathi Saubhara from Ayâsya Ângirasa,
45. Ayâsya Ângirasa from Âbhûti Tvâshtra,
46. Âbhûti Tvâshtra from Visvarûpa Tvâshtra,
47. Visvarûpa Tvâshtra from Asvinau,
48. Asvinau from Dadhyaċ Âtharvana,
49. Dadhyaċ Âtharvana from Atharvan Daiva,
50. Atharvan Daiva from Mrityu Prâdhvamsana,
51. Mrityu Prâdhvamsana from Pradhvamsana,
52. Pradhvamsana from Ekarshi,
53. Ekarshi from Vipraċitti²,
54. Vipraċitti from Vyashî,

¹ The Mâdhyandina text has, 1. Bhâradvâga, 2. Bhâradvâga, Âsurâyana, and Yâska.

² Vipragitti, Mâdhyandina text.

55. Vyashī from Sanāru,
 56. Sanāru from Sanātana,
 57. Sanātana from Sanaga,
 58. Sanaga from Parameshīin,
 59. Parameshīin from Brahman,
 60. Brahman is Svayambhu, self-existent.
- Adoration to Brahman.

FIFTH ADHYÂYA.

FIRST BRÂHMANA¹.

1. That (the invisible Brahman) is full, this (the visible Brahman) is full². This full (visible Brahman) proceeds from that full (invisible Brahman). On grasping the fulness of this full (visible Brahman) there is left that full (invisible Brahman)³.

Om (is) ether, (is) Brahman⁴. 'There is the old ether (the invisible), and the (visible) ether of the atmosphere,' thus said Kauravyâyanîputra. This (the Om) is the Veda (the means of knowledge), thus the Brâhmanas know. One knows through it all that has to be known.

SECOND BRÂHMANA.

1. The threefold descendants of Pragâpati, gods, men, and Asuras (evil spirits), dwelt as Brahmaçârins (students) with their father Pragâpati. Having finished their studentship the gods said: 'Tell us (something), Sir.' He told them the syllable Da. Then he said: 'Did you understand?' They said: 'We did understand. You told us "Dâmyata," Be subdued.' 'Yes,' he said, 'you have understood.'

2. Then the men said to him: 'Tell us something,

¹ This is called a Khila, or supplementary chapter, treating of various auxiliary means of arriving at a knowledge of Brahman.

² Full and filling, infinite.

³ On perceiving the true nature of the visible world, there remains, i.e. there is perceived at once, as underlying it, or as being it, the invisible world or Brahman. This and the following paragraph are called Mantras.

⁴ This is explained by Sâṅkara as meaning, Brahman is Kha, the ether, and called Om, i.e. Om and Kha are predicates of Brahman.

Sir.' He told them the same syllable Da. Then he said: 'Did you understand?' They said: 'We did understand. You told us, "Datta," Give.' 'Yes,' he said, 'you have understood.'

3. Then the Asuras said to him: 'Tell us something, Sir.' He told them the same syllable Da. Then he said: 'Did you understand?' They said: 'We did understand. You told us, "Dayadham," Be merciful.' 'Yes,' he said, 'you have understood.'

The divine voice of thunder repeats the same, Da Da Da, that is, Be subdued, Give, Be merciful. Therefore let that triad be taught, Subduing, Giving, and Mercy.

THIRD BRĀHMANA.

1. Prajāpati is the heart, is this Brahman, is all this. The heart, *hrīdaya*, consists of three syllables. One syllable is *hrī*, and to him who knows this, his own people and others bring offerings¹. One syllable is *da*, and to him who knows this, his own people and others bring gifts. One syllable is *yam*, and he who knows this, goes to heaven (*svarga*) as his world.

FOURTH BRĀHMANA.

1. This (heart) indeed is even that, it was indeed the true² (Brahman). And whosoever knows this great glorious first-born as the true Brahman, he conquers these worlds, and conquered likewise may that (enemy) be³! yes, whosoever knows this great

¹ Sāṅkara explains that with regard to the heart, i.e. *buddhi*, the senses are 'its own people,' and the objects of the senses 'the others.'

² The true, not the truth; the truly existing. The commentator explains it as it was explained in II, 3, 1, as *sat* and *tya*, containing both sides of the Brahman.

³ An elliptical expression, as explained by the commentator: 'May that one (his enemy) be conquered, just as that one was

glorious first-born as the true Brahman; for Brahman is the true.

FIFTH BRĀHMANA.

1. In the beginning this (world) was water. Water produced the true¹, and the true is Brahman. Brahman produced Pragâpati², Pragâpati the Devas (gods). The Devas adore the true (satyam) alone. This satyam consists of three syllables. One syllable is sa, another t(i), the third³ yam. The first and last syllables are true, in the middle there is the untrue⁴. This untrue is on both sides enclosed by the true, and thus the true preponderates. The untrue does not hurt him who knows this.

2. Now what is the true, that is the Âditya (the sun), the person that dwells in yonder orb, and the person in the right eye. These two rest on each other, the former resting with his rays in the latter, the latter with his prâṇas (senses) in the former. When the latter is on the point of departing this life, he sees that orb as white only, and those rays (of the sun) do not return to him.

conquered by Brahman. If he conquers the world, how much more his enemy!' It would be better, however, if we could take *gita* in the sense of *vasīkrīta* or *dānta*, because we could then go on with *ya evaṃ veda*.

¹ Here explained by the commentator as Pûtrâtmaka Hiranyagarbha.

² Here explained as Virâg.

³ Satyam is often pronounced satiam, as trisyllabic. Saṅkara, however, takes the second syllable as t only, and explains the i after it as an anubandha. The Kânva text gives the three syllables as sa, ti, am, which seems preferable; cf. *Khând. Up.* VIII, 3, 5; *Taitt. Up.* II, 6.

⁴ This is explained by a mere play on the letters, sa and ya having nothing in common with *mṛityu*, death, whereas t occurs in *mṛityu* and *anṛita*. *Dvivedagaṅga* takes sa and am as true, because they occur in *satya* and *amṛita*, and not in *mṛityu*, while ti is untrue, because the t occurs in *mṛityu* and *anṛita*.

3. Now of the person in that (solar) orb Bhûh is the head, for the head is one, and that syllable is one; Bhuva the two arms, for the arms are two, and these syllables are two; Svar the foot, for the feet are two, and these syllables are two¹. Its secret name is Ahar (day), and he who knows this, destroys (hanti) evil and leaves (gahâti) it.

4. Of the person in the right eye Bhûh is the head, for the head is one, and that syllable is one; Bhuva the two arms, for the arms are two, and these syllables are two; Svar the foot, for the feet are two, and these syllables are two. Its secret name is Aham (ego), and he who knows this, destroys (hanti) evil and leaves (gahâti) it.

SIXTH BRÂHMANA.

1. That person, under the form of mind (manas), being light indeed², is within the heart, small like a grain of rice or barley. He is the ruler of all, the lord of all—he rules all this, whatsoever exists.

SEVENTH BRÂHMANA.

1. They say that lightning is Brahman, because lightning (vidyut) is called so from cutting off (vidânât)³. Whosoever knows this, that lightning is Brahman, him (that Brahman) cuts off from evil, for lightning indeed is Brahman.

¹ Svar has to be pronounced suvar.

² Bhâh/satya must be taken as one word, as the commentator says, bhâ eva satyam sadbhâvaḥ svarûpam yasya so 'yam bhâh/satyo bhâsvaraḥ.

³ From do, avakhandane, to cut; the lightning cutting through the darkness of the clouds, as Brahman, when known, cuts through the darkness of ignorance.

EIGHTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Let him meditate on speech as a cow. Her four udders are the words Svâhâ, Vashaṭ, Hanta, and Svadhâ¹. The gods live on two of her udders, the Svâhâ and the Vashaṭ, men on the Hanta, the fathers on the Svadhâ. The bull of that cow is breath (prâṇa), the calf the mind.

NINTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Agni Vaisvânara is the fire within man by which the food that is eaten is cooked, i.e. digested. Its noise is that which one hears, if one covers one's ears. When he is on the point of departing this life, he does not hear that noise.

TENTH BRÂHMANA.

1. When the person goes away from this world, he comes to the wind. Then the wind makes room for him, like the hole of a carriage wheel, and through it he mounts higher. He comes to the sun. Then the sun makes room for him, like the hole of a Lambara², and through it he mounts higher. He comes to the moon. Then the moon makes room for him, like the hole of a drum, and through it he mounts higher, and arrives at the world where there is no sorrow, no snow³. There he dwells eternal years.

¹ There are two udders, the Svâhâ and Vashaṭ, on which the gods feed, i. e. words with which oblations are given to the gods. With Hanta they are given to men, with Svadhâ to the fathers.

² A musical instrument.

³ The commentator explains hima by bodily pain, but snow is much more characteristic.

ELEVENTH BRĀHMANA.

1. This is indeed the highest penance, if a man, laid up with sickness, suffers pain¹. He who knows this, conquers the highest world.

This is indeed the highest penance, if they carry a dead person into the forest². He who knows this, conquers the highest world.

This is indeed the highest penance, if they place a dead person on the fire³. He who knows this, conquers the highest world.

TWELFTH BRĀHMANA.

1. Some say that food is Brahman, but this is not so, for food decays without life (*prāna*). Others say that life (*prāna*) is Brahman, but this is not so, for life dries up without food. Then these two deities (food and life), when they have become one, reach that highest state (i.e. are Brahman). Thereupon *Prātrida* said to his father: 'Shall I be able to do any good to one who knows this, or shall I be able to do him any harm⁴?' The father said to him, beckoning with his hand: 'Not so, O *Prātrida*; for who could reach the highest state, if he has only got to the oneness of these two?' He then said to him: 'Vi;

¹ The meaning is that, while he is suffering pain from illness, he should think that he was performing penance. If he does that, he obtains the same reward for his sickness which he would have obtained for similar pain inflicted on himself for the sake of performing penance.

² This is like the penance of leaving the village and living in the forest.

³ This is like the penance of entering into the fire.

⁴ That is, is he not so perfect in knowledge that nothing can harm him?

verily, food is Vi, for all these beings rest (vish/âni) on food.' He then said: 'Ram; verily, life is Ram, for all these beings delight (ramante) in life. All beings rest on him, all beings delight in him who knows this.'

THIRTEENTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Next follows the Uktha¹. Verily, breath (prâna) is Uktha, for breath raises up (utthâpayati) all this. From him who knows this, there is raised a wise son, knowing the Uktha; he obtains union and oneness with the Uktha.

2. Next follows the Yagus. Verily, breath is Yagus, for all these beings are joined in breath². For him who knows this, all beings are joined to procure his excellence; he obtains union and oneness with the Yagus.

3. Next follows the Sâman. Verily, breath is the Sâman, for all these beings meet in breath. For him who knows this, all beings meet to procure his excellence; he obtains union and oneness with the Sâman.

4. Next follows the Kshatra. Verily, breath is the Kshatra, for breath is Kshatra, i.e. breath protects (trâyate) him from being hurt (kshanitoh). He who knows this, obtains Kshatra (power), which requires no protection; he obtains union and oneness with Kshatra³.

¹ Meditation on the hymn called uktha. On the uktha, as the principal part in the Mahâvrata, see Kaush. Up. III, 3; Ait. Âr. II, 1, 2. The uktha, yagus, sâman, &c. are here represented as forms under which prâna or life, and indirectly Brahman, is to be meditated on.

² Without life or breath nothing can join anything else; therefore life is called yagus, as it were yugus.

³ Instead of Kshatram atram, another Sâkhâ, i.e. the Mâdhyandina, reads Kshatramâtram, which Dvivedagaṅga explains as, he

FOURTEENTH BRĀHMANA.

1. The words Bhûmi (earth), Antariksha (sky), and Dyū¹ (heaven) form eight syllables. One foot of the Gâyatrî consists of eight syllables. This (one foot) of it is that (i.e. the three worlds). And he who thus knows that foot of it, conquers as far as the three worlds extend.

2. The *Rîkas*, the *Yagûmshi*, and the *Sâmâni* form eight syllables. One foot (the second) of the Gâyatrî consists of eight syllables. This (one foot) of it is that (i.e. the three Vedas, the *Rîg-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, and *Sâma-veda*). And he who thus knows that foot of it, conquers as far as that threefold knowledge extends.

3. The *Prâna* (the up-breathing), the *Apâna* (the down-breathing), and the *Vyâna* (the back-breathing) form eight syllables. One foot (the third) of the Gâyatrî consists of eight syllables. This (one foot) of it is that (i.e. the three vital breaths). And he who thus knows that foot of it, conquers as far as there is anything that breathes. And of that (Gâyatrî, or speech) this indeed is the fourth (*turîya*), the bright (*darsata*) foot, shining high above the skies². What is here called *turîya* (the fourth) is meant for *çaturtha* (the fourth); what is called *darsatam padam* (the bright foot) is meant for him who is as it were seen (the person in the sun); and what is called *paroragas* (he who shines high above the

obtains the nature of the Kshatra, or he obtains the Kshatra which protects (*Kshatram âtram*).

¹ Dyū, nom. Dyaus, must be pronounced Diyaus.

² *Paroragas*, masc., should be taken as one word, like *paroksha*, viz. he who is beyond all ragas, all visible skies.

skies) is meant for him who shines higher and higher above every sky. And he who thus knows that foot of the Gâyatrî, shines thus himself also with happiness and glory.

4. That Gâyatrî (as described before with its three feet) rests on that fourth foot, the bright one, high above the sky. And that again rests on the True (satyam), and the True is the eye, for the eye is (known to be) true. And therefore even now, if two persons come disputing, the one saying, I saw, the other, I heard, then we should trust the one who says, I saw. And the True again rests on force (balam), and force is life (prâna), and that (the True) rests on life¹. Therefore they say, force is stronger than the True. Thus does that Gâyatrî rest with respect to the self (as life). That Gâyatrî protects (tatre) the vital breaths (gayas); the gayas are the prânas (vital breaths), and it protects them. And because it protects (tatre) the vital breaths (gayas), therefore it is called Gâyatrî. And that Sâvitri verse which the teacher teaches², that is it (the life, the prâna, and indirectly the Gâyatrî); and whomsoever he teaches, he protects his vital breaths.

5. Some teach that Sâvitri as an Anushûbh³ verse, saying that speech is Anushûbh, and that we teach

¹ Sâṅkara understood the True (satyam) by tad, not the balam, the force.

² The teacher teaches his pupil, who is brought to him when eight years old, the Sâvitri verse, making him repeat each word, and each half verse, till he knows the whole, and by teaching him that Sâvitri, he is supposed to teach him really the prâna, the life, as the self of the world.

³ The verse would be, Rig-veda V, 82, 1 :

Tat savitur vrinîmahe vayam devasya bhoganam
Sreshtham sarvadhâtamam turam bhagasya dhîmahî.

that speech. Let no one do this, but let him teach the Gâyatrî as Sâvitri¹. And even if one who knows this receives what seems to be much as his reward (as a teacher), yet this is not equal to one foot of the Gâyatrî.

6. If a man (a teacher) were to receive as his fee these three worlds full of all things, he would obtain that first foot of the Gâyatrî. And if a man were to receive as his fee everything as far as this threefold knowledge extends, he would obtain that second foot of the Gâyatrî. And if a man were to receive as his fee everything whatsoever breathes, he would obtain that third foot of the Gâyatrî. But 'that fourth bright foot, shining high above the skies²', cannot be obtained by anybody—whence then could one receive such a fee?

7. The adoration³ of that (Gâyatrî):

'O Gâyatrî, thou hast one foot, two feet, three feet, four feet⁴. Thou art footless, for thou art not known. Worship to thy fourth bright foot above the skies.' If⁵ one (who knows this) hates some

¹ Because Gâyatrî represents life, and the pupil receives life when he learns the Gâyatrî.

² See before, § 2.

³ Upasthâna is the act of approaching the gods, προσκύνησις, Angehen, with a view of obtaining a request. Here the application is of two kinds, abhiġârîka, imprecatory against another, and abhyudayika, auspicious for oneself. The former has two formulas, the latter one. An upasthâna is here represented as effective, if connected with the Gâyatrî.

⁴ Consisting of the three worlds, the threefold knowledge, the threefold vital breaths, and the fourth foot, as described before.

⁵ I have translated this paragraph very freely, and differently from Saṅkara. The question is, whether dvishyât with iti can be used in the sense of abhiġâra, or imprecation. If not, I do not see how the words should be construed. The expression yasmâ upa-

one and says, 'May he not obtain this,' or 'May this wish not be accomplished to him,' then that wish is not accomplished to him against whom he thus prays, or if he says, 'May I obtain this.'

8. And thus *Ganaka Vaideha* spoke on this point to *Buḍḍila Āsvatarāsvi*¹: 'How is it that thou who spokest thus as knowing the *Gāyatrī*, hast become an elephant and carriest me?' He answered: 'Your Majesty, I did not know its mouth. *Agni*, fire, is indeed its mouth; and if people pile even what seems much (wood) on the fire, it consumes it all. And thus a man who knows this, even if he commits what seems much evil, consumes it all and becomes pure, clean, and free from decay and death.'

FIFTEENTH BRĀHMANA.

1. ²The face of the True (the Brahman) is covered with a golden disk³. Open that, O *Pūshan*⁴, that we may see the nature of the True⁵.

2. O *Pūshan*, only seer, *Yama* (judge), *Sūrya* (sun), son of *Pragâpati*⁶, spread thy rays and gather them!

tish/hate is rightly explained by *Dvivedagaṅga*, *yadartham evam upatish/hate*.

¹ *Asvatarasyâsvasyâpatyam*, *Saṅkara*.

² These verses, which are omitted here in the *Mâdhyandina* text, are found at the end of the *Vâgasaneyi-upanishad* 15-18. They are supposed to be a prayer addressed to *Āditya* by a dying person.

³ *Mahîdhara* on verse 17: 'The face of the true (*purusha* in the sun) is covered by a golden disk.' *Saṅkara* explains here *mukha*, face, by *mukhyam svarûpam*, the principal form or nature.

⁴ *Pūshan* is here explained as a name of *Savitrî*, the sun; likewise all the names in the next verse.

⁵ Cf. *Maitr. Up.* VI, 35.

⁶ Of *Īsvara* or *Hiraṇyagarbha*.

The light which is thy fairest form, I see it. I am what he is (viz. the person in the sun).

3. Breath to air and to the immortal! Then this my body ends in ashes. Om! Mind, remember! Remember thy deeds! Mind, remember! Remember thy deeds¹!

4. Agni, lead us on to wealth (beatitude) by a good path², thou, O God, who knowest all things! Keep far from us crooked evil, and we shall offer thee the fullest praise! (Rv. I, 189, 1.)

¹ The Vâgasaneyi-saṃhitâ reads: Om, krato smara, kṛbe smara, kṛitam smara. Uvaṭa holds that Agni, fire, who has been worshipped in youth and manhood, is here invoked in the form of mind, or that kratu is meant for sacrifice. 'Agni, remember me! Think of the world! Remember my deeds!' Kṛbe is explained by Mahîdhara as a dative of kṛp, kṛp meaning loka, world, what is made to be enjoyed (kalpyate bhogâya).

² Not by the Southern path, the dark, from which there is a fresh return to life.

SIXTH ADHYÂYA.

FIRST BRÂHMANA¹.

1. Hariḥ, Om. He who knows the first and the best, becomes himself the first and the best among his people. Breath is indeed the first and the best. He who knows this, becomes the first and the best among his people, and among whomsoever he wishes to be so.

2. He who knows the richest², becomes himself the richest among his people. Speech is the richest. He who knows this, becomes the richest among his people, and among whomsoever he wishes to be so.

3. He who knows the firm rest, becomes himself firm on even and uneven ground. The eye indeed is the firm rest, for by means of the eye a man stands firm on even and uneven ground. He who knows this, stands firm on even and uneven ground.

4. He who knows success, whatever desire he desires, it succeeds to him. The ear indeed is success. For in the ear are all these Vedas successful. He who knows this, whatever desire he desires, it succeeds to him.

5. He who knows the home, becomes a home of his own people, a home of all men. The mind

¹ This Brâhmaṇa, also called a Khila (p. 1010, l. 8 ; p. 1029, l. 8), occurs in the Mādhyandina-sâkhâ XIV, 9, 2. It should be compared with the *Kṛândogya-upanishad* V, 1 (Sacred Books of the East, vol. i, p. 72); also with the *Ait. Âr.* II, 4 ; *Kaush. Up.* III, 3 ; and the *Prasṇa Up.* II, 3.

² Here used as a feminine, while in the *Kṛând. Up.* V, 1, it is *vasishṭha*.

indeed is the home. He who knows this, becomes a home of his own people and a home of all men.

6. He who knows generation¹, becomes rich in offspring and cattle. Seed indeed is generation. He who knows this, becomes rich in offspring and cattle.

7. These Prâṇas (senses), when quarrelling together as to who was the best, went to Brahman² and said: 'Who is the richest of us?' He replied: 'He by whose departure this body seems worst, he is the richest.'

8. The tongue (speech) departed, and having been absent for a year, it came back and said: 'How have you been able to live without me?' They replied: 'Like unto people, not speaking with the tongue, but breathing with breath, seeing with the eye, hearing with the ear, knowing with the mind, generating with seed. Thus we have lived.' Then speech entered in.

9. The eye (sight) departed, and having been absent for a year, it came back and said: 'How have you been able to live without me?' They replied: 'Like blind people, not seeing with the eye, but breathing with the breath, speaking with the tongue, hearing with the ear, knowing with the mind, generating with seed. Thus we have lived.' Then the eye entered in.

10. The ear (hearing) departed, and having been absent for a year, it came back and said: 'How have you been able to live without me?' They replied: 'Like deaf people, not hearing with the ear,

¹ This is wanting in the *Khând. Up.* Roer and Poley read Pragâpati for pragâti. MS. I. O. 375 has pragâti, MS. I. O. 1973 pragâpati.

² Here we have Pragâpati, instead of Brahman, in the *Khând. Up.*; also sresh/ha instead of vasish/ha.

but breathing with the breath, speaking with the tongue, seeing with the eye, knowing with the mind, generating with seed. Thus we have lived.' Then the ear entered in.

11. The mind departed, and having been absent for a year, it came back and said : ' How have you been able to live without me ? ' They replied : ' Like fools, not knowing with their mind, but breathing with the breath, seeing with the eye, hearing with the ear, generating with seed. Thus we have lived.' Then the mind entered in.

12. The seed departed, and having been absent for a year, it came back and said : ' How have you been able to live without me ? ' They replied : ' Like impotent people, not generating with seed, but breathing with the breath, seeing with the eye, hearing with the ear, knowing with the mind. Thus we have lived.' Then the seed entered in.

13. The (vital) breath, when on the point of departing, tore up these senses, as a great, excellent horse of the Sindhu country might tare up the pegs to which he is tethered. They said to him : ' Sir, do not depart. We shall not be able to live without thee.' He said : ' Then make me an offering.' They said : ' Let it be so.'

14. Then the tongue said : ' If I am the richest, then thou art the richest by it.' The eye said : ' If I am the firm rest, then thou art possessed of firm rest by it.' The ear said : ' If I am success, then thou art possessed of success by it.' The mind said : ' If I am the home, thou art the home by it.' The seed said : ' If I am generation, thou art possessed of generation by it.' He said : ' What shall be food, what shall be dress for me ? '

They replied: 'Whatever there is, even unto dogs, worms, insects, and birds¹, that is thy food, and water thy dress. He who thus knows the food of Ana (the breath)², by him nothing is eaten that is not (proper) food, nothing is received that is not (proper) food. Srotriyas (Vedic theologians) who know this, rinse the mouth with water when they are going to eat, and rinse the mouth with water after they have eaten, thinking that thereby they make the breath dressed (with water).'

SECOND BRÂHMANA³.

1. Svetaketu Âruneya went to the settlement of the Pañkâlas. He came near to Pravâhana Gaivali⁴, who was walking about (surrounded by his men). As soon as he (the king) saw him, he said: 'My boy!' Svetaketu replied: 'Sir!'

Then the king said: 'Have you been taught by your father!' 'Yes,' he replied.

2. The king said: 'Do you know how men, when they depart from here, separate from each other?' 'No,' he replied.

'Do you know how they come back to this world?' 'No,' he replied⁵.

¹ It may mean, every kind of food, such as is eaten by dogs, worms, insects, and birds.

² We must read, with MS. I.O. 375, anasyânnam, not annasyânnam, as MS. I.O. 1973, Roer, and Poley read. Weber has the right reading, which is clearly suggested by *Khând. Up. V, 2, 1*.

³ See *Khând. Up. V, 3*; Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I, 433; Deussen, *Vedânta*, p. 390. The commentator treats this chapter as a supplement, to explain the ways that lead to the *pitṛloka* and the *devaloka*.

⁴ The MSS. I. O. 375 and 1973 give Gaivali, others Gaibali. He is a Kshatriya sage, who appears also in *Khând. Up. I, 8, 1*, as silencing Brâhmanas.

⁵ The same question is repeated in Roer's edition, only substi-

‘Do you know how that world does never become full with the many who again and again depart thither?’ ‘No,’ he replied.

‘Do you know at the offering of which libation the waters become endowed with a human voice and rise and speak?’ ‘No,’ he replied.

‘Do you know the access to the path leading to the Devas and to the path leading to the Fathers, i. e. by what deeds men gain access to the path leading to the Devas or to that leading to the Fathers? For we have heard even the saying of a *Rîshi*: “I heard of two paths for men, one leading to the Fathers, the other leading to the Devas. On those paths all that lives moves on, whatever there is between father (sky) and mother (earth).”’

Svetaketu said: ‘I do not know even one of all these questions.’

3. Then the king invited him to stay and accept his hospitality. But the boy, not caring for hospitality, ran away, went back to his father, and said: ‘Thus then you called me formerly well-instructed!’ The father said: ‘What then, you sage?’ The son replied: ‘That fellow of a *Râganya* asked me five questions, and I did not know one of them.’

‘What were they?’ said the father.

‘These were they,’ the son replied, mentioning the different heads.

4. The father said: ‘You know me, child, that whatever I know, I told you. But come, we shall go thither, and dwell there as students.’

‘You may go, Sir,’ the son replied.

tuting sampadyante for âpadyante. The MSS. I. O. 375 and 1973 do not support this.

Then Gautama went where (the place of) Pravâhana Gaivali was, and the king offered him a seat, ordered water for him, and gave him the proper offerings. Then he said to him : ' Sir, we offer a boon to Gautama.'

5. Gautama said : ' That boon is promised to me ; tell me the same speech which you made in the presence of my boy.'

6. He said : ' That belongs to divine boons, name one of the human boons.'

7. He said : ' You know well that I have plenty of gold, plenty of cows, horses, slaves, attendants, and apparel ; do not heap on me¹ what I have already in plenty, in abundance, and superabundance.'

The king said : ' Gautama, do you wish (for instruction from me) in the proper way ?'

Gautama replied : ' I come to you as a pupil.'

In word only have former sages (though Brahmins) come as pupils (to people of lower rank), but Gautama actually dwelt as a pupil (of Pravâhana, who was a Râganya) in order to obtain the fame of having respectfully served his master².

¹ Abhyavadânya is explained as niggardly, or unwilling to give, and derived from vadânya, liberal, a-vadânya, illiberal, and abhi, towards. This, however, is an impossible form in Sanskrit. Vadânya means liberal, and stands for avadânya, this being derived from avadâna, lit. what is cut off, then a morsel, a gift. In abhyavadânya the original a reappears, so that abhyavadânya means, not niggardly, but on the contrary, liberal, i. e. giving more than is required. Avadânya has never been met with in the sense of niggardly, and though a rule of Pânini sanctions the formation of a-vadânya, it does not say in what sense. Abhyavadâ in the sense of cutting off in addition occurs in Satap. Br. II, 5, 2, 40 ; avadânam karoti, in the sense of making a present, occurs Maitr. Up. VI, 33.

² The commentator takes the opposite view. In times of distress, he says, former sages, belonging to a higher caste, have

8. The king said : 'Do not be offended with us, neither you nor your forefathers, because this knowledge has before now never dwelt with any Brâhmana¹. But I shall tell it to you, for who could refuse you when you speak thus ?

9. 'The altar (fire), O Gautama, is that world (heaven)²; the fuel is the sun itself, the smoke his rays, the light the day, the coals the quarters, the sparks the intermediate quarters. On that altar the Devas offer the sraddhâ libation (consisting of water³). From that oblation rises Soma, the king (the moon).

10. 'The altar, O Gautama, is Parganya (the god of rain); the fuel is the year itself, the smoke the clouds, the light the lightning, the coals the thunderbolt, the sparks the thunderings. On that altar the Devas offer Soma, the king (the moon). From that oblation rises rain.

11. 'The altar, O Gautama, is this world⁴; the fuel is the earth itself, the smoke the fire, the light the night, the coals the moon, the sparks the stars. On that altar the Devas offer rain. From that oblation rises food.

submitted to become pupils to teachers of a lower caste, not, however, in order to learn, but simply in order to live. Therefore Gautama also becomes a pupil in name only, for it would be against all law to act otherwise. See Gautama, Dharma-sûtras VII, 1, ed. Stenzler; translated by Bühler, p. 209.

¹ Here, too, my translation is hypothetical, and differs widely from Saṅkara.

² Cf. *Khând. Up.* V, 4.

³ Deussen translates : 'In diesem Feuer opfern die Götter den Glauben.'

⁴ Here a distinction is made between *ayam loka*, this world, and *prithivî*, earth, while in the *Khând. Up.* *ayam loka* is the earth, *asau loka* the heaven.

12. 'The altar, O Gautama, is man; the fuel the opened mouth, the smoke the breath, the light the tongue, the coals the eye, the sparks the ear. On that altar the Devas offer food. From that oblation rises seed.

13. 'The altar, O Gautama, is woman¹. On that altar the Devas offer seed. From that oblation rises man. He lives so long as he lives, and then when he dies,

14. 'They take him to the fire (the funeral pile), and then the altar-fire is indeed fire, the fuel fuel, the smoke smoke, the light light, the coals coals, the sparks sparks. In that very altar-fire the Devas offer man, and from that oblation man rises, brilliant in colour.

15. 'Those who thus know this (even *Grihasthas*), and those who in the forest worship faith and the True² (*Brahman Hiranyagarbha*), go to light (*ar-kis*), from light to day, from day to the increasing half, from the increasing half to the six months when the sun goes to the north, from those six months to the world of the Devas (*Devaloka*), from the world of the Devas to the sun, from the sun to the place of lightning. When they have thus reached the place of lightning a spirit³ comes near them, and leads them to the worlds of the (conditioned) Brahman. In these worlds of Brahman they dwell exalted for ages. There is no returning for them.

¹ Tasyâ upastha eva samil, lomâni dhûmo, yonir arkir, yad antaḥkaroti te 'ngârâ, abhinandâ visphuliṅgâḥ.

² Saṅkara translates, 'those who with faith worship the True,' and this seems better.

³ 'A person living in the Brahma-world, sent forth, i. e. created, by Brahman, by the mind,' Saṅkara. 'Der ist nicht wie ein Mensch,' Deussen, p. 392.

16. 'But they who conquer the worlds (future states) by means of sacrifice, charity, and austerity, go to smoke, from smoke to night, from night to the decreasing half of the moon, from the decreasing half of the moon to the six months when the sun goes to the south, from these months to the world of the fathers, from the world of the fathers to the moon. Having reached the moon, they become food, and then the Devas feed on them there, as sacrificers feed on Soma, as it increases and decreases¹. But when this (the result of their good works on earth) ceases, they return again to that ether, from ether to the air, from the air to rain, from rain to the earth. And when they have reached the earth, they become food, they are offered again in the altar-fire, which is man (see § 11), and thence are born in the fire of woman. Thus they rise up towards the worlds, and go the same round as before.

'Those, however, who know neither of these two paths, become worms, birds, and creeping things.'

THIRD BRĀHMANA².

1. If a man wishes to reach greatness (wealth for performing sacrifices), he performs the upasad rule during twelve days³ (i. e. he lives on small quantities of milk), beginning on an auspicious day of the light half of the moon during the northern progress of the sun, collecting at the same time in a cup or a dish

¹ See note 4 on *Kṛāṇḍ. Up. V, 10*, and Deussen, *Vedānta*, p. 393. Sankara guards against taking *āpyāyasvāpakshīyasva* as a Mantra. A similar construction is *gāyasva mṛīyasva*, see *Kṛāṇḍ. Up. V, 10, 8*.

² *Mādhyandina text*, p. 1103; cf. *Kṛāṇḍ. Up. V, 2, 4-8*; *Kaush. Up. II, 3*.

³ *Yasmin punye 'nukūle 'hni karma kīkīrshati tataḥ prāk punyāham evārabhya dvādaśāham upasadvratī*.

made of Udumbara wood all sorts of herbs, including fruits. He sweeps the floor (near the house-altar, âvasathya), sprinkles it, lays the fire, spreads grass round it according to rule¹, prepares the clarified butter (âgrya), and on a day, presided over by a male star (nakshatra), after having properly mixed the Mantha² (the herbs, fruits, milk, honey, &c.), he sacrifices (he pours âgrya into the fire), saying³: 'O Gâtavedas, whatever adverse gods there are in thee, who defeat the desires of men, to them I offer this portion; may they, being pleased, please me with all desires.' Svâhâ!

'That cross deity who lies down⁴, thinking that all things are kept asunder by her, I worship thee as propitious with this stream of ghee.' Svâhâ!

2. He then says, Svâhâ to the First, Svâhâ to the Best, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to Breath, Svâhâ to her who is the richest, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to Speech, Svâhâ to the Support, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to the Eye, Svâhâ to Success, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to the Ear, Svâhâ to the

¹ As the whole act is considered smârta, not srâuta, the order to be observed (âvriti) is that of the sthâlpâka.

² Dravadraye prakshiptâ mathitâh saktavaḥ is the explanation of Mantha, given in Gaimin. N. M. V. p. 406.

³ These verses are not explained by Saṅkara, and they are absent in the *Khând. Up.* V, 2, 6, 4.

⁴ The Mâdhyandinas read nipadyase.

- Home, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to the Mind, Svâhâ to Offspring, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to Seed, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

3. He then says, Svâhâ to Agni (fire), pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to Soma, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Bhûh (earth), Svâhâ, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Bhuvaḥ (sky), Svâhâ, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svaḥ (heaven), Svâhâ, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Bhûr, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ, Svâhâ, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to Brahman (the priesthood), pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to Kshatra (the knighthood), pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to the Past, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to the Future, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to the Universe, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to all things, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

He then says, Svâhâ to Pragâpati, pours ghee into the fire, and throws what remains into the Mantha (mortar).

4. Then he touches it (the Mantha, which is dedicated to Prâna, breath), saying : ' Thou art fleet (as breath). Thou art burning (as fire). Thou art full (as Brahman). Thou art firm (as the sky). Thou art the abode of all (as the earth). Thou hast been saluted with Hiñ (at the beginning of the sacrifice by the prastotri). Thou art saluted with Hiñ (in the middle of the sacrifice by the prastotri). Thou hast been sung (by the udgâtri at the beginning of the sacrifice). Thou art sung (by the udgâtri in the middle of the sacrifice). Thou hast been celebrated (by the adhvaryu at the beginning of the sacrifice). Thou art celebrated again (by the âgnîdhra in the middle of the sacrifice). Thou art bright in the wet (cloud). Thou art great. Thou art powerful. Thou art food (as Soma). Thou art light (as Agni, fire, the eater). Thou art the end. Thou art the absorption (of all things).'

5. Then he holds it (the Mantha) forth, saying : ' Thou ¹ knowest all, we know thy greatness. He is

¹ These curious words â mamsi â mamhi te mahi are not explained by Saṅkara. Ânandagiri explains them as I have trans-

indeed a king, a ruler, the highest lord. May that king, that ruler make me the highest lord.'

6. Then he eats it, saying: 'Tat savitur vare-nyam ¹ (We meditate on that adorable light)—The winds drop honey for the righteous, the rivers drop honey, may our plants be sweet as honey! Bhûr (earth) Svâhâ!

'Bhargo devasya dhîmahi (of the divine Savitri)—May the night be honey in the morning, may the air above the earth, may heaven, our father, be honey! Bhuvaḥ (sky) Svâhâ!

'Dhiyo yo naḥ proḥodayât (who should rouse our thoughts)—May the tree be full of honey, may the sun be full of honey, may our cows be sweet like honey! Svaḥ (heaven) Svâhâ!'

He repeats the whole Sâvitṛī verse, and all the verses about the honey, thinking, May I be all this! Bhûr, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ, Svâhâ! Having thus swallowed all, he washes his hands, and sits down behind the altar, turning his head to the East. In the morning he worships Âditya (the sun), with the hymn, 'Thou art the best lotus of the four quarters, may I become the best lotus among men.' Then returning as he came, he sits down behind the altar and recites the genealogical list ².

7. Uddâlaka Âruṇi told this (Mantha-doctrine) to his pupil Vâgasaneyya Yâgñavalkya, and said: 'If a man were to pour it on a dry stick, branches would grow, and leaves spring forth.'

lated them. They correspond to 'amo nâmâsy amâ hi te sarvam idam' in the *Khând.* Up. V, 2, 6, 6. The Mâdhyandinas read: âmo 'sy âmam hi te mayi, sa hi râgâ, &c. Dvivedagaṅga translates: 'thou art the knower, thy knowledge extends to me.'

¹ Rv. III, 62, 10.

² This probably refers to the list immediately following.

8. Vâgasaneya Yâgñavalkya told the same to his pupil Madhuka Paingya, and said: 'If a man were to pour it on a dry stick, branches would grow, and leaves spring forth.'

9. Madhuka Paingya told the same to his pupil Kûla Bhâgavitti, and said: 'If a man were to pour it on a dry stick, branches would grow, and leaves spring forth.'

10. Kûla Bhâgavitti told the same to his pupil Gânaki Âyasthûna, and said: 'If a man were to pour it on a dry stick, branches would grow, and leaves spring forth.'

11. Gânaki Âyasthûna told the same to his pupil Satyakâma Gâbâla, and said: 'If a man were to pour it on a dry stick, branches would grow, and leaves spring forth.'

12. Satyakâma Gâbâla told the same to his pupils, and said: 'If a man were to pour it on a dry stick, branches would grow, and leaves spring forth.'

Let no one tell this¹ to any one, except to a son or to a pupil².

13. Four things are made of the wood of the Udumbara tree, the sacrificial ladle (sruva), the cup (kâmasa), the fuel, and the two churning sticks.

There are ten kinds of village (cultivated) seeds, viz. rice and barley (brîhiyavâs), sesamum and kidney-beans (tilamâshâs), millet and panic seed (anupriyaṅgavas), wheat (godhûmâs), lentils (masûrâs), pulse (khalvâs), and vetches (khalakulâs³). After having

¹ The Mantha-doctrine with the prâṇadarsana. Comm.

² It probably means to no one except to one's own son and to one's own disciple. Cf. Svet. Up. VI, 22.

³ I have given the English names after Roer, who, living in India, had the best opportunity of identifying the various kinds of plants here mentioned. The commentators do not help us much. Saṅkara

ground these he sprinkles them with curds (dadhi), honey, and ghee, and then offers (the proper portions) of clarified butter¹ (âgrya).

FOURTH BRĀHMANA².

1. The earth is the essence of all these things, water is the essence of the earth, plants of water, flowers of plants, fruits of flowers, man of fruits, seed of man.

2. And Pragâpati thought, let me make an abode for him, and he created a woman (Satarûpâ).

Tâm³ *srishtvâdha upâsta, tasmât striyam adha upâsita. Sa etam prâñkam grāvânam âtmana eva samudapârayat, tenainâm abhyasrigat.*

says that in some places Priyaṅgu (panic seed or millet) is called Kaṅgu; that Khalva, pulse, is also called Nishpâva and Valla, and Khalakula, vetches, commonly Kulattha. Dvivedagaṅga adds that Anu is called in Guzerat Moriya, Priyaṅgu Kaṅgu, Khalva, as nishpâva, Valla, and Khalakula Kulattha.

¹ According to the rules laid down in the proper Grîhya-sûtras.

² This Brâhmana is inserted here because there is supposed to be some similarity between the preparation of the Sîrmantha and the Putramantha, or because a person who has performed the Sîrmantha is fit to perform the Putramantha. Thus Saṅkara says: *Prânadarsinaḥ sîrmantham karma kṛtavataḥ putramanthe 'dhikâraḥ. Yadâ putramantham kîkîrshati tadâ sîrmantham kṛtvâ ritukâlam patnyâḥ (brahmakaryena) pratikshata iti.*

³ I have given those portions of the text which did not admit of translation into English, in Sanskrit. It was not easy, however, to determine always the text of the Kânva-sâkhâ. Poley's text is not always correct, and Roer seems simply to repeat it. Saṅkara's commentary, which is meant for the Kânva text, becomes very short towards the end of the Upanishad. It is quite sufficient for the purpose of a translation, but by no means always for restoring a correct text. MS. Wilson 369, which has been assigned to the Kânva-sâkhâ, and which our Catalogue attributes to the same school, gives the Mâdhyandina text, and so does MS. Mill 108. I have therefore collated two MSS. of the India Office, which Dr. Rost had the kindness to select for me, MS. 375 and MS. 1973, which I call A. and B.

3. Tasyâ vedir upastho, lomâni barhis, *karmâ-dhishavane*, samiddho¹ madhyatas, tau mushkau. Sa yâvân ha vai vâgapeyena yagamânasya loko bhavati tâvân asya loko bhavati ya evam vidvân adhopahâsam *karaty* â sa² strînâm sukritam *vriṅkte* 'tha ya idam avidvân adhopahâsam *karaty* âsya striyah sukritam *vriṅgate*.

4. Etad dha sma vai tadvidvân Uddâlaka Ârunir âhaitad dha sma vai tadvidvân Nâko Maudgalya âhaitad dha sma vai tadvidvân Kumârahârta âha, bahavo maryâ brâhmanâyanâ³ nirindriyâ visukrito'smâl lokât prayanti⁴ ya idam avidvâmso 'dhopahâsam *karantîti*. Bahu vâ⁵ idam suptasya vâ gâgrato vâ retah skandati,

5. Tad abhimrised anu vâ mantrayeta yan me 'dya retah prithivîm askântsîd yad oshadhîr apy asarad yad apah, idam aham tad reta âdade punar mâm aiv indriyam punas tegaḥ punar bhagaḥ, punar agnayo⁶ dhishnyâ yathâsthânam kalpantâm, ity anâmikângushthâbhyâm âdâyântarena stanau vâ bhruvau vâ nimrîṅgyât⁷.

6. If a man see himself in the water⁸, he should

¹ Roer reads samidho, but Saṅkara and Dvivedagaṅga clearly presuppose samiddho, which is in A. and B.

² Roer has âsâm sa strînâm, Poley, A. and B. have âsâm strînâm. Saṅkara (MS. Mill 64) read â sa strînâm, and later on âsya striyah, though both Roer and Poley leave out the â here too (â asyeti *kheadaḥ*).

³ Brâhmanâyanâḥ, the same as brahmabandhavaḥ, i. e. Brâhmins by descent only, not by knowledge.

⁴ Narakam gakkhantîtyarthaḥ. Dvivedagaṅga.

⁵ Bahu vâ svalpam vâ.

⁶ The Mâdhyandina text has agnayo, and Dvivedagaṅga explains it by dhishnyâ agnayah sarîrasthitâḥ. Poley and Roer have punar agnir dhishnyâ, and so have A. and B.

⁷ Nirmrîṅgyât, A.; nimrîṅgyât, B.

⁸ Dvivedagaṅga adds, retoyonâv udake retahsikâs tatra svakkhâ-yâdarsane prâyaskittam âha.

recite the following verse: 'May there be in me splendour, strength, glory, wealth, virtue.'

She is the best of women whose garments are pure¹. Therefore let him approach a woman whose garments are pure, and whose fame is pure, and address her.

7. If she do not give in², let him, as he likes, bribe her (with presents). And if she then do not give in, let him, as he likes, beat her with a stick or with his hand, and overcome her³, saying: 'With manly strength and glory I take away thy glory,'—and thus she becomes unglorious⁴.

8. If she give in, he says: 'With manly strength and glory I give thee glory,'—and thus they both become glorious.

9. Sa yâm *ikkhet* kâmayeta meti tasyâm artham nishâtaya⁵ mukhena mukham sandhâyopastham asyâ abhimrîsyâ gaped aṅgâdaṅgât sambhavasi hrîdayâd adhi gâyase, sa tvam aṅgakashâyo⁶ 'si digdhavid-dhâm⁷ iva mâdayemâm amûm mayîti⁸.

10. Atha yâm *ikkhen* na garbham dadhîteti⁹ tasyâm artham nishâtaya mukhena mukham sandhâyâbhiprânyâpânyâd indriyena te retasâ reta âdada ity aretâ¹⁰ eva bhavati.

¹ Trirâtravratam kṛtvâ katurtha 'hni snâtâm.

² Instead of connecting kâmam with dadyât, Dvivedagaṅga explains it by yathâśakti.

³ Atikram, scil. maithunâya.

⁴ Bandhyâ durbhagâ.

⁵ Nishâtaya, A. B.; nishâtaya, Roer, Poley; the same in § 10.

⁶ Sa tvam aṅgânâm kashâyo raso 'si.

⁷ Vishaliptasaraviddhâm mṛigîm iva.

⁸ Mâdayeti is the reading of the Mādhyandina text. Poley, Roer, A. and B. read mâdayemâm amûm mayîti. Ânandagiri has mṛigîm ivâmûm madyâm striyam me mâdaya madvasâm kurv ityarthah. Dvivedagaṅga explains mâdayeti.

⁹ Rûpabhramsayauvanahânibhayât.

¹⁰ Agarbhini.

11. Atha yâm *ikkhed* garbham dadhīti tasyâm artham nishīāya mukhena mukham sandhâyāpānyābhiprānyād indriyena te retasā reta ādadhāmiti garbhiny eva bhavati.

12. Now again, if a man's wife has a lover and the husband hates him, let him (according to rule)¹ place fire by an unbaked jar, spread a layer of arrows in inverse order², anoint these three arrow-heads³ with butter in inverse order, and sacrifice, saying: 'Thou hast sacrificed in my fire, I take away thy up and down breathing, I here⁴.'

'Thou hast sacrificed in my fire, I take away thy sons and cattle, I here.'

'Thou hast sacrificed in my fire, I take away thy sacred and thy good works, I here.'

'Thou hast sacrificed in my fire, I take away thy hope and expectation, I here.'

He whom a Brāhmaṇa who knows this curses, departs from this world without strength and without good works. Therefore let no one wish even for sport with the wife of a Srottriya⁵ who knows this, for he who knows this, is a dangerous enemy.

13. When the monthly illness seizes his wife, she

¹ *Āvasathyāgnim eva pragvālya.*

² *Pas̥kīmāgram dakshināgram vā yathā syāt tathā.*

³ *Tisraḥ* is left out by Roer and Poley, by A. and B.

⁴ I have translated according to the Kāṇva text, as far as it could be made out. As there are four imprecations, it is but natural that *tisraḥ* should be left out in the Kāṇva text. It is found in the Mādhyandina text, because there the imprecations are only three in number, viz. the taking away of hope and expectation, of sons and cattle, and of up and down breathing. Instead of *asāv iti*, which is sufficient, the Mādhyandina text has *asāv iti nāma gr̥hñāti*, and both Ānandagiri and Dvivedagaṅga allow the alternative, *ātmanaḥ sator vā nāma gr̥hñāti*, though *asau* can really refer to the speaker only.

⁵ Roer reads *dvārena*; Poley, A. and B. *dārena*; the Mādhyan-

should for three days not drink from a metal vessel, and wear a fresh dress. Let no *Vrishala* or *Vrishali* (a *Sûdra* man or woman) touch her. At the end of the three days, when she has bathed, the husband should make her pound rice ¹.

14. And if a man wishes that a white son should be born to him, and that he should know one Veda, and live to his full age, then, after having prepared boiled rice with milk and butter, they should both eat, being fit to have offspring.

15. And if a man wishes that a reddish ² son with tawny eyes should be born to him, and that he should know two Vedas, and live to his full age, then, after having prepared boiled rice with coagulated milk and butter, they should both eat, being fit to have offspring.

16. And if a man wishes that a dark son should be born to him with red eyes, and that he should know three Vedas, and live to his full age, then, after having prepared boiled rice with water and butter, they should both eat, being fit to have offspring.

17. And if a man wishes that a learned daughter should be born to him, and that she should live to her full age, then, after having prepared boiled rice with sesamum and butter, they should both eat, being fit to have offspring.

18. And if a man wishes that a learned son should be born to him, famous, a public man, a popular speaker, that he should know all the Vedas, and that

dinas gââyâyâ. *Saṅkara*, according to *Roer*, interprets *dvâreṇa*, but it seems that *dâreṇa* is used here in the singular, instead of the plural. See *Pâraskara Gṛihya-sûtras* I, 11.

¹ To be used for the ceremony described in § 14 seq.

² *Kapilo varnataḥ piṅgalaḥ piṅgākshaḥ*.

he should live to his full age, then, after having prepared boiled rice with meat and butter, they should both eat, being fit to have offspring. The meat should be of a young or of an old bull.

19. And then toward morning, after having, according to the rule of the Sthâlpâka (pot-boiling), performed the preparation of the Âgya (clarified butter¹), he sacrifices from the Sthâlpâka bit by bit, saying: 'This is for Agni, Svâhâ! This is for Anumati, Svâhâ! This is for the divine Savitri, the true creator, Svâhâ!' Having sacrificed, he takes out the rest of the rice and eats it, and after having eaten, he gives it to his wife. Then he washes his hands, fills a water-jar, and sprinkles her thrice with it, saying: 'Rise hence, O Visvâvasu², seek another blooming girl, a wife with her husband.'

20. Then he embraces her, and says: 'I am Ama (breath), thou art Sâ (speech)³. Thou art Sâ (speech), I am Ama (breath). I am the Sâmān, thou art the Rik⁴. I am the sky, thou art the earth. Come, let us strive together, that a male child may be begotten⁵.'

¹ *Karum* śrapayitvâ.

² Name of a Gandharva, as god of love. See Rig-veda X, 85, 22. Dvivedagaṅga explains the verse differently, so that the last words imply, I come together with my own wife.

³ Because speech is dependent on breath, as the wife is on the husband. See *Khând. Up.* I, 6, 1.

⁴ Because the Sâmān-veda rests on the Rig-veda.

⁵ This is a verse which is often quoted and explained. It occurs in the Atharva-veda XIV, 71, as 'amo 'ham asmi sâ tvam, sâmâham asmy rik tvam, dyaus aham prithivî tvam; tâv iha sam bhavâva pragâm â ganayâvahi.'

Here we have the opposition between amaḥ and sâ, while in the Ait. Brâhmana VIII, 27, we have amo 'ham asmi sa tvam, giving amaḥ in opposition to sa. It seems not unlikely that this

21. Athāsya ūrū vihāpayati, vigihīthām dyāvāpri-
thivī iti tasyām artham nishṭāya mukhena mukham
sandhāya trir enām anulomām¹ anumārshī, Vishnur
yonim kalpayatu, Tvashtā rūpāni pimsatu, āsiñkatu
Pragāpatir Dhātā garbham dadhatu te. Garbham
dhehi Sinvāli, garbham dhehi prīthushṭuke, garbham
te Asvinau devāv ādhattām pushkarasragau.

22. Hiranmayī arant yābhyām nirmanthatām² asvi-
nau³, tam te garbham havāmahe⁴ dasame māsi
sūtave. Yathāgnigarbhā prīthivī, yathā dyaur in-
drena garbhini, vāyur disām yathā garbha evam
garbham dadhāmi te 'sāv iti⁵.

23. Soshyantīm⁶ adbhir abhyukshati. Yathā vāyuh⁷
pushkarintīm samīṅgayati sarvataḥ, evā te garbha
egatu sahāvaitu garāyunā. Indrasyāyam vragaḥ
krītaḥ sārگا/aḥ⁸ saparisrayaḥ⁹, tam indra nirgahi
garbhena sāvarām¹⁰ saheti.

was an old proverbial formula, and that it meant originally no more
than 'I am he, and thou art she.' But this meaning was soon for-
gotten. In the *Khând. Up.* I, 6, 1, we find sâ explained as earth,
ama as fire (Sacred Books of the East, vol. i, p. 13). In the *Ait.*
Brâhmana sâ is explained as *Rik*, ama as *Sâman*. I have therefore
in our passage also followed the interpretation of the commentary,
instead of rendering it, 'I am he, and thou art she; thou art she,
and I am he.'

¹ Anulomam, mûrdhânam ârabhya pādântam.

² Nirmathitavantau. ³ Asvinau devau, Mādhyandina text.

⁴ Dadhāmahe, Mādhyandina text. Instead of sūtave, A. has
sūyate, B. sūtaye.

⁵ Iti nāma grīhnāti, Mādhyandina text. Saṅkara says, asāv iti
tasyāḥ. Ānandagiri says, asāv iti patyur vā nirdeśaḥ; tasyā nāma
grīhnātīti pūrvena sambandhaḥ. Dvivedagaṅga says, ante bhartā-
sāv aham iti svâtmano nāma grīhnāti, bhāryāyā vā.

⁶ See Pâraskara *Grîhya-sûtra* I, 16 seq.

⁷ Vâtaḥ, M.

⁸ Argadayâ nirodhena saha vartamānaḥ sārگا/aḥ, Dvivedagaṅga.

⁹ Saparisrayaḥ, parisrayena pariveshtanena garāyunā sahitaḥ,
Dvivedagaṅga.

¹⁰ Sāvarām is the reading given by Poley, Roer, A. and B.

24¹. When the child is born, he prepares the fire, places the child on his lap, and having poured *prishadāgya*, i. e. dadhi (thick milk) mixed with *ghṛita* (clarified butter) into a metal jug, he sacrifices bit by bit of that *prishadāgya*, saying: 'May I, as I increase in this my house, nourish a thousand! May fortune never fail in his race, with offspring and cattle, Svāhā!'

'I offer to thee in my mind the vital breaths which are in me, Svāhā!'

'Whatever² in my work I have done too much, or whatever I have here done too little, may the wise Agni *Svishtakṛit* make this right and proper for us, Svāhā!'

25. Then putting his mouth near the child's right ear, he says thrice, Speech, speech³! After

Ānandagiri explains: *garbhaniḥsaranānantaram yā māmsapeṣī nirgakkhati sāvārā, tām ka nirgamayety arthah*. *Dvivedagaṅga* (ed. Weber) writes: *nirgamyamānamāmsapeṣī sâ-avarasabdavâtyâ, tam sâvaram ka nirgamaya*.

¹ These as well as the preceding rules refer to matters generally treated in the *Gr̥hya-sūtras*; see *Āsvalāyana, Gr̥hya-sūtras* I, 13 seq.; *Pāraskara, Gr̥hya-sūtras* I, 11 seq.; *Sāṅkhāyana, Gr̥hya-sūtras* I, 19 seq. It is curious, however, that *Āsvalāyana* I, 13, 1, refers distinctly to the Upanishad as the place where the *pumsavana* and similar matters were treated. This shows that the Upanishads were known before the composition of the *Gr̥hya-sūtras*, and explains perhaps, at least partially, why the Upanishads were considered as *rahasya*. *Āsvalāyana* says, 'Conception, begetting of a boy, and guarding the embryo are to be found in the Upanishad. But if a man does not read the Upanishad, let him know that he should feed his wife,' &c. *Nārāyaṇa* explains that *Āsvalāyana* here refers to an Upanishad which does not exist in his own *Sākhā*, but he objects to the conclusion that therefore the *garbhādhāna* and other ceremonies need not be performed, and adds that some hold it should be performed, as prescribed by *Saunaka* and others.

² *Āsvalāyana, Gr̥hya-sūtra* I, 10, 23.

³ *Trayīlakṣhaṇā vāk tvayi pravratv iti gapato 'bhiprāyaḥ*.

that he pours together thick milk, honey, and clarified butter, and feeds the child with (a ladle of) pure gold¹, saying: 'I give thee Bhûh, I give thee Bhuva^h, I give thee Sva^h². Bhûr, Bhuva^h, Sva^h, I give thee all³.'

26⁴. Then he gives him his name, saying: 'Thou art Veda;'⁵ but this is his secret name⁶.

27. Then he hands the boy to his mother and gives him her breast, saying: 'O Sarasvatî, that breast of thine which is inexhaustible, delightful, abundant, wealthy, generous, by which thou cherishest all blessings, make that to flow here⁶.'

28⁷. Then he addresses the mother of the boy:

¹ Cf. Pâraskara *Grîhya-sûtras* I, 16, 4, anâmikayâ suvarnântarhitayâ; Sâṅkhâyana, *Grîhya-sûtras* I, 24, prâsayeg gâtarpema.

² Bhûr bhuva^h sva^h are explained by Dvivedagaṅga as the *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, and *Sâma-veda*. They might also be earth, air, and heaven. See Sâṅkhâyana, *Grîhya-sûtras* I, 24; Bhur *rigvedam* tvayi dadhâmi, &c.

³ The Mâdhyandinas add here another verse, which the father recites while he strokes his boy: 'Be a stone, be an axe, be pure gold. Thou art my Self, called my son; live a hundred harvests.' The same verse occurs in the Âsvalâyana *Grîhya-sûtras* I, 15, 3.

⁴ The two ceremonies, here described, are the âyushya-karman and the medhâganana. They are here treated rather confusedly. Pâraskara (*Grîhya-sûtras* I, 16, 3) distinguishes the medhâganana and the âyushya. He treats the medhâganana first, which consists in feeding the boy with honey and clarified butter, and saying to him bhûs tvayi dadhâmi, &c. The âyushya consists in repeating certain verses in the boy's ear, wishing him a long life, &c. In Âsvalâyana's *Grîhya-sûtras*, I, 15, 1 contains the âyushya, I, 15, 2 the medhâganana. Sâṅkhâyana also (I, 24) treats the âyushya first, and the medhâganana afterwards, and the same order prevails in the Mâdhyandina text of the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka-upanishad*.

⁵ In the Mâdhyandina text these acts are differently arranged.

⁶ *Rig-veda* I, 164, 49.

⁷ These verses are differently explained by various commentators. Ânandagiri explains i^lâ as stutyâ, bhogyâ. He derives Maitrâvaruṇî

‘Thou art I/â Maitrâvaruñî: thou strong woman hast born a strong boy. Be thou blessed with strong children thou who hast blessed me with a strong child.’

And they say of such a boy: ‘Ah, thou art better than thy father; ah, thou art better than thy grandfather. Truly he has reached the highest point in happiness, praise, and Vedic glory who is born as the son of a Brâhmaṇa that knows this.’

FIFTH BRÂHMANA.

1. Now follows the stem ¹:

1. Pautimâshîputra from Kâtyâyanîputra,

from Maitrâvaruṇa, i.e. Vasishṭha, the son of Mitrâvaruṇau, and identifies her with Arundhatî. Dvivedagaṅga takes idâ as bhogyâ, or idâpâtrî, or prâthivîrûpâ, and admits that she may be called Maitrâvaruñî, because born of Mitrâvaruṇau. Vîre is rightly taken as a vocative by Dvivedagaṅga, while Ânandagiri explains it as a locative, mayi nimittabhûte. One expects agîganah instead of agîganat, which is the reading of A. and B. The reading of the Mâdhyandinas, âgîganathâh, is right grammatically, but it offends against the metre, and is a theoretical rather than a real form. If we read agîganah, we must also read akarah, unless we are prepared to follow the commentator, who supplies bhavati.

¹ The Mâdhyandinas begin with vayam, we, then 1. Bhâradvâgîputra, 2. Vâtsîmandavîputra, 3. Pârasarîputra, 4. Gârgîputra, 5. Pârâsarî-kaundîniputra, 6. Gârgîputra, 7. Gârgîputra, 8. Bâdeyîputra, 9. Maushikîputra, 10. Hârikarnîputra, 11. Bhâradvâgîputra, 12. Paingîputra, 13. Saunakîputra, 14. Kâsyapî-bâlâkyâ-mâharîputra, 15. Kautsîputra, 16. Baudhîputra, 17. Sâlaṅkâyanîputra, 18. Vârshaganîputra, 19. Gautamîputra, 20. Âtreîputra, 21. Gautamîputra, 22. Vâtsîputra, 23. Bhâradvâgîputra, 24. Pârâsarîputra, 25. Vârkârûṇîputra; then from No. 20 as in the Kânva text.

This stem is called by Saṅkara, Samastapraṇavamsah, and Ânandagiri adds, pûrvau vamsau purushavishetau, trîtiyas tu strîvishetaḥ, strîprâdhânyât. Dvivedagaṅga writes, putramantha-karmanah strîsamskârârthatvenoktatvât tatsannidhânâd ayam vamsah strîprâdhânyenoktyate.

2. Kātyāyanīputra from Gotamīputra,
3. Gotamīputra from Bhāradvāgīputra,
4. Bhāradvāgīputra from Pārāsarīputra,
5. Pārāsarīputra from Aupasvatīputra,
6. Aupasvatīputra from Pārāsarīputra,
7. Pārāsarīputra from Kātyāyanīputra,
8. Kātyāyanīputra from Kausikīputra,
9. Kausikīputra from Ālambīputra and Vaiyāghrapadīputra,
10. Ālambīputra and Vaiyāghrapadīputra from Kāṇvīputra,
11. Kāṇvīputra from Kāpīputra,
12. Kāpīputra
2. from Ātreyaīputra,
13. Ātreyaīputra from Gautamīputra,
14. Gautamīputra from Bhāradvāgīputra,
15. Bhāradvāgīputra from Pārāsarīputra,
16. Pārāsarīputra from Vātsīputra,
17. Vātsīputra from Pārāsarīputra,
- 18¹. Pārāsarīputra from Vārkārunīputra,
19. Vārkārunīputra from Vārkārunīputra,
20. Vārkārunīputra from Ārtabhāgīputra,
21. Ārtabhāgīputra from Sauṅgīputra,
22. Sauṅgīputra from Sāṅkrīṭīputra,
- 23². Sāṅkrīṭīputra from Ālambāyanīputra,
24. Ālambāyanīputra from Ālambīputra,
25. Ālambīputra from Gāyantīputra,
26. Gāyantīputra from Māṇḍūkāyanīputra,
27. Māṇḍūkāyanīputra from Māṇḍūkīputra,
28. Māṇḍūkīputra from Sāṇḍīlīputra,
29. Sāṇḍīlīputra from Rāthītarīputra,
- 30³. Rāthītarīputra from Bhālukīputra,

¹ M. has only one.² M. inverts 23 and 24.³ Deest in M.

31. Bhālukîputra from Krauñçikîputrau,
32. Krauñçikîputrau from Vaittabhatîputra ¹,
33. Vaittabhatîputra from Kârsakeyîputra ²,
34. Kârsakeyîputra from Prâñayogîputra,
35. Prâñayogîputra from Sâñgîvîputra ³,
36. Sâñgîvîputra from Prâsñîputra Âsurivâsin,
37. Prâsñîputra Âsurivâsin from Âsurâyana,
38. Âsurâyana from Âsuri,
39. Âsuri
3. from Yâgñavalkya,
40. Yâgñavalkya from Uddâlaka,
41. Uddâlaka from Aruna,
42. Aruna from Upavesi,
43. Upavesi from Kusri,
44. Kusri from Vâgasravas,
45. Vâgasravas from Gihvâvat Vâdhyoga,
46. Gihvâvat Vâdhyoga from Asita Vârshagana,
47. Asita Vârshagana from Harita Kasyapa,
48. Harita Kasyapa from Silpa Kasyapa,
49. Silpa Kasyapa from Kasyapa Naidhruvi,
50. Kasyapa Naidhruvi from Vâç,
51. Vâç from Ambhînî,
52. Ambhînî from Âditya, the Sun.

As coming from Âditya, the Sun, these pure ⁴ Yagus verses have been proclaimed by Yâgñavalkya Vâgasaneyya.

¹ Vaidabhrîîputra, M.

² Bhālukîputra, M.

³ Kârsakeyîputra after 35 in M.

⁴ They are called suklâni, white or pure, because they are not mixed with Brâhmanas, avyâmisrâni brâhmaṇena (doshair asaṅkîrṇâni, paurusheyatvadoshadvârâbhâvâd ityârthah). Or they are ayâtayâmâni, unimpaired. Ânandagiri adds, Pragâpatim ârabhya Sâñgîvîputraparyantam (No. 36) Vâgasaneyisâkhâsu sarvâsv eko vamsa ityâha samânam iti. Dvivedagaṅga says: Vâgisâkhâvakkhin-

- 4¹. The same as far as *Sâṅgīvīputra* (No. 36), then
36. *Sâṅgīvīputra* from *Mândūkâyani*,
 37. *Mândūkâyani* from *Mândavya*,
 38. *Mândavya* from *Kautsa*,
 39. *Kautsa* from *Mâhitthi*,
 40. *Mâhitthi* from *Vâmakakshâyana*,
 41. *Vâmakakshâyana* from *Sândilya*,
 42. *Sândilya* from *Vâtsya*,
 43. *Vâtsya* from *Kusri*,
 44. *Kusri* from *Yagñavalkas Râgastambâyana*,
 45. *Yagñavalkas Râgastambâyana* from *Tura Kâvasheya*,
 46. *Tura Kâvasheya* from *Pragâpati*,
 47. *Pragâpati* from *Brahman*,
 48. *Brahman* is *Svayambhu*, self-existent.
Adoration to *Brahman* !

nânâm yagushâm Sûryenopadish/atvam Yâgñavalkyena prâptatvam ka purâneshu prasiddham.

¹ This last paragraph is wanting in the *Mâdhyandina* text, but a very similar paragraph occurs in *Satapatha-brâhmana* X, 6, 5, 9, where, however, *Vâtsya* comes before *Sândilya*.

SVETÂSVATARA-
UPANISHAD.

SVETÂSVATARA- UPANISHAD.

FIRST ADHYÂYA.

✓ 1. The Brahma-students say: Is Brahman the cause¹? Whence are we born? Whereby do we live, and whither do we go? O ye who know Brahman, (tell us) at whose command we abide, whether in pain or in pleasure?

¹ This translation seems the one which Sāṅkara himself prefers, for on p. 277, when recapitulating, he says, *kim brahma kāraṇam āhosvit kâlâdi*. In comparing former translations, whether by Weber, Roer, Gough, and others, it will be seen that my own differs considerably from every one of them, and differs equally from Sāṅkara's interpretation. It would occupy too much space to criticise former translations, nor would it seem fair, considering how long ago they were made, and how imperfect were the materials which were then accessible. All I wish my readers to understand is that, if I differ from my predecessors, I do so after having carefully examined their renderings. Unfortunately, Roer's edition of both the text and the commentary is often far from correct. Thus in the very first verse of the *Svetâsvatara-upanishad*, I think we ought to read *sampratish/hâh*, instead of *sampratish/hitâh*. In the commentary the reading is right. *Vyavasyâm* is a misprint for *vyavasthâm*. In the second verse we must separate *kâlah* and *svabhâvah*. *Yadrikkhâ*, no very unusual word, meaning chance, was formerly taken for a name of the moon! Instead of *na tvâtma-bhâvât*, both sense and metre require that we should read *anâtmabhâvât*, though the commentators take a different view. They say, because there is a self, and then go on to say that even that would not suffice. Such matters, however, belong to a critical commentary on the Upanishads rather than to a translation, and I can refer to them in cases of absolute necessity only, and where the readings of the two MSS., A. and B, seem to offer some help.

2. Should time, or nature¹, or necessity, or chance, or the elements be considered as the cause, or he who is called the person (purusha, *vigñânâtmâ*)? It cannot be their union either, because that is not self-dependent², and the self also is powerless, because there is (independent of him) a cause of good and evil³.

3. The sages, devoted to meditation and concentration, have seen the power belonging to God himself⁴, hidden in its own qualities (*guṇa*). He, being one, superintends all those causes, time, self, and the rest⁵.

4⁶. We meditate on him who (like a wheel) has one felly with three tires, sixteen ends, fifty spokes, with twenty counter-spokes, and six sets of eight;

¹ Svabhâva, their own nature or independent character.

² Union presupposes a uniter.

³ Âtmâ is explained by Sâṅkara as the *gîvaḥ*, the living self, and as that living self is in his present state determined by karman, work belonging to a former existence, it cannot be thought of as an independent cause.

⁴ Devâtmasakti is a very important term, differently explained by the commentators, but meaning a power belonging to the Deva, the Îsvara, the Lord, not independent of him, as the Sâṅkhyas represent Prakṛiti or nature. Herein lies the important distinction between Vedânta and Sâṅkhya.

⁵ Kâlâtmabhyâm yuktâni, kâlapurushasamyuktâni svabhâvâdîni. Âtman is here taken as synonymous with purusha in verse 2.

⁶ It is difficult to say whether this verse was written as a summing up of certain technicalities recognised in systems of philosophy existing at the time, or whether it is a mere play of fancy. I prefer the former view, and subjoin the explanation given by Sâṅkara, though it is quite possible that on certain points he may be mistaken. The Îsvara or deva is represented as a wheel with one felly, which would seem to be the phenomenal world. It is called *trivṛt*, three-fold, or rather having three tires, three bands or hoops to bind the felly, these tires being intended for the three *guṇas* of the prakṛiti, the Sattva, Ragas, and Tamas. In the Brahmopaniṣad (Bibl. Ind.

whose one rope is manifold, who proceeds on three different roads, and whose illusion arises from two causes.

p. 251) the *trivṛt* sūtram is mentioned. Next follows *śoḍaśāntam*, ending in the sixteen. These sixteen are differently explained. They may be meant for the five elements and the eleven indriyas or organs (the five receptive and the five active senses, together with *manas*, the common sensory); or for the sixteen *kalās*, mentioned in the *Prasṇopaniṣad*, VI, 1, p. 283. Then follows a new interpretation. The one felly may be meant for the chaos, the undeveloped state of things, and the sixteen would then be the two products in a general form, the *Virāḡ* and the *Sātrātman*, while the remaining fourteen would be the individual products, the *bhuvanas* or worlds beginning with *Bhūḥ*.

Next follows *satārdhāram*, having fifty spokes. These fifty spokes are supposed to produce the motion of the mundane wheel, and are explained by *Śaṅkara* as follows :

1. The five *Viparyayas*, misconceptions, different kinds of ignorance or doubt, viz. *Tamas*, *Moha*, *Mahāmoha*, *Tāmisra*, *Andhatāmisra*, or, according to *Patañjali*, ignorance, self-love, love, hatred, and fear (*Yoga-sūtras* I, 8 ; II, 2 ; *Sāṅkhya-sūtras* III, 37).

2. The twenty-eight *Asaktis*, disabilities, causes of misconception. (See *Sāṅkhya-sūtras* III, 38.)

3. The nine inversions of the *Tuṣṭis*, satisfactions. (*Sāṅkhya-sūtras* III, 39.)

4. The eight inversions of the *Siddhis*, perfections. (*Sāṅkhya-sūtras* III, 40.)

These are afterwards explained singly. There are 8 kinds of *Tamas*, 8 kinds of *Moha*, 10 kinds of *Mahāmoha*, 18 kinds of *Tāmisra*, and 18 kinds of *Andhatāmisra*, making 62 in all. More information on the *Asaktis*, the *Tuṣṭis*, and *Siddhis* may be found in the *Sāṅkhya-sūtras* III, 37-45 ; *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* 47 seq. ; *Yoga-sūtras* II, 2 seq.

Then follow the 20 *pratyayas*, the counter-spokes, or wedges to strengthen the spokes, viz. the 10 senses and their 10 objects.

The six *ashākas* or ogdoads are explained as the ogdoads of *Prakṛiti*, of substances (*dhātu*), of powers (*aiśvarya*), of states (*bhāva*), of gods (*deva*), of virtues (*ātmaguna*).

The one, though manifold cord, is love or desire, *Kāma*, whether of food, children, heaven or anything else.

The three paths are explained as righteousness, unrighteousness,

5¹. We meditate on the river whose water consists of the five streams, which is wild and winding with its five springs, whose waves are the five vital breaths, whose fountain head is the mind, the course of the five kinds of perceptions. It has five whirlpools, its rapids are the five pains; it has fifty kinds of suffering, and five branches.

6. In that vast Brahma-wheel, in which all things live and rest, the bird flutters about, so long as he thinks that the self (in him) is different from the mover (the god, the lord). When he has been blessed by him, then he gains immortality².

7. But what is praised (in the Upanishads) is the

and knowledge, and the one deception arising from two causes is ignorance of self, produced by good or bad works.

¹ Here again, where the *Īsvara* is likened to a stream, the minute coincidences are explained by *Saṅkara* in accordance with certain systems of philosophy. The five streams are the five receptive organs, the five springs are the five elements, the five waves are the five active organs. The head is the *manas*, the mind, or common sensory, from which the perceptions of the five senses spring. The five whirlpools are the objects of the five senses, the five rapids are the five pains of being in the womb, being born, growing old, growing ill, and dying. The next adjective *pañkâ-sadbhedâm* is not fully explained by *Saṅkara*. He only mentions the five divisions of the *klesâ* (see *Yoga-sûtras* II, 2), but does not show how their number is raised to fifty. Dr. Roer proposes to read *pañkâklesâ-bhedâm*, but that would not agree with the metre. The five parvans or branches are not explained, and may refer to the fifty kinds of suffering (*klesâ*). The whole river, like the wheel in the preceding verse, is meant for the Brahman as *kârya-kâraṇâtmaka*, in the form of cause and effect, as the phenomenal, not the absolutely real world.

² If he has been blessed by the *Īsvara*, i. e. when he has been accepted by the Lord, when he has discovered his own true self in the Lord. It must be remembered, however, that both the *Īsvara*, the Lord, and the *purusha*, the individual soul, are phenomenal only, and that the Brahma-wheel is meant for the *prapañka*, the manifest, but unreal world.

Highest Brahman, and in it there is the triad¹. The Highest Brahman is the safe support, it is imperishable. The Brahma-students², when they have known what is within this (world), are devoted and merged in the Brahman, free from birth³.

8. The Lord (īśa) supports all this together, the perishable and the imperishable, the developed and the undeveloped. The (living) self, not being a lord, is bound⁴, because he has to enjoy (the fruits of works); but when he has known the god (deva), he is freed from all fetters.

9. There are two, one knowing (īśvara), the other not-knowing (gṛīva), both unborn, one strong, the other weak⁵; there is she, the unborn, through whom each man receives the recompense of his works⁶; and there is the infinite Self (appearing) under all forms, but himself inactive. When a man finds out these three, that is Brahma⁷.

10. That which is perishable⁸ is the Pradhâna⁹ (the first), the immortal and imperishable is Hara¹⁰.

¹ The subject (bhoktrī), the object (bhogya), and the mover (preritrī), see verse 12.

² B. has Vedavido, those who know the Vedas.

³ Tasmin praliyate tv âtmâ samâdhiḥ sa udâhrītaḥ.

⁴ Read badhyate for budhyate.

⁵ The form īśanīśau is explained as śhândasa; likewise brahmam for brahma.

⁶ Cf. Svet. Up. IV, 5, bhuktabhogyâm.

⁷ The three are (1) the lord, the personal god, the creator and ruler; (2) the individual soul or souls; and (3) the power of creation, the devâtmasakti of verse 3. All three are contained in Brahman; see verses 7, 12. So 'pi mâyî parameśvaro mâyopâdhisannidhes tadvân iva.

⁸ See verse 8.

⁹ The recognised name for Prakṛiti, or here Devâtmasakti, in the later Sâṅkhya philosophy.

¹⁰ Hara, one of the names of Śiva or Rudra, is here explained as

The one god rules the perishable (the *pradhâna*) and the (living) self¹. From meditating on him, from joining him, from becoming one with him there is further cessation of all illusion in the end.

11. When that god is known, all fetters fall off, sufferings are destroyed, and birth and death cease. From meditating on him there arises, on the dissolution of the body, the third state, that of universal lordship²; but he only who is alone, is satisfied³.

12. This, which rests eternally within the self, should be known; and beyond this not anything has to be known. By knowing the enjoyer⁴, the enjoyed, and the ruler, everything has been declared to be threefold, and this is Brahman.

13. As the form of fire, while it exists in the under-wood⁵, is not seen, nor is its seed destroyed,

avidyâder haraṇât, taking away ignorance. He would seem to be meant for the *îvara* or *deva*, the one god, though immediately afterwards he is taken for the true Brahman, and not for its phenomenal divine personification only.

¹ The self, *âtman*, used here, as before, for *purusha*, the individual soul, or rather the individual souls.

² A blissful state in the *Brahma*-world, which, however, is not yet perfect freedom, but may lead on to it. Thus it is said in the *Sivadharmottara* :

*Dhyânâd aisvaryam atulam aisvaryât sukham uttamam,
Gñânena tat parityagya videho muktim âpnuyât.*

³ This alone-ness, *kevalatvam*, is produced by the knowledge that the individual self is one with the divine self, and that both the individual and the divine self are only phenomenal forms of the true Self, the Brahman.

⁴ *Bhoktâ*, possibly for *bhoktrâ*, unless it is a *Kṛāṇḍasa* form. It was quoted before, *Bibl. Ind.* p. 292, l. 5. The enjoyer is the *purusha*, the individual soul, the subject; the enjoyed is *prakṛti*, nature, the object; and the ruler is the *îvara*, that is, Brahman, as god. I take *brahmam etat* in the same sense here as in verse 9.

⁵ This metaphor, like most philosophical metaphors in Sanskrit,

but it has to be seized again and again by means of the stick and the under-wood, so it is in both cases, and the Self has to be seized in the body by means of the *pranava* (the syllable Om).

14. By making his body the under-wood, and the syllable Om the upper-wood, man, after repeating the drill of meditation, will perceive the bright god, like the spark hidden in the wood¹.

15. As oil in seeds, as butter in cream, as water in (dry) river-beds², as fire in wood, so is the Self seized within the self, if man looks for him by truthfulness and penance³;

16. (If he looks) for the Self that pervades everything, as butter is contained in milk, and the roots whereof are self-knowledge and penance. That is the Brahman taught by the Upanishad.

is rather obscure at first sight, but very exact when once understood. Fire, as produced by a fire drill, is compared to the Self. It is not seen at first, yet it must be there all the time; its *liṅga* or subtle body cannot have been destroyed, because as soon as the stick, the *indhana*, is drilled in the under-wood, the *yoni*, the fire becomes visible. In the same way the Self, though invisible during a state of ignorance, is there all the time, and is perceived when the body has been drilled by the *Pranava*, that is, after, by a constant repetition of the sacred syllable Om, the body has been subdued, and the ecstatic vision of the Self has been achieved.

Indhana, the stick used for drilling, and *yoni*, the under-wood, in which the stick is drilled, are the two *araxis*, the fire-sticks used for kindling fire. See Tylor, *Anthropology*, p. 260.

¹ Cf. *Dhyānavindūpan.* verse 20; *Brahmopanishad*, p. 256.

² *Srotas*, a stream, seems to mean here the dry bed of a stream, which, if dug into, will yield water.

³ The construction is correct, if we remember that he who is seized is the same as he who looks for the hidden Self. But the metre would be much improved if we accepted the reading of the *Brahmopanishad*, *evam ātmā ātmani gr̥hyate 'sau*, which is confirmed by B. The last line would be improved by reading, *satyeyanainam ye 'nupasyanti dhīrāḥ*.

SECOND ADHYĀYA.

1¹. Savitri (the sun), having first collected his mind and expanded his thoughts, brought Agni (fire), when he had discovered his light, above the earth.

2². With collected minds we are at the command of the divine Savitri, that we may obtain blessedness.

¹ The seven introductory verses are taken from hymns addressed to Savitri as the rising sun. They have been so twisted by Saṅkara, in order to make them applicable to the teachings of the Yoga philosophy, as to become almost nonsensical. I have given a few specimens of Saṅkara's renderings in the notes, but have translated the verses, as much as possible, in their original character. As they are merely introductory, I do not understand why the collector of the Upanishad should have seen in them anything but an invocation of Savitri.

These verses are taken from various *Samhitās*. The first *yuñgānaḥ* prathamam is from Taitt. *Samh.* IV, 1, 1, 1, 1; *Vāg. Samh.* XI, 1; see also Sat. Br. VI, 3, 1, 12. The Taittirīya-text agrees with the Upanishad, the Vāgasaneyi-text has *dhiyam* for *dhiyaḥ*, and *agneḥ* for *agnim*. Both texts take *tatvāya* as a participle of *tan*, while the Upanishad reads *tattvāya*, as a dative of *tattva*, truth. I have translated the verse in its natural sense. Saṅkara, in explaining the Upanishad, translates: 'At the beginning of our meditation, joining the mind with the Highest Self, also the other *prāṇas*, or the knowledge of outward things, for the sake of truth, Savitri, out of the knowledge of outward things, brought Agni, after having discovered his brightness, above the earth, in this body.' He explains it: 'May Savitri, taking our thoughts away from outward things, in order to concentrate them on the Highest Self, produce in our speech and in our other senses that power which can lighten all objects, which proceeds from Agni and from the other favourable deities.' He adds that 'by the favour of Savitri, Yoga may be obtained.'

² The second verse is from Taitt. *Samh.* IV, 1, 1, 1, 3; *Vāg. Samh.* XI, 2. The Vāgasaneyi-text has *svargyāya* for *svargeyāya*, and *saktyā* for *saktyai*. Saṅkara explains: 'With a mind that has been joined

3¹. May Savitri, after he has reached with his mind the gods as they rise up to the sky, and with his thoughts (has reached) heaven, grant these gods to make a great light to shine.

4². The wise sages of the great sage collect their mind and collect their thoughts. He who alone knows the law (Savitri) has ordered the invocations ; great is the praise of the divine Savitri.

by Savitri to the Highest Self, we, with the sanction of that Savitri, devote ourselves to the work of meditation, which leads to the obtainment of Svarga, according to our power.' He explains Svarga by Paramâtman. Sâyana in his commentary on the Taittirîya-samhitâ explains svargeyâya by svargaloke gîyamânasyâgneḥ sampâdanâya ; Saṅkara, by svargaprâptihetubhûtâya dhyânakarmāne. Saktyai is explained by Saṅkara by yathâsâmarthyam ; by Sâyana, by saktâ bhūyâsma. Mahîdhara explains saktyâ by svasâmarthyena. I believe that the original reading was svargyâya saktyai, and that we must take saktyai as an infinitive, like ityai, construed with a dative, like drîsaye sūryâya, for the seeing of the sun. The two attracted datives would be governed by save, 'we are under the command of Savitri,' svargyâya saktyai, 'that we may obtain svargya, life in Svarga or blessedness.'

¹ The third verse is from Taitt. Samh. IV, 1, 1, 1, 2 ; Vâg. Samh. XI, 3. The Taittirîyas read yuktvâya manasâ ; the Vâgasaneyins, yuktvâya savitâ. Saṅkara translates : 'Again he prays that Savitri, having directed the devas, i. e. the senses, which are moving towards Brahman, and which by knowledge are going to brighten up the heavenly light of Brahman, may order them to do so ; that is, he prays that, by the favour of Savitri, our senses should be turned away from outward things to Brahman or the Self.' Taking the hymn as addressed to Savitri, I have translated deva by gods, not by senses, suvaryataḥ by rising to the sky, namely, in the morning. The opposition between manasâ and dhiyâ is the same here as in verse 1, and again in verse 4.

² This verse is from Taitt. Samh. IV, 1, 1, 1, 4 ; 1, 2, 13, 1, 1 ; Vâg. Samh. V, 14 ; XI, 4 ; XXXVII, 2 ; Rig-veda V, 81, 1 ; Sat. Br. III, 5, 3, 11 ; VI, 3, 1, 16. Saṅkara explains this verse again in the same manner as he did the former verses, while the Satapatha-brâhmaṇa supplies two different ritual explanations.

5¹. Your old prayer has to be joined² with praises. Let my song go forth like the path of the sun! May all the sons of the Immortal listen, they who have reached their heavenly homes.

6. Where the fire is rubbed³, where the wind is checked, where the Soma flows over, there the mind is born.

¹ For this verse, see Taitt. Samh. IV, 1, 1, 2, 1; Vâg. Samh. XI, 5; Atharva-veda XVIII, 3, 39; Rig-veda X, 13, 1. The Vâgasaneyins read *vi sloka etu* for *vi slokâ yanti*; *sûreh* for *sûrâh*; *srinvantu* for *srinvanti*; and the Rig-veda agrees with them. The dual *vâm* is accounted for by the verse belonging to a hymn celebrating the two *sakatas*, carts, bearing the offerings (*havirdhâne*); most likely, however, the dual referred originally to the dual deities of heaven and earth. I prefer the text of the Rig-veda and the Vâgasaneyins to that of the Taittirîyas, and have translated the verse accordingly. In the Atharva-veda XVIII, 39, if we may trust the edition, the verse begins with *svâsasthe bhavatam indave naḥ*, which is really the end of the next verse (Rv. X, 13, 2), while the second line is, *vi sloka eti pathyeva sūriḥ srinvantu visve amṛtâsa etat*. I see no sense in *pathyeva sūrâḥ*. Saṅkara explains *pathyeva* by *pathi sanmârge*, *athavâ pathyâ kîrtiḥ*, while his later commentary, giving *srinvantu* and *putrâḥ sūrâtmano hiranyagarbhasya*, leads one to suppose that he read *sûreh srinvantu*. Sâyana (Taitt. Samh. IV, 1, 1, 2) explains *pathyâ sūrâ iva* by *gîrvânamârga antarikshe sūryarasmayo yathâ prasaranti tadvat*. The same, when commenting on the Rig-veda (X, 13, 1), says: *pathyâ-iva sûreh, yathâ stotuḥ sva-bhûtâ pathyâ parinâmasukhâvahâhutir visvân devân prati vividham gakkhati tadvat*. Mahîdhara (Vâg. Samh. XI, 5) refers *sûreh* (*panditasya*) to *slokaḥ*, and explains *pathyeva* by *patho 'napetâ pathyâ yagnînamârgapravṛttâhutiḥ*.

² *Yugé* cannot stand for *yuñge*, as all commentators and translators suppose, but is a dative infinitive. Neither can *yuñgate* in the following verse stand for *yuñkte* (see Boehtlingk, s. v.), or be explained as a subjunctive form. A. reads *adhirudhyate*, B. *abhirudhyate*, with a marginal note *abhinudyate*. It is difficult to say whether in lighting the fire the wind should be directed towards it, or kept from it.

³ That is, at the Soma sacrifice, after the fire has been kindled and stirred by the wind, the poets, on partaking of the juice, are

7. Let us love the old Brahman by the grace of Savitri; if thou make thy dwelling there, the path will not hurt thee¹.

8. If a wise man hold his body with its three erect parts (chest, neck, and head) even², and turn his senses with the mind towards the heart, he will then in the boat of Brahman³ cross all the torrents which cause fear.

9. Compressing his breathings let him, who has subdued all motions, breathe forth through the nose with gentle breath⁴. Let the wise man without fail restrain his mind, that chariot yoked with vicious horses⁵.

10. Let him perform his exercises in a place⁶

inspired for new songs. Śaṅkara, however, suggests another explanation as more appropriate for the Upanishad, namely, 'Where the fire, i.e. the Highest Self, which burns all ignorance, has been kindled (in the body, where it has been rubbed with the syllable Om), and where the breath has acted, i.e. has made the sound peculiar to the initial stages of Yoga, there Brahman is produced.' In fact, what was intended to be taught was this, that we must begin with sacrificial acts, then practise yoga, then reach samādhi, perfect knowledge, and lastly bliss.

¹ We must read *krinavase*, in the sense of 'do this and nothing will hurt thee,' or, if thou do this, thy former deeds will no longer hurt thee.

² Cf. Bhagavadgītā VI, 13. *Samam kâyasirogrivam dhârayan*. Śaṅkara says: *trîny unnatâny urogrîvasirâmsy unnatâni yasmin sarîre*.

³ Explained by Śaṅkara as the syllable Om.

⁴ Cf. Bhagavadgītā V, 27. *Prânâpânau samau krîtvâ nâsâbhyantara kârinau*. See Telang's notes, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. viii, p. 68 seq.

⁵ A similar metaphor in *Kaṭh. Up.* III, 4-6; *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xv, p. 13.

⁶ The question is whether *śabdagalâsrayâdibhiḥ* should be referred to *mano'nukûle*, as I have translated it, or to *vivargite*, as Śaṅkara seems to take it, because he renders *śabda*, sound, by noise, and

level, pure, free from pebbles, fire, and dust, delightful by its sounds, its water, and bowers, not painful to the eye, and full of shelters and caves.

11. When Yoga is being performed, the forms which come first, producing apparitions in Brahman, are those of misty smoke, sun, fire, wind, fire-flies, lightnings, and a crystal moon¹.

12. When, as earth, water, light, heat, and ether arise, the fivefold quality of Yoga takes place², then there is no longer illness, old age, or pain³ for him who has obtained a body, produced by the fire of Yoga.

13. The first results of Yoga they call lightness, healthiness, steadiness, a good complexion, an easy pronunciation, a sweet odour, and slight excretions.

14. As a metal disk (mirror), tarnished by dust, shines bright again after it has been cleaned, so is the one incarnate person satisfied and free from grief, after he has seen the real nature of the self⁴.

âsraya by *mandapa*, a booth. See Bhagavadgîtâ VI, 11. In the Maitr. Up. VI, 30, Râmatîrtha explains *sukau dese* by *girinadî-pulinaguhâdisuddhashthâne*. See also Âsv. *Grîhya-sûtras* III, 2, 2.

¹ Or, it may be, a crystal and the moon.

² The *Yogaguna* is described as the quality of each element, i. e. smell of the earth, taste of water, &c. It seems that the perception of these *gunas* is called *yogapravṛtti*. Thus by fixing the thought on the tip of the nose, a perception of heavenly scent is produced; by fixing it on the tip of the tongue, a perception of heavenly taste; by fixing it on the point of the palate, a heavenly colour; by fixing it on the middle of the tongue, a heavenly touch; by fixing it on the roof of the tongue, a heavenly sound. By means of these perceptions the mind is supposed to be steadied, because it is no longer attracted by the outward objects themselves. See *Yoga-sûtras* I, 35.

³ Or no death, na *mṛityuh*, B.

⁴ *Pareshâm pâ/he tadvat sa tattvam prasamîkshya dehîti*.

15. And when by means of the real nature of his self he sees, as by a lamp, the real nature of Brahman, then having known the unborn, eternal god, who is beyond all natures¹, he is freed from all fetters.

16. He indeed is the god who pervades all regions: he is the first-born (as *Hiranyagarbha*), and he is in the womb. He has been born, and he will be born². He stands behind all persons, looking everywhere.

17. The god³ who is in the fire, the god who is in the water, the god who has entered into the whole world, the god who is in plants, the god who is in trees, adoration be to that god, adoration!

¹ *Sarvatattvair avidyâatkâryair visuddham asamsprisham.*

² This verse is found in the *Vâg. Samh.* XXXII, 4; *Taitt. Âr.* X, 1, 3, with slight modifications. The *Vâgasaneyins* read *esha hi*; *sa eva gâtaḥ* (A. B.) for *sa vigâtaḥ*; *ganâs* (A. B.) for *ganâms*. The *Âranyaka* has *sa vigâyamânaḥ* for *sa vigâtaḥ*, *pratyanmukhâs* for *pratyañganâms*, and *visvatomukhaḥ* for *sarvatomukhaḥ*. *Colebrooke* (*Essays*, I, 57) gives a translation of it. If we read *ganâḥ*, we must take it as a vocative.

³ B. (not A.) reads *yo rudro yo 'gnau*.

THIRD ADHYĀYA¹.

1. The snarer² who rules alone by his powers, who rules all the worlds by his powers, who is one and the same, while things arise and exist³,—they who know this are immortal.

2. For there is one Rudra only, they do not allow a second, who rules all the worlds by his powers. He stands behind all persons⁴, and after having created all worlds he, the protector, rolls it up⁵ at the end of time.

3⁶. That one god, having his eyes, his face, his arms, and his feet in every place, when producing heaven and earth, forges them together with his arms and his wings⁷.

¹ This Adhyāya represents the Highest Self as the personified deity, as the lord, *īśa*, or Rudra, under the sway of his own creative power, *prakṛiti* or *mâyā*.

² Śaṅkara explains *gāla*, snare, by *mâyā*. The verse must be corrected, according to Śaṅkara's commentary:

ya eko gālavān īśata īśanībhiḥ
sarvāñ llokān īśata īśanībhiḥ.

³ Sambhava, in the sense of *Vergehen*, perishing, rests on no authority.

⁴ Here again the MSS. A. B. read *ganâs*, as a vocative.

⁵ I prefer *samkukoka* to *samkukopa*, which gives us the meaning that Rudra, after having created all things, draws together, i. e. takes them all back into himself, at the end of time. I have translated *samsrīgya* by having created, because Boehtlingk and Roth give other instances of *samsrīg* with that sense. Otherwise, 'having mixed them together again,' would seem more appropriate. A. and B. read *samkukoka*.

⁶ This is a very popular verse, and occurs Rig-veda X, 81, 3; Vâg. Samh. XVII, 19; Ath.-veda XIII, 2, 26; Taitt. Samh. IV, 6, 2, 4; Taitt. Âr. X, 1, 3.

⁷ Śaṅkara takes *dhamati* in the sense of *samyogayati*, i. e. he joins men with arms, birds with wings.

4. He¹, the creator and supporter of the gods, Rudra, the great seer, the lord of all, he who formerly gave birth to Hiraṇyagarbha, may he endow us with good thoughts.

5². O Rudra, thou dweller in the mountains, look upon us with that most blessed form of thine which is auspicious, not terrible, and reveals no evil!

6³. O lord of the mountains, make lucky that arrow which thou, a dweller in the mountains, holdest in thy hand to shoot. Do not hurt man or beast!

7. Those who know beyond this the High Brahman, the vast, hidden in the bodies of all creatures, and alone enveloping everything, as the Lord, they become immortal⁴.

8⁵. I know that great person (purusha) of sunlike lustre beyond the darkness⁶. A man who knows him truly, passes over death; there is no other path to go⁷.

9. This whole universe is filled by this person (purusha), to whom there is nothing superior, from whom there is nothing different, than whom there is

¹ See IV, 12.

² See Vâg. Samh. XVI, 2; Taitt. Samh. IV, 5, 1, 1.

³ See Vâg. Samh. XVI, 3; Taitt. Samh. IV, 5, 1, 1; Nîlarudropan. p. 274.

⁴ The knowledge consists in knowing either that Brahman is Îsa or that Îsa is Brahman. But in either case the gender of the adjectives is difficult. The Svetâsvatara-upanishad seems to use *brîhanta* as an adjective, instead of *brîhat*. I should prefer to translate: Beyond this is the High Brahman, the vast. Those who know Îsa, the Lord, hidden in all things and embracing all things to be this (Brahman), become immortal. See also Muir, Metrical Translations, p. 196, whose translation of these verses I have adopted with few exceptions.

⁵ Cf. Vâg. Samh. XXX, 18; Taitt. Âr. III, 12, 7; III, 13, 1.

⁶ Cf. Bhagavadgîtâ VIII, 9.

⁷ Cf. Svet. Up. VI, 15.

nothing smaller or larger, who stands alone, fixed like a tree in the sky¹.

10. That which is beyond this world is without form and without suffering. They who know it, become immortal, but others suffer pain indeed².

11. That Bhagavat³ exists in the faces, the heads, the necks of all, he dwells in the cave (of the heart) of all beings, he is all-pervading, therefore he is the omnipresent Siva.

12. That person (purusha) is the great lord; he is the mover of existence⁴, he possesses that purest power of reaching everything⁵, he is light, he is undecaying.

13⁶. The person (purusha), not larger than a thumb,

¹ Divi, the sky, is explained by Saṅkara as dyotanâtmani svamahimni.

² The pain of *samsâra*, or transmigration. See *Bṛihad. Up.* IV, 3, 20 (p. 178).

³ I feel doubtful whether the two names Bhagavat and Siva should here be preserved, or whether the former should be rendered by holy, the latter by happy. The commentator explains Bhagavat by

*aisvaryasya samagrasya vîryasya yasasah sriyah
Gñānavairāgyayos kaiva shannâm bhaga itiranâ.*

Wilson, in his *Essay on the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, published in 1828, in the *Asiatic Researches*, XVI, p. 11, pointed out that this verse and another (*Svet. Up.* II, 2) were cited by the Saivas as Vedic authorities for their teaching. He remarked that these citations would scarcely have been made, if not authentic, and that they probably did occur in the Vedas. In the new edition of this *Essay* by Dr. Rost, 1862, the references should have been added.

⁴ Saṅkara explains *sattvasya* by *antaḥkaranasya*.

⁵ I take *prâpti*, like other terms occurring in this Upanishad, in its technical sense. *Prâpti* is one of the *vibhûtis* or *aisvaryas*, viz. the power of touching anything at will, as touching the moon with the tip of one's finger. See *Yoga-sûtras*, ed. Rajendralal Mitra, p. 121.

⁶ Cf. *Taitt. Âr.* X, 71 (Anuv. 38, p. 858). *Kaṭh. Up.* IV, 12-13; above, p. 16.

dwelling within, always dwelling in the heart of man, is perceived by the heart, the thought¹, the mind; they who know it become immortal.

14². The person (purusha) with a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, having compassed the earth on every side, extends beyond it by ten fingers' breadth.

15. That person alone (purusha) is all this, what has been and what will be; he is also the lord of immortality; he is whatever grows by food³.

16. Its⁴ hands and feet are everywhere, its eyes and head are everywhere, its ears are everywhere, it stands encompassing all in the world⁵.

17. Separate from all the senses, yet reflecting the qualities of all the senses, it is the lord and ruler of all, it is the great refuge of all.

18. The embodied spirit within the town with nine gates⁶, the bird, flutters outwards, the ruler of

¹ The text has *manvîsa*, which Saṅkara explains by *gñânesa*. But Weber has conjectured rightly, I believe, that the original text must have been *manîshâ*. The difficulty is to understand how so common a word as *manîshâ* could have been changed into so unusual a word as *manvîsa*. See IV, 20.

² This is a famous verse of the Rig-veda, X, 90, 1; repeated in the Atharva-veda, XIX, 6, 1; Vâg. Samh. XXXI, 1; Taitt. Âr. III, 12, 1. Saṅkara explains ten fingers' breadth by endless; or, he says, it may be meant for the heart, which is ten fingers above the navel.

³ Sâyana, in his commentary on the Rig-veda and the Taitt. Âr., gives another explanation, viz. he is also the lord of all the immortals, i. e. the gods, because they grow to their exceeding state by means of food, or for the sake of food.

⁴ The gender changes frequently, according as the author thinks either of the Brahman, or of its impersonation as *Îsa*, Lord.

⁵ Saṅkara explains *loka* by *nikâya*, body.

⁶ Cf. *Kaṭh. Up. V*, 1.

the whole world, of all that rests and of all that moves.

19. Grasping without hands, hasting without feet, he sees without eyes, he hears without ears. He knows what can be known, but no one knows him; they call him the first, the great person (*purusha*).

20¹. The Self, smaller than small, greater than great, is hidden in the heart of the creature. A man who has left all grief behind, sees the majesty, the Lord, the passionless, by the grace of the creator (the Lord).

21². I know³ this undecaying, ancient one, the self of all things, being infinite and omnipresent. They declare that in him all birth is stopped, for the Brahma-students proclaim him to be eternal⁴.

¹ Cf. Taitt. Âr. X, 12 (10), p. 800; Kaṭh. Up. II, 20; above, p. 11. The translation had to be slightly altered, because the Svetâsvataras, as Taittirîyas, read *akratum* for *akratuḥ*, and *îsam* for *âtmanah*.

² Cf. Taitt. Âr. III, 13, 1; III, 12, 7.

³ A. reads *vedârûdham*, not B.

⁴ A. and B. read *brahmavâdino hi pravadanti*.

FOURTH ADHYÂYA.

1. He, the sun, without any colour, who with set purpose¹ by means of his power (*sakti*) produces endless colours², in whom all this comes together in the beginning, and comes asunder in the end—may he, the god, endow us with good thoughts³.

2. That (Self) indeed is Agni (fire), it is Âditya (sun), it is Vâyu (wind), it is *Kandramas* (moon); the same also is the starry firmament⁴, it is Brahman (*Hiranyagarbha*), it is water, it is *Pragâpati* (*Virâg*).

3. Thou art woman, thou art man; thou art youth, thou art maiden; thou, as an old man, totterest⁵ along on thy staff; thou art born with thy face turned everywhere.

4. Thou art the dark-blue bee, thou art the green

¹ *Nihitârtha*, explained by Saṅkara as *grîhîtaprayoganaḥ svârthanirapekshaḥ*. This may mean with set purpose, but if we read *agrîhîtaprayoganaḥ* it would mean the contrary, namely, without any definite object, irrespective of his own objects. This is possible, and perhaps more in accordance with the idea of creation as propounded by those to whom the *devâtmasakti* is *mâyâ*. *Nihita* would then mean hidden.

² Colour is intended for qualities, differences, &c.

³ This verse has been translated very freely. As it stands, *vi kaiti kânte visvam âdau sa devaḥ*, it does not construe, in spite of all attempts to the contrary, made by Saṅkara. What is intended is *yasminn idam sam ka vi kaiti sarvam* (IV, 11); but how so simple a line should have been changed into what we read now, is difficult to say.

⁴ This is the explanation of Saṅkara, and probably that of the Yoga schools in India at his time. But to take *sukram* for *dîp-timan nakshatrâdi*, *brahma* for *Hiranyagarbha*, and *Pragâpati* for *Virâg* seems suggested by this verse only.

⁵ *Vañkayasi*, an exceptional form, instead of *vañkasi* (A. B.)

parrot with red eyes, thou art the thunder-cloud, the seasons, the seas. Thou art without beginning¹, because thou art infinite, thou from whom all worlds are born.

5². There is one unborn being (female), red, white, and black, uniform, but producing manifold offspring. There is one unborn being (male) who loves her and lies by her; there is another who leaves her, while she is eating what has to be eaten.

¹ We see throughout the constant change from the masculine to the neuter gender, in addressing either the lord or his true essence.

² This is again one of the famous verses of our Upanishad, because it formed for a long time a bone of contention between Vedânta and Sâṅkhya philosophers. The Sâṅkhyas admit two principles, the Purusha, the absolute subject, and the Prakṛiti, generally translated by nature. The Vedânta philosophers admit nothing but the one absolute subject, and look upon nature as due to a power inherent in that subject. The later Sâṅkhyas therefore, who are as anxious as the Vedântins to find authoritative passages in the Veda, confirming their opinions, appeal to this and other passages, to show that their view of Prakṛiti, as an independent power, is supported by the Veda. The whole question is fully discussed in the Vedânta-sûtras I, 4, 8. Here we read rohitakṛishṇa-suklâm, which seems preferable to lohita-kṛishṇa-varṇâm, at least from a Vedânta point of view, for the three colours, red, black, and white, are explained as signifying either the three guṇas, ragas, sattva, and tamas, or better (*Khând. Up. VI, 3, 1*), the three elements, tejas (fire), ap (water), and anna (earth). A. reads rohitasuklakṛishṇâm; B. lohitasuklakṛishṇâ (sic). We also find in A. and B. bhuktabhogâm for bhuktabhogyâm, but the latter seems technically the more correct reading. It would be quite wrong to imagine that aga and agâ are meant here for he-goat and she-goat. These words, in the sense of unborn, are recognised as early as the hymns of the Rig-veda, and they occurred in our Upanishad I, 9, where the two agas are mentioned in the same sense as here. But there is, no doubt, a play on the words, and the poet wished to convey the second meaning of he-goat and she-goat, only not as the primary, but as the secondary intention.

6¹. Two birds, inseparable friends, cling to the same tree. One of them eats the sweet fruit, the other looks on without eating.

7. On the same tree man sits grieving, immersed, bewildered, by his own impotence (an-īśā). But when he sees the other lord (īśa) contented, and knows his glory, then his grief passes away.

8². He who does not know that indestructible being of the *Rig-veda*, that highest ether-like (Self) wherein all the gods reside, of what use is the *Rig-veda* to him? Those only who know it, rest contented.

9. That from which the maker (mâyin³) sends forth all this—the sacred verses, the offerings, the sacrifices, the panaceas, the past, the future, and all

¹ The same verses occur in the *Mundaka Up.* III, 1.

² It is difficult to see how this verse comes in here. In the *Taitt. Âr.* II, 11, 6, it is quoted in connection with the syllable Om, the Akshara, in which all the Vedas are comprehended. It is similarly used in the *Nṛsiṃha-pūrva-tâpanî*, IV, 2; V, 2. In our passage, however, akshara is referred by Saṅkara to the paramâtman, and I have translated it accordingly. *Rikah* is explained as a genitive singular, but it may also be taken as a nom. plur., and in that case both the verses of the Veda and the gods are said to reside in the Akshara, whether we take it for the Paramâtman or for the Om. In the latter case, parame vyoman is explained by *utkrīṣhṭe* and *rakshake*.

³ It is impossible to find terms corresponding to *mâyâ* and *mâyin*. *Mâyâ* means making, or art, but as all making or creating, so far as the Supreme Self is concerned, is phenomenal only or mere illusion, *mâyâ* conveys at the same time the sense of illusion. In the same manner *mâyin* is the maker, the artist, but also the magician or juggler. What seems intended by our verse is that from the akshara, which corresponds to brahman, all proceeds, whatever exists or seems to exist, but that the actual creator or the author of all emanations is *Īśa*, the Lord, who, as creator, is acting through *mâyâ* or *devâtmasakti*. Possibly, however, *anya*, the other, may be meant for the individual *purusha*.

that the Vedas declare—in that the other is bound up through that *mâyâ*.

10. Know then *Prakṛiti* (nature) is *Mâyâ* (art), and the great Lord the *Mâyin* (maker); the whole world is filled with what are his members.

11. If a man has discerned him, who being one only, rules over every germ (cause), in whom all this comes together and comes asunder again, who is the lord, the bestower of blessing, the adorable god, then he passes for ever into that peace.

12¹. He, the creator and supporter of the gods, Rudra, the great seer, the lord of all, who saw² *Hiranyagarbha* being born, may he endow us with good thoughts.

13. He who is the sovereign of the gods, he in whom all the worlds³ rest, he who rules over all two-footed and four-footed beings, to that god⁴ let us sacrifice an oblation.

14. He who has known him who is more subtle than subtle, in the midst of chaos, creating all things, having many forms, alone enveloping everything⁵, the happy one (*Siva*), passes into peace for ever.

¹ See before, III, 4.

² *Saṅkara* does not explain this verse again, though it differs from III, 4. *Vigñânâtman* explains *pasyata* by *apasyata*, and qualifies the *Âtmanepada* as irregular.

³ B. reads *yasmin devâh*, not A.

⁴ I read *tasmai* instead of *kasmai*, a various reading mentioned by *Vigñânâtman*. It was easy to change *tasmai* into *kasmai*, because of the well-known line in the *Rig-veda*, *kasmai devâya havishâ vidhema*. Those who read *kasmai*, explain it as a dative of *Ka*, a name of *Pragâpati*, which in the dative should be *kâya*, and not *kasmai*. It would be better to take *kasmai* as the dative of the interrogative pronoun. See M. M., *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 433; and *Vitâna-sutras* IV, 22.

⁵ Cf. III, 7.

15. He also was in time¹ the guardian of this world, the lord of all, hidden in all beings. In him the Brahmarshis and the deities are united², and he who knows him cuts the fetters of death asunder.

16. He who knows Siva (the blessed) hidden in all beings, like the subtile film that rises from out the clarified butter³, alone enveloping everything,—he who knows the god, is freed from all fetters.

17. That god, the maker of all things, the great Self⁴, always dwelling in the heart of man, is perceived by the heart, the soul, the mind⁵;—they who know it become immortal.

18. When the light has risen⁶, there is no day, no night, neither existence nor non-existence⁷; Siva (the blessed) alone is there. That is the eternal, the adorable light of Savitri⁸,—and the ancient wisdom proceeded thence.

19. No one has grasped him above, or across, or in the middle⁹. There is no image of him whose name is Great Glory.

20. His form cannot be seen, no one perceives him with the eye. Those¹⁰ who through heart and

¹ In former ages, Saṅkara.

² Because both the Brahmarshis, the holy seers, and the deities find their true essence in Brahman.

³ We should say, like cream from milk.

⁴ Or the high-minded.

⁵ See III, 13.

⁶ Atamas, no darkness, i. e. light of knowledge.

⁷ See on the difficulty of translating sat and asat, τὸ ὄν and τὸ μὴ ὄν, the remarks in the Preface.

⁸ Referring to the Gâyatrî, Rig-veda III, 62, 10; see also Svet. Up. V, 4.

⁹ See Muir, Metrical Translations, p. 198; Maitr. Up. VI, 17.

¹⁰ B. reads *hṛidâ manîshâ manasâbhiklîpto, yat tad vidur*; A. *hṛidi hṛidistham manasâya enam evam vidur*.

mind know him thus abiding in the heart, become immortal.

21. 'Thou art unborn,' with these words some one comes near to thee, trembling. O Rudra, let thy gracious¹ face protect me for ever!

22². O Rudra! hurt us not in our offspring and descendants, hurt us not in our own lives, nor in our cows, nor in our horses! Do not slay our men in thy wrath, for, holding oblations, we call on thee always.

¹ Dakshina is explained either as invigorating, exhilarating, or turned towards the south.

² See Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, I, p. 141; *Rig-veda* I, 114, 8; *Taitt. Samh.* IV, 5, 10, 3; *Vâg. Samh.* XVI, 16. The various readings are curious. Âyushi in the *Svet. Up.*, instead of âyau in the *Rig-veda*, is supported by the *Taitt. Samh.* and the *Vâg. Samh.*; but *Vigñânâtman* reads âyau. As to bhâmito, it seems the right reading, being supported by the *Rig-veda*, the *Taitt. Samh.*, and the *Svet. Up.*, while bhâvito in Roer's edition is a misprint. The *Vâg. Samh.* alone reads bhâmino, which Mahidhara refers to virân. The last verse in the *Rig-veda* and *Vâg. Samh.* is havishmantah sadam it tvâ havâmahe; in the *Taitt. Samh.* havishmantanto namasâ vidhema te. In the *Svet. Up.* havishmantah sadasi tvâ havâmahe, as printed by Roer, seems to rest on Sankara's authority only. The other commentators, Sankarânanda and *Vigñânâtman*, read and interpret sadam it.

FIFTH ADHYÂYA.

1. In the imperishable and infinite Highest Brahman¹, wherein the two, knowledge and ignorance, are hidden², the one, ignorance, perishes³, the other, knowledge, is immortal; but he who controls both, knowledge and ignorance, is another⁴.

2. It is he who, being one only, rules over every germ (cause), over all forms, and over all germs; it is he who, in the beginning, bears⁵ in his thoughts the wise son, the fiery, whom he wishes to look on⁶ while he is born⁷.

3⁸. In that field⁹ in which the god, after spreading out one net after another¹⁰ in various ways, draws it together again, the Lord, the great Self¹¹, having

¹ Saṅkara explains Brahmapare by *brahmano hiranyagarbhât pare*, or by *parasmin brahmani*, which comes to the same. *Vigñânâtman* adds *hândasaḥ paranipâtah*. As the termination *e* may belong to the locative singular or to the nom. dual, commentators vary in referring some of the adjectives either to *brahman* or to *vidyâvidye*.

² *Gûdhe*, *lokair gñâtum asakye*, Saṅkarânanda.

³ Saṅkara explains *ksharam* by *samsritikâranam*, *amṛitam* by *mokshahetuḥ*.

⁴ Saṅkara explains that he is different from them, being only the *sâkshin*, or witness. Saṅkarânanda seems to have read *Somya*, i. e. *Somavatpriyadarsana*, as if *Svetârsvatvara* addressed his pupil.

⁵ Like a mother, see I, 9.

⁶ Like a father.

⁷ See on this verse the remarks made in the Introduction.

⁸ The MSS. read *yasmin* for *asmin*, and *patayas* for *yatayas*, which the commentator explains by *patñ*.

⁹ The world, or the *mûlaprakṛiti*, the net being the *samsâra*.

¹⁰ Saṅkara explains *ekaikam* by *pratyekam*, i. e. for every creature, such as gods, men, beasts, &c.

¹¹ I doubt whether *mahâtmâ* should be translated by the great

further created the lords¹, thus carries on his lordship over all.

4. As the car (of the sun) shines, lighting up all quarters, above, below, and across, thus does that god, the holy, the adorable, being one, rule over all that has the nature of a germ².

5. He, being one, rules over all and everything, so that the universal germ ripens its nature, diversifies all natures that can be ripened³, and determines all qualities⁴.

6⁵. Brahmâ (Hiranyagarbha) knows this, which is hidden in the Upanishads, which are hidden in the Vedas, as the Brahma-germ. The ancient gods

Self, or whether great would not be sufficient. The whole verse is extremely difficult.

¹ From Hiranyagarbha to insects; or beginning with Marîçi.

² Cf. IV, 11; V, 2.

³ MS. B. has *prâkyân*, and explains it by *pûrvotpannân*.

⁴ This is again a very difficult verse. I have taken *visvayoniḥ* as a name for Brahman, possessed of that *devâtmasakti* which was mentioned before, but I feel by no means satisfied. The commentators do not help, because they do not see the difficulty of the construction. If one might conjecture, I should prefer *paṭet* for *paṭati*, and should write *parizâmayed yat*, and *vinियogayed yat*, unless we changed *yakṣa* into *yaṣṣa*.

⁵ This verse admits of various translations, and requires also some metrical emendations. Thus *Vigñânâtman* explains *vedaghyopanishatsu* very ingeniously by the *Veda*, i. e. that part of it which teaches sacrifices and their rewards; the *Guhya*, i. e. the *Âranyaka*, which teaches the worship of Brahman under various legendary aspects; and the *Upanishads*, which teach the knowledge of Brahman without qualities. These three divisions would correspond to the *karmakânda*, *yogakânda*, and *gñânakânda* (*Gaimini*, *Patañjali*, *Bâdarâyana*). See Deussen, *Vedânta*, p. 20. Mr. Gough and Dr. Roer take *Brahmayoni* as 'the source of the Veda,' or as the source of *Hiranyagarbha*. The irregular form *vedate* may be due to a corruption of *vedânte*.

and poets who knew it, they became it and were immortal.

7¹. But he who is endowed with qualities, and performs works that are to bear fruit, and enjoys the reward of whatever he has done, migrates through his own works, the lord of life, assuming all forms, led by the three *Guṇas*, and following the three paths².

8³. That lower one also, not larger than a thumb, but brilliant like the sun, who is endowed with personality and thoughts, with the quality of mind and the quality of body, is seen small even like the point of a goad.

9. That living soul is to be known as part of the hundredth part of the point of a hair⁴, divided a hundred times, and yet it is to be infinite.

10. It is not woman, it is not man, nor is it neuter; whatever body it takes, with that it is joined⁵ (only).

11⁶. By means of thoughts, touching, seeing, and

¹ Here begins the description of what is called the *tvam* (thou), as opposed to the *tat* (that), i. e. the living soul, as opposed to the Highest Brahman.

² The paths of vice, virtue, and knowledge.

³ Both MSS. (A. and B.) read *ârâgramâtro hy avaro 'pi dri-sh/aḥ*.

⁴ An expression of frequent occurrence in Buddhist literature.

⁵ A. and B. read *yugyate*. A. explains *yugyate* by *sambadh-yate*. B. explains *adyate* *bhakshyate* *tirobhûtaḥ* *kriyate*. Sāṅkara explains *rakshyate*, *saṁrakshyate*, *tattaddharmân âtmany adhyasyâ-bhimanyate*.

⁶ The MSS. vary considerably. Instead of *mohair*, A. and B. read *homair*. They read *grâsâmbuvrîsh/ya kâtma*. A. reads *âtmavivṛiddhiganma*, B. *âtmanivṛiddhaganmâ*. A. has *abhisam-prapadye*, B. *abhisamprapadyate*. My translation follows Sāṅkara, who seems to have read *âtmavivṛiddhiganma*, taking the whole line

passions the incarnate Self assumes successively in various places various forms¹, in accordance with his deeds, just as the body grows when food and drink are poured into it.

12. That incarnate Self, according to his own qualities, chooses (assumes) many shapes, coarse or subtle, and having himself caused his union with them, he is seen as another and another², through the qualities of his acts, and through the qualities of his body.

13³. He who knows him who has no beginning and no end, in the midst of chaos, creating all things, having many forms, alone enveloping everything, is freed from all fetters.

14. Those who know him who is to be grasped by the mind, who is not to be called the nest (the body⁴), who makes existence and non-existence, the

as a simile and in an adverbial form. *Vigñânâtman*, however, differs considerably. He reads *homaiḥ*, and explains *homa* as the act of throwing oblations into the fire, as in the *Agnihotra*. This action of the hands, he thinks, stands for all actions of the various members of the body. *Grâsâmbuvrîṣhā* he takes to mean free distribution of food and drink, and then explains the whole sentence by 'he whose self is born unto some states or declines from them again, namely, according as he has showered food and drink, and has used his hands, eyes, feelings, and thoughts.' *Saṅkarânanda* takes a similar view, only he construes *saṅkalpanam* and *sparsanam* as two *drîṣhās*, *te eva drîṣhāḥ*, *tayor âtmâgnau prakshepâ homāḥ*; and then goes on, *na kevalam etaiḥ, kim tv asmin sthâne sarîre grâsâmbuvrîṣhāyâ ka*. He seems to read *âtmavivṛddhaganmâ*, but afterwards explains *vivṛiddhi* by *vividhâ vṛiddhiḥ*.

¹ Forms as high as *Hiranyagarbha* or as low as beasts.

² Instead of *aparo*, B. reads *avaro*, but explains *aparo*.

³ Cf. III, 7; IV, 14, 16.

⁴ *Nîḍa* is explained as the body, but *Saṅkarânanda* reads *anilâkhyam*, who is called the wind, as being *prânasya prânam*, the breath of the breath.

happy one (Siva), who also creates the elements¹, they have left the body.

¹ Saṅkara explains kalāsargakaram by he who creates the sixteen kalās, mentioned by the Âtharvavikas, beginning with prâṇa, and ending with nâman; see Prasṇa Up. VI, 4. Vigñânâtman suggests two other explanations, 'he who creates by means of the kalâ, i. e. his inherent power;' or 'he who creates the Vedas and other sciences.' The sixteen kalās are, according to Saṅkarânanda, prâṇa, sraddhâ, kha, vâyu, gyotih, ap, prithivî, indriya, manaḥ, anna, vîrya, tapaḥ, mantra, karman, kâla (?), nâman. See also before, I, 4.

SIXTH ADHYĀYA.

1¹. Some wise men, deluded, speak of Nature, and others of Time (as the cause of everything²); but it is the greatness of God by which this Brahma-wheel is made to turn.

2. It is at the command of him who always covers this world, the knower, the time of time³, who assumes qualities and all knowledge⁴, it is at his command that this work (creation) unfolds itself, which is called earth, water, fire, air, and ether;

3⁵. He who, after he has done that work and rested again, and after he has brought together one essence (the self) with the other (matter), with one, two, three, or eight, with time also and with the subtile qualities of the mind, ↓

4. Who, after starting⁶ the works endowed with (the three) qualities, can order all things, yet when, in the absence of all these, he has caused the destruction of the work, goes on, being in truth⁷ different (from all he has produced);

¹ See Muir, Metrical Translations, p. 198.

² See before, I, 2.

³ The destroyer of time. *Vigñānātman* reads *kālakālo*, and explains it by *kālasya niyantā, upahartā*. *Saṅkarānanda* explains *kālaḥ sarvavināśakārī, tasyāpi vināśakaraḥ*. See also verse 16.

⁴ Or *sarvavid yaḥ*.

⁵ Instead of *vinivartya*, *Vigñānātman* and *Saṅkarānanda* read *vinivṛtya*.

⁶ *Āruhya* for *ārabhya*, *Saṅkarānanda*.

⁷ These two verses are again extremely obscure, and the explanations of the commentators throw little light on their real, original meaning. To begin with *Saṅkara*, he assumes the subject to be the same as he at whose command this work unfolds itself, and explains

5. He is the beginning, producing the causes which unite (the soul with the body), and, being

tattvasya tattvena sametya yogam by âtmano bhûmyâdinâ yogam samgamayya. As the eight Tattvas he gives earth, water, fire, air, ether, mind, thought, personality, while the Âtmagunas are, according to him, the affections of the mind, love, anger, &c. In the second verse, however, Saṅkara seems to assume a different subject. 'If a man,' he says, 'having done works, infected by qualities, should transfer them on Îsvara, the Lord, there would be destruction of the works formerly done by him, because there would be no more connection with the self.' Something is left out, but that this is Saṅkara's idea, appears from the verses which he quotes in support, and which are intended to show that Yogins, transferring all their acts, good, bad, or indifferent, on Brahman, are no longer affected by them. 'That person,' Saṅkara continues, 'his works being destroyed and his nature purified, moves on, different from all things (tattva), from all the results of ignorance, knowing himself to be Brahman.' 'Or,' he adds, 'if we read anyad, it means, he goes to that Brahman which is different from all things.'

Saṅkarânanda takes a different view. He says: 'If a man has performed sacrifices, and has finished them, or, has turned away from them again as vain, and if he has obtained union with that which is the real of the (apparently) real, &c.' The commentator then asks what is that with which he obtains union, and replies, 'the one, i. e. ignorance; the two, i. e. right and wrong; the three, i. e. the three colours, red, white, and black; and the eight, i. e. the five elements, with mind, thought, and personality; also with time, and with the subtile affections of the mind.' He then goes on, 'If that man, after having begun qualified works, should take on himself all states (resulting from ignorance), yet, when these states cease, there would be an end of the work, good or bad, done by him, and when his work has come to an end, he abides in truth (according to the Veda); while the other, who differs from the Veda, is wrong.' Saṅkarânanda, however, evidently feels that this is a doubtful interpretation, and he suggests another, viz. 'If the Lord himself,' he says, 'determined these states (bhâva), it would seem that there would be no end of samsâra. He therefore says, that when these states, ignorance &c., cease, the work done by man ceases; and when the work done ceases, the living soul gets free of samsâra, being in truth another, i. e. different from ignorance and its products.'

Vigñânâtman says: 'If a man, having done work, turns away

above the three kinds of time (past, present, future), he is seen as without parts¹, after we have first worshipped that adorable god, who has many forms, and who is the true source (of all things), as dwelling in our own mind.

6. He is beyond all the forms of the tree² (of the world) and of time, he is the other, from whom this world moves round, when³ one has known him who

from it, and obtains union of one tattva (the *tvam*, or self) with the real tattva (the *tat*, or the Lord);—and how? By means of the one, i. e. the teaching of the Guru; the two, i. e. love of the Guru and of the Lord; the three, i. e. hearing, remembering, and meditating; the eight, i. e. restraint, penance, postures, regulation of the breath, abstraction, devotion, contemplation, and meditation (*Yoga-sûtras* II, 29); by time, i. e. the right time for work; by the qualities of the self, i. e. pity, &c.; by the subtle ones, i. e. the good dispositions for knowledge, then (we must supply) he becomes free.' And this he explains more fully in the next verse. 'If, after having done qualified works, i. e. works to please the Lord, a Yati discards all things, and recognises the phenomenal character of all states, and traces them back to their real source in *Mûlaprakṛiti* and, in the end, in the *Sakṣidânanda*, he becomes free. If they (the states) cease, i. e. are known in their real source, the work done ceases also in its effects, and when the work has been annihilated, he goes to freedom, being another in truth; or, if we read *anyat*, he goes to what is different from all these things, namely, to the Lord; or, he goes to a state of perfect lordship in truth, having discovered the highest truth, the oneness of the self with the Highest Self.'

I think that, judging from the context, the subject is really the same in both verses, viz. the Lord, as passing through different states, and at last knowing himself to be above them all. Yet, the other explanations may be defended, and if the subject were taken to be different in each verse, some difficulties would disappear.

¹ *Vigñânâtman* and *Saṅkarânanda* read *akalo 'pi*, without parts, and *Saṅkara*, too, presupposes that reading, though the text is corrupt in Roer's edition.

² Explained as *samsâravṛksha*, the world-tree, as described in the *Kaṭha Up.* VI, 1.

³ It seems possible to translate this verse in analogy with the former, and without supplying the verb either from *yâti*, in verse 4,

brings good and removes evil, the lord of bliss, as dwelling within the self, the immortal, the support of all.

7. Let us know that highest great lord of lords¹, the highest deity of deities, the master of masters, the highest above, as god, the lord of the world, the adorable.

8. There is no effect and no cause known of him, no one is seen like unto him or better; his high power is revealed as manifold, as inherent, acting as force and knowledge. ✓

9. There is no master of his in the world, no ruler of his, not even a sign of him². He is the cause, the lord of the lords of the organs³, and there is of him neither parent nor lord. |

10. That only god who spontaneously covered himself, like a spider, with threads drawn from the first cause (pradhâna), grant us entrance into Brahman⁴. ✓

11. He is the one God, hidden in all beings, all-

or from vidâma, in verse 7. The poet seems to have said, he is that, he is seen as that, when one has worshipped him, or when one has known him within oneself.

¹ Sāṅkara thinks that the lords are Vaivasvata &c.; the deities, Indra &c.; the masters, the Pragâpatīs. Viṣṇûānâtman explains the lords as Brahman, Viṣṇu, Rudra, &c.; the deities as Indra, &c.; the masters as Hiranyagarbha, &c. Sāṅkarānanda sees in the lords Hiranyagarbha &c., in the deities Agni &c., in the masters the Pragâpatīs, such as Kasyapa.

² If he could be inferred from a sign, there would be no necessity for the Veda to reveal him.

³ Karaṇa, instrument, is explained as organ of sense. The lords of such organs would be all living beings, and their lord the true Lord.

⁴ Besides brahmâpyayam, i. e. brahmany apyayam, ekîbhâvam, another reading is brahmâvyayam, i. e. brahma kâvyayam ka.

pervading, the self within all beings, watching over all works, dwelling in all beings, the witness, the perceiver¹, the only one, free from qualities.

✓ 12². He is the one ruler of many who (seem to act, but really do) not act³; he makes the one seed manifold. The wise who perceive him within their self, to them belongs eternal happiness, not to others.

13⁴. He is the eternal among eternal, the thinker among thinkers, who, though one, fulfils the desires of many. He who has known that cause which is to be apprehended by Sâṅkhya (philosophy) and Yoga (religious discipline), he is freed from all fetters.

¹ All the MSS. seem to read *ketâ*, not *kettâ*.

² See *Kaṭha-upanishad* V, 12-15.

³ Sâṅkara explains that the acts of living beings are due to their organs, but do not affect the Highest Self, which always remains passive (*nishkriya*).

⁴ I have formerly translated this verse, according to the reading *nityo 'nityânâm ketanas ketanânâm*, the eternal thinker of non-eternal thoughts. This would be a true description of the Highest Self who, though himself eternal and passive, has to think (*gīvâtman*) non-eternal thoughts. I took the first *ketanaḥ* in the sense of *kettâ*, the second in the sense of *ketanam*. The commentators, however, take a different, and it may be, from their point, a more correct view. Sâṅkara says: 'He is the eternal of the eternal, i. e. as he possesses eternity among living souls (*gīvas*), these living souls also may claim eternity. Or the eternal may be meant for earth, water, &c. And in the same way he is the thinker among thinkers.'

Sâṅkarānanda says: 'He is eternal, imperishable, among eternal, imperishable things, such as the ether, &c. He is thinking among thinkers.'

Vigñânâtman says: 'The Highest Lord is the cause of eternity in eternal things on earth, and the cause of thought in the thinkers on earth.' But he allows another construction, namely, that he is the eternal thinker of those who on earth are endowed with eternity and thought. In the end all these interpretations come to

14. The¹ sun does not shine there, nor the moon and the stars, nor these lightnings, and much less this fire. When he shines, everything shines after him; by his light all this is lightened.

15. He is the one bird² in the midst of the world; he is also (like) the fire (of the sun) that has set in the ocean. A man who knows him truly, passes over death³; there is no other path to go.

16. He makes all, he knows all, the self-caused, the knower⁴, the time of time (destroyer of time), who assumes qualities and knows everything, the master of nature and of man⁵, the lord of the three qualities (*guṇa*), the cause of the bondage, the existence, and the liberation of the world⁶.

17. He who has become that⁷, he is the immortal, remaining the lord, the knower, the ever-present guardian of this world, who rules this world for ever, for no one else is able to rule it.

18. Seeking for freedom I go for refuge to that God who is the light of his own thoughts⁸, he who

the same, viz. that there is only one eternal, and only one thinker, from whom all that is (or seems to be) eternal and all that is thought on earth is derived.

¹ See *Kaṭh. Up.* V, 15; *Mund. Up.* II, 2, 10; *Bhagavadgītā* XV, 6.

² *Hamsa*, frequently used for the Highest Self, is explained here as *hantya avidyā dibandhakāraṇam iti hamsaḥ*.

³ Cf. III, 8.

⁴ Again the MSS. read *kālakālo*, as in verse 2. They also agree in putting *gñāḥ* before *kālakālo*, as in verse 2.

⁵ *Pradhānam avyaktam, kshetragñō vigñānātmā*.

⁶ He binds, sustains, and dissolves worldly existence.

⁷ He who seems to exist for a time in the form of *kshetragñā* and *pradhāna*.

⁸ The MSS. vary between *ātmabuddhiprakāśam* and *ātmabuddhiprasādam*. The former reading is here explained by *Śaṅkarānanda* as *svabuddhisākṣinam*.

first creates Brahman (m.)¹ and delivers the Vedas to him ;

19. Who is without parts, without actions, tranquil, without fault, without taint², the highest bridge to immortality—like a fire that has consumed its fuel.

20. Only when men shall roll up the sky like a hide, will there be an end of misery, unless God has first been known³.

21. Through the power of his penance and through the grace of God⁴ has the wise Svetāsvatara truly⁵ proclaimed Brahman, the highest and holiest, to the best of ascetics⁶, as approved by the company of *Rishis*.

¹ Explained as *Hiranyagarbha*.

² *Nirañganam nirlepam*.

³ *Saṅkarānanda* reads *tadā śivam avigñāya dukkhasyānto bhaviṣyati*; *Vigñānātman* retains *devam*, but mentions *śivam* as a various reading. Both have *anto*, not *antam*, like *Roer*. *Saṅkara* seems to have found *na* before *bhaviṣyati*, or to have read *dukkhānto na bhaviṣyati*, for he explains that there will be no end of misery, unless God has first been known. It is possible, however, that the same idea may be expressed in the text as we read it, so that it should mean, Only when the impossible shall happen, such as the sky being rolled up by men, will misery cease, unless God has been discovered in the heart.

⁴ The MSS. read *devaprasādāt*, which is more in keeping with the character of this Upanishad.

⁵ *Samyak* may be both adverb and adjective in this sentence, *kākāḥshinyāyena*.

⁶ *Atyāsramin* is explained by *Saṅkara* as *atyantam pūgyatamāśramibhyaḥ*; and he adds, *ṣaṭśikṣā bhikṣavaḥ ka bahūdakakuṣṭhakau, Hamsaḥ paramahamsas ka yo yaḥ paśkāt sa uttamaḥ*. *Weber* (*Indische Studien*, II, 109) has himself corrected his mistake of reading *antyāsramibhyaḥ*, and translating it by neighbouring hermits.

These four stages in the life of a *Sannyāsin* are the same to-day as they were in the time of the Upanishads, and *Dayānanda Sarasvatī*

22. This highest mystery in the Vedânta, delivered in a former age, should not be given to one whose passions have not been subdued, nor to one who is not a son, or who is not a pupil¹.

23. If these truths have been told to a high-minded man, who feels the highest devotion for God, and for his Guru as for God, then they will shine forth,—then they will shine forth indeed.

describes them in his autobiography, though in a different order :

1. Kuśīkaka, living in a hut, or in a desolate place, and wearing a red-ochre coloured garment, carrying a three-knotted bamboo rod, and wearing the hair in the centre of the crown of the head, having the sacred thread, and devoting oneself to the contemplation of Parabrahma. 2. Bahūdaka, one who lives quite apart from his family and the world, maintains himself on alms collected at seven houses, and wears the same kind of reddish garment. 3. Hamsa, the same as in the preceding case, except the carrying of only a one-knotted bamboo. 4. Paramahamsa, the same as the others ; but the ascetic wears the sacred thread, and his hair and beard are quite long. This is the highest of all orders. A Paramahamsa who shows himself worthy is on the very threshold of becoming a Dīkshita.

¹ Cf. *Brh. Up.* VI, 3, 12 ; *Maitr. Up.* VI, 29.

PRASŔA-UPANISHAD.

PRASŌA-UPANISHAD.

FIRST QUESTION.

Adoration to the Highest Self! Hariḥ, Om!

1. Sukesas¹ Bhâradvâga², and Saivya Satyakâma, and Sauryâyanin³ Gârgya, and Kausalya⁴ Âsvalâyana, and Bhârgava Vaidarbhi⁵, and Kabandhin Kâtyâyana, these were devoted to Brahman, firm in Brahman, seeking for the Highest Brahman. They thought that the venerable Pippalâda could tell them all that, and they therefore took fuel in their hands (like pupils), and approached him.

2. That Rishi said to them: 'Stay here a year longer, with penance, abstinence, and faith; then you may ask questions according to your pleasure, and if we know them, we shall tell you all.'

3. Then⁶ Kabandhin Kâtyâyana approached him and asked: 'Sir, from whence may these creatures be born?'

¹ Sukesas seems better than Sukesan, and he is so called in the sixth Prasṇa, in MS. Mill 74.

² Bhâradvâga, Saivya, Gârgya, Âsvalâyana, Bhârgava, and Kâtyâyana are, according to Saṅkara, names of gotras or families.

³ Sûryasyâpatyam Sauryaḥ, tadapatyam Sauryâyaninḥ. Dîrghaḥ sulopas ka kṛândasa iti sa eva Sauryâyaninḥ.

⁴ Kausalyo nâmataḥ, kosalâyâm bhavo vâ.

⁵ Vaidarbhi is explained as vidarbheḥ prabhavaḥ, or Vidarbheshu prabhavaḥ. Vidarbha, a country, south of the Vindhya mountains, with Kundîna as its capital. Vaidarbha, a king of the Vidarbhas, is mentioned in the Ait. Brâhm. VII, 34. Vaidarbhi is a patronymic of Vidarbha. See B. R. s. v.

⁶ After the year was over.

4. He replied : 'Pragâpati (the lord of creatures) was desirous of creatures (pragâh). He performed penance¹, and having performed penance, he produces a pair, matter (rayi) and spirit (prâna), thinking that they together should produce creatures for him in many ways.

5². The sun is spirit, matter is the moon. All this, what has body and what has no body, is matter, and therefore body indeed is matter.

6. Now Âditya, the sun, when he rises, goes toward the East, and thus receives the Eastern spirits into his rays. And when he illuminates the South, the West, the North, the Zenith, the Nadir, the intermediate quarters, and everything, he thus receives all spirits into his rays.

7. Thus he rises, as Vaisvânara, (belonging to all men,) assuming all forms, as spirit, as fire. This has been said in the following verse :

8³. (They knew) him who assumes all forms, the golden⁴, who knows all things, who ascends highest, alone in his splendour, and warms us ; the thousand-rayed, who abides in a hundred places, the spirit of all creatures, the Sun, rises.

9. The year indeed is Pragâpati, and there are two paths thereof, the Southern and the Northern. Now those who here believe in sacrifices and pious gifts as work done, gain the moon only as their

¹ Or he meditated ; see Upanishads, vol. i, p. 238, n. 3.

² Saṅkara explains, or rather obscures, this by saying that the sun is breath, or the eater, or Agni, while matter is the food, namely, Soma.

³ Cf. Maitr. Up. VI, 8.

⁴ *Harinam* is explained as *rasmimantam*, or as *harati sarveshâm prâṇinâm âyûmshi bhaumân vâ rasân iti harinaḥ*. I prefer to take it in the sense of yellow, or golden.

(future) world, and return again. Therefore the *Rishis* who desire offspring, go to the South, and that path of the Fathers is matter (*rayi*).

10. But those who have sought the Self by penance, abstinence, faith, and knowledge, gain by the Northern path *Âditya*, the sun. This is the home of the spirits, the immortal, free from danger, the highest. From thence they do not return, for it is the end. Thus says the *Sloka*¹:

11. Some call him the father with five feet (the five seasons), and with twelve shapes (the twelve months), the giver of rain in the highest half of heaven; others again say that the sage is placed in the lower half, in the chariot² with seven wheels and six spokes.

12. The month is *Pragâpati*; its dark half is matter, its bright half spirit. Therefore some *Rishis* perform sacrifice in the bright half, others in the other half.

13. Day and Night³ are *Pragâpati*; its day is spirit, its night matter. Those who unite in love by day waste their spirit, but to unite in love by night is right.

14. Food is *Pragâpati*. Hence proceeds seed, and from it these creatures are born.

15. Those therefore who observe this rule of *Pragâpati* (as laid down in § 13), produce a pair, and to them belongs this Brahma-world here⁴. But

¹ *Rig-veda* I, 164, 12. We ought to read upare *viṭakṣanam*.

² *Saptaṭakre*, i. e. rathe. The seven wheels are explained as the rays or horses of the sun; or as half-years, seasons, months, half-months, days, nights, and *muhūrtas*.

³ Taken as one, as a *Nychthemeron*.

⁴ In the moon, reached by the path of the Fathers.

those in whom dwell penance, abstinence, and truth,

16. To them belongs that pure Brahma-world, to them, namely, in whom there is nothing crooked, nothing false, and no guile.'

SECOND QUESTION.

1. Then Bhārgava Vaidarbhi asked him: 'Sir, How many gods¹ keep what has thus been created, how many manifest this², and who is the best of them?'

2. He replied: 'The ether is that god, the wind, fire, water, earth, speech, mind, eye, and ear. These, when they have manifested (their power), contend and say: We (each of us) support this body and keep it³.

3⁴. Then Prāṇa (breath, spirit, life), as the best, said to them: Be not deceived, I alone, dividing myself fivefold, support this body and keep it.

4. They were incredulous; so he, from pride, did as if he were going out from above. Thereupon,

¹ Devāḥ, powers, organs, senses.

² Their respective power.

³ This is Sāṅkara's explanation, in which *bāṇa* is taken to mean the same as *śarīra*, body. But there seems to be no authority for such a meaning, and Ānandagiri tries in vain to find an etymological excuse for it. *Bāṇa* or *Vāṇa* generally means an arrow, or, particularly in Brāhmaṇa writings, a harp with many strings. I do not see how an arrow could be used as an appropriate simile here, but a harp might, if we take *avashābhyā* in the sense of holding the frame of the instrument, and *vidhārayāmaḥ* in the sense of stretching and thereby modulating it.

⁴ On this dispute of the organs of sense, see *Bṛh. Up.* VI, 1, p. 201; *Khāṇḍ. Up.* V, 1 (S. B. E., vol. i, p. 72).

as he went out, all the others went out, and as he returned, all the others returned. As bees go out when their queen¹ goes out, and return when she returns, thus (did) speech, mind, eye, and ear; and, being satisfied, they praise *Prâna*, saying:

5. He is Agni (fire), he shines as *Sûrya* (sun), he is *Parganya* (rain), the powerful (*Indra*), he is *Vâyû* (wind), he is the earth, he is matter, he is God—he is what is and what is not, and what is immortal.

6. As spokes in the nave of a wheel, everything is fixed in *Prâna*, the verses of the *Rîg-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, *Sâma-veda*, the sacrifice, the *Kshatriyas*, and the *Brâhmans*.

7. As *Pragâpati* (lord of creatures) thou movest about in the womb, thou indeed art born again. To thee, the *Prâna*, these creatures bring offerings, to thee who dwellest with the other *prânas* (the organs of sense).

8. Thou art the best carrier for the Gods, thou art the first offering² to the Fathers. Thou art the true work of the *Rîshis*³, of the *Atharvângiras*.

9. O *Prâna*, thou art *Indra* by thy light, thou art *Rudra*, as a protector; thou movest in the sky, thou art the sun, the lord of lights.

10. When thou showerest down rain, then, O *Prâna*, these creatures of thine are delighted⁴, hoping that there will be food, as much as they desire.

¹ In Sanskrit it is *madhukarârâga*, king of the bees.

² When a *srâddha* is offered to the *Pitrîs*.

³ Explained as the eye and the other organs of sense which the chief *Prâna* supports; but it is probably an old verse, here applied to a special purpose.

⁴ Another reading is *prânate*, they breathe.

11. Thou art a Vrâtya ¹, O Prâna, the only *Rishi* ², the consumer of everything, the good lord. We are the givers of what thou hast to consume, thou, O Mâtariśva ³, art our father.

12. Make propitious that body of thine which dwells in speech, in the ear, in the eye, and which pervades the mind; do not go away!

13. All this is in the power of Prâna, whatever exists in the three heavens. Protect us like a mother her sons, and give us happiness and wisdom.'

THIRD QUESTION.

1. Then Kausalya Ârvalâyana asked: 'Sir, whence is that Prâna (spirit) born? How does it come into this body? And how does it abide, after it has divided itself? How does it go out? How does it support what is without ⁴, and how what is within?'

2. He replied: 'You ask questions more difficult, but you are very fond of Brahman, therefore I shall tell it you.

3. This Prâna (spirit) is born of the Self. Like the shadow thrown on a man, this (the prâna) is

¹ A person for whom the *samskâras*, the sacramental and initiatory rites, have not been performed. Saṅkara says that, as he was the first born, there was no one to perform them for him, and that he is called Vrâtya, because he was pure by nature. This is all very doubtful.

² Agni is said to be the *Rishi* of the Âtharvans.

³ Instead of the irregular vocative Mâtariśva, there is another reading, Mâtariśvanaḥ, i. e. thou art the father of Mâtariśvan, the wind, and therefore of the whole world.

⁴ All creatures and the gods.

spread out over it (the Brahman)¹. By the work of the mind² does it come into this body.

4. As a king commands officials, saying to them : Rule these villages or those, so does that Prâna (spirit) dispose the other prânas, each for their separate work.

5. The Apâna (the down-breathing) in the organs of excretion and generation; the Prâna himself dwells in eye and ear, passing through mouth and nose. In the middle is the Samâna³ (the on-breathing); it carries what has been sacrificed as food equally (over the body), and the seven lights proceed from it.

6. The Self⁴ is in the heart. There are the 101 arteries, and in each of them there are a hundred (smaller veins), and for each of these branches there are 72,000⁵. In these the Vyâna (the back-breathing) moves.

¹ Over Brahman, i. e. the Self, the parama purusha, the akshara, the satya. The prâna being called a shadow, is thereby implied to be unreal (anrîta). Sâṅkara.

² Manokṛita is explained as an ârsha sandhi. It means the good or evil deeds, which are the work of the mind.

³ I keep to the usual translation of Samâna by on-breathing, though it is here explained in a different sense. Samâna is here supposed to be between prâna and apâna, and to distribute the food equally, samam, over the body. The seven lights are explained as the two eyes, the two ears, the two nostrils, and the mouth.

⁴ Here the Lingâtmâ or Givâtmâ.

⁵ A hundred times 101 would give us 10,100, and each multiplied by 72,000 would give us a sum total of 727,200,000 veins, or, if we add the principal veins, 727,210,201. Âṇandagiri makes the sum total, 72 koṭis, 72 lakshas, six thousands, two hundred and one, where the six of the thousands seems to be a mistake for dasasahasram. In the Brîhadâr. Upanishad II, 1, 19, we read of 72,000 arteries, likewise in Yâgñavalkya III, 48. See also Brîh. Up. IV,

7. Through one of them, the Udāna (the out-breathing) leads (us) upwards to the good world by good work, to the bad world by bad work, to the world of men by both.

8. The sun rises as the external Prāna, for it assists the Prāna in the eye¹. The deity that exists in the earth, is there in support of man's Apāna (down-breathing). The ether between (sun and earth) is the Samāna (on-breathing), the air is Vyāna (back-breathing).

9. Light is the Udāna (out-breathing), and therefore he whose light has gone out comes to a new birth with his senses absorbed in the mind.

10. Whatever his thought (at the time of death) with that he goes back to Prāna, and the Prāna, united with light², together with the self (the *gīvâtma*) leads on to the world, as deserved.

11. He who, thus knowing, knows Prāna, his offspring does not perish, and he becomes immortal. Thus says the *Sloka* :

12. He who has known the origin³, the entry, the place, the fivefold distribution, and the internal state⁴ of the Prāna, obtains immortality, yes, obtains immortality.'

3, 20; *Khând. Up.* VI, 5, 3, comm.; *Kaush. Up.* IV, 20; *Kaṭha Up.* VI, 16.

¹ Without the sun the eye could not see.

² With Udāna, the out-breathing.

³ This refers to the questions asked in verse 1, and answered in the verses which follow.

⁴ The *adhyâtma*, as opposed to the *vâhya*, mentioned in verse 1. *Āyati* instead of *âyâti* is explained by *khândasam* *hrasvatvam*.

FOURTH QUESTION.

1. Then Sauryâyanin Gârgya asked : 'Sir, What are they that sleep in this man, and what are they that are awake in him? What power (deva) is it that sees dreams? Whose is the happiness? On what do all these depend?'

2. He replied : 'O Gârgya, As all the rays of the sun, when it sets, are gathered up in that disc of light, and as they, when the sun rises again and again, come forth, so is all this (all the senses) gathered up in the highest faculty (deva)¹, the mind. Therefore at that time that man does not hear, see, smell, taste, touch, he does not speak, he does not take, does not enjoy, does not evacuate, does not move about. He sleeps, that is what people say.

3. The fires of the prâṇas are, as it were², awake in that town (the body). The Apâna is the Gârhapatya fire, the Vyâna the Anvâhâryapaṭana fire; and because it is taken out of the Gârhapatya fire, which is fire for taking out³, therefore the Prâṇa is the Âhavanîya fire⁴.

¹ See note to verse 5.

² We ought to read *agnaya iva*.

³ *Pranayana, pranîyate 'smâd iti pranayano gârhapatyo 'gniḥ*.

⁴ The comparison between the prâṇas and the fires or altars is not very clear. As to the fires or altars, there is the Gârhapatya, placed in the South-west, the household fire, which is always kept burning, from which the fire is taken to the other altars. The Anvâhâryapaṭana, commonly called the Dakshina fire, placed in the South, used chiefly for oblations to the forefathers. The Âhavanîya fire, placed in the East, and used for sacrifices to the gods.

Now the Apâna is identified with the Gârhapatya fire, no reason being given except afterwards, when it is said that the Prâṇa is the Âhavanîya fire, being taken out of the Gârhapatya, here called

4. Because it carries equally these two oblations, the out-breathing and the in-breathing, the Samâna is he (the Hotri priest)¹. The mind is the sacrificer, the Udâna is the reward of the sacrifice, and it leads the sacrificer every day (in deep sleep) to Brahman.

5. There that god² (the mind) enjoys in sleep greatness. What has been seen, he² sees again; what has been heard, he hears again; what has been enjoyed in different countries and quarters, he enjoys again; what has been seen and not seen, heard and not heard, enjoyed and not enjoyed, he sees it all; he, being all, sees.

6. And when he is overpowered by light³, then that god sees no dreams, and at that time that happiness arises in his body.

7. And, O friend, as birds go to a tree to roost, thus all this rests in the Highest Âtman,—

8. The earth and its subtile elements, the water and its subtile elements, the light and its subtile elements, the air and its subtile elements, the ether and its subtile elements; the eye and what can be

pranayana, in the same manner as the prâna proceeds in sleep from the apâna. The Vyâna is identified with the Dakshinâgni, the Southern fire, because it issues from the heart through an aperture on the right.

¹ The name of the Hotri priest must be supplied. He is supposed to carry two oblations equally to the Âhavanîya, and in the same way the Vyâna combines the two breathings, the in and out breathings.

² The gîvâtman under the guise of manas. The Sanskrit word is deva, god, used in the sense of an invisible power, but as a masculine. The commentator uses manodeva, p. 212, l. 5. I generally translate deva, if used in this sense, by faculty, but the context required a masculine. See verse 2.

³ In the state of profound sleep or sushupti.

seen, the ear and what can be heard, the nose and what can be smelled, the taste and what can be tasted, the skin and what can be touched, the voice and what can be spoken, the hands and what can be grasped, the feet and what can be walked, the mind and what can be perceived, intellect (buddhi) and what can be conceived, personality and what can be personified, thought and what can be thought, light and what can be lighted up, the Prâna and what is to be supported by it.

9. For he it is who sees, hears, smells, tastes, perceives, conceives, acts, he whose essence is knowledge¹, the person, and he dwells in the highest, indestructible Self,—

10. He who knows that indestructible being, obtains (what is) the highest and indestructible, he without a shadow, without a body, without colour, bright,—yes, O friend, he who knows it, becomes all-knowing, becomes all. On this there is this Sloka :

11. He, O friend, who knows that indestructible being wherein the true knower, the vital spirits (prânas), together with all the powers (deva), and the elements rest, he, being all-knowing, has penetrated all.'

FIFTH QUESTION.

1. Then Saivya Satyakâma asked him : 'Sir, if some one among men should meditate here until death on the syllable Om, what would he obtain by it?'

2. He replied : 'O Satyakâma, the syllable Om (AUM) is the highest and also the other Brahman ;

¹ Buddhi and the rest are the instruments of knowledge, but there is the knower, the person, in the Highest Self.

therefore he who knows it arrives by the same means¹ at one of the two.

3. If he meditate on one Mâtrâ (the A)², then, being enlightened by that only, he arrives quickly at the earth³. The *Rik*-verses lead him to the world of men, and being endowed there with penance, abstinence, and faith, he enjoys greatness.

4. If he meditate with⁴ two Mâtrâs (A + U) he arrives at the Manas⁵, and is led up by the Yagus-verses to the sky, to the Soma-world. Having enjoyed greatness in the Soma-world, he returns again.

5. Again, he who meditates with this syllable AUM of three Mâtrâs, on the Highest Person, he comes to light and to the sun. And as a snake is freed from its skin, so is he freed from evil. He is led up by the Sâman-verses to the Brahma-world⁶; and from him, full of life (Hiranyagarbha, the lord of the Satya-loka⁷), he learns⁸ to see the all-pervading, the Highest Person. And there are these two Slokas :

6. The three Mâtrâs (A + U + M), if employed separate, and only joined one to another, are mortal⁹;

¹ Âyatanena, âlambanena.

² Dîpikâyâm Vâṭaspatinaivâkâramâtram ityeva vyâkhyâtam.

³ Sampadyate prâpnoti ganmeti seshah.

⁴ Srutau tritîyâ dvitîyârthe.

⁵ Literally the mind, but here meant for the moon, as before. It is clear that manasi belongs to sampadyate, not, as the Dîpikâ and Roer think, to dhyâyîta. Some take it for svapnâbhimânî Hiranyagarbhaḥ.

⁶ The world of Hiranyagarbhaḥ, called the Satyaloka.

⁷ On a later addition, bringing in the Om as consisting of three Mâtrâs and a half, see Weber, Ind. Stud. I, p. 453; Roer, p. 138.

⁸ Tadupadeseneti yâvat.

⁹ Because in their separate form, A, U, M, they do not mean the Highest Brahman.

but in acts, external, internal, or intermediate, if well performed, the sage trembles not ¹.

7. Through the *Rik*-verses he arrives at this world, through the *Yagus*-verses at the sky, through the *Sâman*-verses at that which the poets teach,—he arrives at this by means of the *Oṅkāra*; the wise arrives at that which is at rest, free from decay, from death, from fear,—the Highest.’

SIXTH QUESTION.

1. Then Sukesas Bhâradvâga asked him, saying : ‘Sir, Hiranyanâbha, the prince of Kosalâ ², came to me and asked this question : Do you know the person of sixteen parts, O Bhâradvâga ? I said to the prince : I do not know him ; if I knew him, how should I not tell you ? Surely, he who speaks what is untrue withers away to the very root ; therefore I will not say what is untrue. Then he mounted his chariot and went away silently. Now I ask you, where is that person ?’

2. He replied : ‘Friend, that person is here within the body, he in whom these sixteen parts arise.

3. He reflected : What is it by whose departure I shall depart, and by whose staying I shall stay ?

4. He sent forth (created) *Prâna* (spirit) ³ ; from

¹ The three acts are explained as waking, slumbering, and deep sleep ; or as three kinds of pronunciation, *târa-mandra-madhyama*. They are probably meant for Yoga exercises in which the three *Mâtrâs* of Om are used as one word, and as an emblem of the Highest Brahman.

² Saṅkara explains Kausalya by Kosalâyâm bhavaḥ. Ânanda-tīrtha gives the same explanation. Kosalâ is the capital, generally called Ayodhyâ. There is no authority for the palatal s.

³ Saṅkara explains *prâna* by sarvapráno Hiranyagarbha (sarva-prâṇikarazâdhâram antarâtmânam).

Prâna Sraddhâ (faith)¹, ether, air, light, water, earth, sense, mind, food ; from food came vigour, penance, hymns, sacrifice, the worlds, and in the worlds the name² also.

5. As these flowing rivers³ that go towards the ocean, when they have reached the ocean, sink into it, their name and form are broken, and people speak of the ocean only, exactly thus these sixteen parts of the spectator that go towards the person (purusha), when they have reached the person, sink into him, their name and form are broken, and people speak of the person only, and he becomes without parts and immortal. On this there is this verse :

6. That person who is to be known, he in whom these parts rest, like spokes in the nave of a wheel, you know him, lest death should hurt you.'

7. Then he (Pippalâda) said to them : ' So far do I know this Highest Brahman, there is nothing higher than it.'

8. And they praising him, said : ' You, indeed, are our father, you who carry us from our ignorance to the other shore.'

Adoration to the highest *Rishis* !

Adoration to the highest *Rishis* !

Tat sat. Harih, Om !

¹ Faith is supposed to make all beings act rightly.

² Nâma stands here for nâmarûpe, name (concept) and form. See before, p. 259.

³ Cf. *Mund. Up.* IV, 2, 8 ; *Khând. Up.* VIII, 10.

MAITRÂYANA-BRÂHMANA-
UPANISHAD.

MAITRÂYANA-BRÂHMANA- UPANISHAD.

FIRST PRAPÂTHAKA.

1. The laying of the formerly-described sacrificial fires¹ is indeed the sacrifice of Brahman. Therefore let the sacrificer, after he has laid those fires, meditate on the Self. Thus only does the sacrificer become complete and faultless.

But who is to be meditated on? He who is called *Prâna* (breath). Of him there is this story :

2. A King, named *Bṛhadratha*, having established his son in his sovereignty², went into the forest, because he considered this body as transient, and had obtained freedom from all desires. Having performed the highest penance, he stands there, with uplifted arms, looking up to the sun. At the end of a thousand (days)³, the Saint *Sâkâyana*⁴, who knew the Self, came near⁵, burning with splendour,

¹ The performance of all the sacrifices, described in the *Maitrâyana-brâhmana*, is to lead up in the end to a knowledge of Brahman, by rendering a man fit for receiving the highest knowledge. See *Manu* VI, 82 : 'All that has been declared (above) depends on meditation ; for he who is not proficient in the knowledge of the Self reaps not the full reward of the performance of rites.'

² Instead of *virâgye*, a doubtful word, and occurring nowhere else, *m.* reads *vairâgye*.

³ Or years, if we read *sahasrasya* instead of *sahasrâhasya*.

⁴ The descendant of *Sâkâyana*. Saint is perhaps too strong ; it means a holy, venerable man, and is frequently applied to a Buddha.

⁵ Both *M.* and *m.* add *muneḥ* before *antikam*, whereas the commentary has *râgñāḥ*.

like a fire without smoke. He said to the King : 'Rise, rise ! Choose a boon !'

The King, bowing before him, said : 'O Saint, I know not the Self, thou knowest the essence (of the Self). We have heard so. Teach it us.'

Sākāyanya replied : 'This was achieved of yore ; but what thou askest is difficult to obtain¹. O Aikshvāka, choose other pleasures.'

The King, touching the Saint's feet with his head, recited this Gāthā :

3. 'O Saint, What is the use of the enjoyment of pleasures in this offensive, pithless body—a mere mass of bones, skin, sinews, marrow², flesh, seed, blood, mucus, tears, phlegm, ordure, water³, bile, and slime ! What is the use of the enjoyment of pleasures in this body which is assailed by lust, hatred, greed, delusion, fear, anguish, jealousy, separation from what is loved, union with what is not loved⁴, hunger, thirst, old age, death, illness, grief, and other evils !

4. And we see that all this is perishable, as these flies, gnats, and other insects, as herbs and trees⁵,

¹ Though the commentator must have read *etad vṛttam purastād duḥsakyam etat prasṇam*, yet *prasṇam* as a neuter is very strange. M. reads *etad vṛttam purastāt, dussakama prikkha prasṇam* ; m. reads *etad vratam purastād asakyam mā prikkha prasṇam aikshvāka, &c.* This suggests the reading, *etad vṛttam purastād duḥsakam mā prikkha prasṇam*, i. e. this was settled formerly, do not ask a difficult or an impossible question.

² Read *maggā*.

³ M. adds *vāta* before *pitta* ; not m.

⁴ An expression that often occurs in Buddhist literature. See also Manu VI, 62 : 'On their separation from those whom they love, and their union with those whom they hate ; on their strength overpowered by old age, and their bodies racked with disease.'

⁵ The Sandhi *vanaspatayodbhūta* for *vanaspataya udbhūta* is anomalous. M. reads *vanaspatayo bhūtapradhvamsinaḥ*.

growing and decaying. And what of these? There are other great ones, mighty wielders of bows, rulers of empires, Sudyumna, Bhûridyumna, Indradyumna, Kuvalayâsva, Yauvanâsva, Vadhryasva, Asvapati¹, Sasabindu, Hariskandra, Ambarîsha², Nahusha, Anânata, Saryâti, Yayâti, Anaranya³, Ukshasena⁴, &c., and kings such as Marutta, Bharata (Daushyanti), and others, who before the eyes of their whole family surrendered the greatest happiness, and passed on from this world to that. And what of these? There are other great ones. We see the destruction⁵ of Gandharvas, Asuras⁶, Yakshas, Râkshasas, Bhûtas, Garas, Pisâkas, snakes, and vampires. And what of these? There is the drying up of other great oceans, the falling of mountains, the moving of the pole-star, the cutting of the wind-ropes (that hold the stars), the submergence of the earth, and the departure of the gods (suras) from their place. In such a world as this, what is the use of the enjoyment of pleasures, if he who has fed⁷ on them is seen⁸ to return (to this world) again

¹ M. carries on arvapatisasabinduhariskandrâambarîsha.

² After Ambarîsha, M. reads Nabhushânanutusayyâyâtianaranyâkshasenâdayo. Nahusha (Naghusha?) is the father of Saryâti; Nâbhâga, the father of Ambarîsha. These names are so carelessly written that even the commentator says that the text is either *khandasa* or *prâmâdika*. Anânata is a mere conjecture. It occurs as the name of a *Rishi* in Rig-veda IX, 111.

³ Anaranya, mentioned in the Mahâbhârata, I, 230.

⁴ M. reads anaranyâkshasena.

⁵ M. and m. read nirodhanam.

⁶ M. adds Apsarasas.

⁷ M. and m. read âsritasya, but the commentator explains asitasya.

⁸ Here we have the Maitrâyana Sandhi, *drisyatâ* iti, instead of *drisyata* iti; see von Schroeder, *Maitrâyana Samhitâ*, p. xxviii. M. and m. read *drisyata*.

and again! Deign therefore to take me out! In this world I am like a frog in a dry well. O Saint, thou art my way, thou art my way.'

SECOND PRAPĀTHAKA.

1. Then the Saint Sākāyanya, well pleased, said to the King: 'Great King Brīhadratha, thou banner of the race of Ikshvāku, quickly obtaining a knowledge of Self, thou art happy, and art renowned by the name of Marut, the wind¹. This indeed is thy Self².'

'Which³, O Saint,' said the King.

Then the Saint said to him:

2. 'He⁴ who, without stopping the out-breathing⁵, proceeds upwards (from the sthūla to the sūkshma sarīra), and who, modified (by impressions), and yet not modified⁶, drives away the darkness (of error), he is the Self. Thus said the Saint Maitri⁷.' And Sākāyanya said to the King Brīhadratha: 'He who in perfect rest, rising from this body (both from the sthūla and sūkshma), and reaching the highest

¹ Prishadasva in the Veda is another name of the Maruts, the storm gods. Afterwards the king is called Marut, VI, 30.

² This sentence is called a Sūtra by the commentator to VI, 32.

³ M. reads Kathaya me katamo bhavān iti.

⁴ M. leaves out atha.

⁵ One might read āvish/ambhanena, in the sense of while preventing the departure of the vital breath, as in the Brīh. Âr. VI, 3, prāṇena rakshann avaram kulāyam.

⁶ M. reads vyathamāno 'vyathamānas.

⁷ M. leaves out Maitri/ity evam hyāha. The commentator explains Maitrir by mitrāyā apatyam rīshir maitrir maitreya. In a later passage (II, 3) M. reads Bhagavatā Maitreya, likewise the Anubhūti-prakāsa.

light¹, comes forth in his own form, he is the Self² (thus said *Sâkâyanya*); this is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman.'

3. 'Now then this is the science of Brahman, and the science of all Upanishads, O King, which was told us by the Saint Maitri³. I shall tell it to thee :

'We hear (in the sacred records) that there were once the *Vâlakhilyas*⁴, who had left off all evil, who were vigorous and passionless. They said to the *Pragâpati Kratu* : "O Saint, this body is without intelligence, like a cart. To what supernatural being belongs this great power by which such a body has been made intelligent? Or who is the driver? What thou knowest, O Saint, tell us that⁵." ' *Pragâpati* answered and said :

4. 'He who in the *Sruti* is called "Standing above," like passionless ascetics⁶ amidst the objects of the world, he, indeed, the pure, clean, undeveloped, tranquil, breathless, bodiless⁷, endless, imperishable, firm, everlasting, unborn, independent one, stands in his own greatness, and by him has this body been made intelligent, and he is also the driver of it.'

¹ M. adds *svayam gyotir upasampadya*.

² M. reads *esha* for *ity esha*, which seems better.

³ M. reads *Maitrena vyâkhyâtâ*.

⁴ M. M., Translation of *Rig-veda*, Preface, p. xxxiv.

⁵ M. adds : *brûhîti te hoṅur Bhagavan katham anena vâsyaṃ yat Bhagavan vetsy etad asmâkam brûhîti tân hovâketi*.

⁶ The commentator allows *ûrdhvaretasasaḥ* to be taken as a vocative also.

⁷ *Nirâtmâ* is explained by the commentator as thoughtless, without volition, &c. But *âtmâ* is frequently used for body also, and this seems more appropriate here. M., however, reads *anîsâtmâ*, and this is the reading explained in the *Anubhûtiprakâsa*, p. 228, ver. 60. This might mean the *Âtman* which has not yet assumed the quality of a personal god. See VI, 28 ; VI, 31.

They said : 'O Saint, How has this been made intelligent by such a being as this which has no desires¹, and how is he its driver?' He answered them and said :

5. 'That Self which is very small, invisible, incomprehensible, called Purusha, dwells of his own will here in part²; just as a man who is fast asleep awakes of his own will³. And this part (of the Self) which is entirely intelligent, reflected in man (as the sun in different vessels of water), knowing the body (kshetragña), attested by his conceiving, willing, and believing⁴, is Pragâpati (lord of creatures), called Visva. By him, the intelligent, is this body made intelligent, and he is the driver thereof.'

They said to him : 'O Saint⁵, if this has been made intelligent by such a being as this, which has no desires, and if he is the driver thereof, how was it?' He answered them and said :

6. 'In the beginning Pragâpati (the lord of creatures) stood alone. He had no happiness, when alone. Meditating⁶ on himself, he created many

¹ The reading *anish/hena* is explained by the commentator as free from any local habitation or attachment. He also mentions the various readings *anish/ena*, free from wishes, and *anish/hena*, the smallest. M. reads *anikk/hena*, and this seems better than *anish/ena*. The Anubhûtiprakâsa reads likewise *anikk/hasya*.

² I read *buddhipûrvam*, and again with M. *suptasyeva buddhipûrvam*. I also read *amsena* without *iti*, as in M. The simile seems to be that a man, if he likes, can wake himself at any time of night, and this 'if he likes' is expressed by *buddhipûrvam*. See Anubhûtiprakâsa, vv. 67, 68.

³ M. reads *vibodhayati, atha*.

⁴ See Maitr. Up. V, 2; Cowell's Translation, pp. 246, 256; Vedântaparibhâshâ, ed. A. Venis, in the Pandit, IV, p. 110.

⁵ M. adds: *bhagavann îdrîsasya katham amsena vartanam iti tân hovâka*.

⁶ M. reads *abhidhyâyan*.

creatures. He looked on them and saw they were, like a stone, without understanding, and standing like a lifeless post. He had no happiness. He thought, I shall enter¹ within, that they may awake. Making himself like air (vâyu)² he entered within. Being one, he could not do it. Then dividing himself fivefold, he is called Prâna, Apâna, Samâna, Udâna, Vyâna. Now that³ air which rises upwards, is Prâna. That which moves downwards, is Apâna. That by which these two are supposed to be held, is Vyâna. That⁴ which carries the grosser material of food to the Apâna, and brings the subtler material to each limb, has the name Samâna. [After these (Prâna, Apâna, Samâna) comes the work of the Vyâna, and between them (the Prâna, Apâna, and Samâna on one side and the Vyâna on the other) comes the rising of the Udâna.] That which brings up or carries down⁵ what has been drunk and eaten, is the Udâna⁶.

Now the Upâmsu-vessel (or prâna) depends on the Antaryâma-vessel (apâna) and the Antaryâma-

¹ It is better to read with M. visânîti.

² M. vâyum iva.

³ M. Atha yo 'yam.

⁴ M. reads: yo 'yam sthaviṣṭham annam dhâtum annasyâpâne sthâpayaty aṁṣiṣṭham kânge 'nge samnayati esha vâva sa samâno 'tha yo 'yam. Leaving out annam, this seems the right reading. The whole sentence from uttaram to udânasya is left out in M.

⁵ M. nigrati kâisho vâva sa udâno 'tha yenaitâs sirâ anuvyâptâ esha vâva sa vyânaḥ.

⁶ The views of these five kinds of wind differ considerably. Here the commentator explains that the prâna and apâna, the up-breathing and down-breathing, keep the bodily warmth alive, as bellows keep up a fire. The food cooked in it is distributed by the Samâna, so that the coarse material becomes ordure, the middle flesh, the subtle material mind (manas). The udâna brings up phlegm, &c., while the Vyâna gives strength to the whole body.

vessel (apâna) on the Upâmsu-vessel¹ (prâna), and between these two the self-resplendent (Self) produced heat². This heat is the purusha (person), and this purusha is Agni Vaisvânara. And thus it is said elsewhere³: "Agni Vaisvânara is the fire within man by which the food that is eaten is cooked, i.e. digested. Its noise is that which one hears, if one covers one's ears. When a man is on the point of departing this life, he does not hear that noise."

Now he⁴, having divided himself fivefold, is hidden in a secret place (buddhi), assuming the nature of mind, having the prânas as his body, resplendent, having true concepts, and free like ether⁵. Feeling even thus that he has not attained his object, he thinks from within the interior of the heart⁶, "Let me enjoy objects." Therefore, having first broken open these five apertures (of the senses), he enjoys the objects by means of the five reins. This means that these perceptive organs (ear, skin, eye, tongue, nose) are his reins; the active organs (tongue (for speaking), hands, feet, anus, generative organ) his horses; the body his chariot, the mind the charioteer, the whip being the temperament. Driven by that whip, this body goes round like the

¹ Two sacrificial vessels (graha) placed on either side of the stone on which the Soma is squeezed, and here compared to the Prâna and Apâna, between which the Self (kâitanyâtmâ) assumes heat.

² M. reads taylor antarâle kaushnyam prâsuwat.

³ See *Bṛihacâraṇyaka* Up. V, 9; *Khând.* Up. III, 13, 8.

⁴ The Vaisvânara or purusha, according to the commentator, but originally the Pragâpati, who had made himself like air, and divided himself into five vital airs.

⁵ Thus the âtmâ, with his own qualities and those which he assumes, becomes a living being.

⁶ M. reads esho 'sya hrîdantare tishthann.

wheel driven by the potter. This body is made intelligent, and he is the driver thereof.

This¹ is indeed the Self, who seeming to be filled with desires, and seeming to be overcome² by bright or dark fruits of action, wanders about in every body (himself remaining free). Because he is not manifest, because he is infinitely small, because he is invisible, because he cannot be grasped, because he is attached to nothing, therefore he, seeming to be changing, an agent in that which is not (*prakṛiti*), is in reality not an agent and unchanging. He is pure, firm, stable, undefiled³, unmoved, free from desire, remaining a spectator, resting in himself. Having concealed himself in the cloak of the three qualities he appears as the enjoyer of *ṛita*, as the enjoyer of *ṛita* (of his good works).'

THIRD PRAPÂTHAKA.

1. The Vâlakhilyas said to Pragâpati Kratu: 'O Saint, if thou thus showest the greatness of that Self, then who is that other different one, also called Self⁴, who really overcome by bright and dark fruits of action, enters on a good or bad birth?

¹ M. reads: Sa vâ esha âtmeti hosann iva sitâsitaiḥ. This seems better than *usanti kavayaḥ*, which hardly construes.

² M. reads *abhibhûyamânay iva*, which again is better than *ana-bhibhûta iva*, for he seems to be overcome, but is not, just as he seems to be an agent, but is not. See also III, 1.

³ M. has *alepo*.

⁴ The pure Self, called *âtmâ*, *brahma*, *kinmâtram*, *pragñânagha-nam*, &c., after entering what he had himself created, and no longer distinguishing himself from the created things (*bhûta*), is called *Bhûtâtmâ*.

Downward or upward is his course¹, and overcome by the pairs (distinction between hot and cold, pleasure and pain, &c.) he roams about².

2. Pragâpati Kratu replied : 'There is indeed that other³ different one, called the elemental Self (Bhûtâtâmâ), who, overcome by bright and dark fruits of action, enters on a good or bad birth : downward or upward is his course, and overcome by the pairs he roams about. And this is his explanation : The five Tanmâtrâs⁴ (sound, touch, form, taste, smell) are called Bhûta ; also the five Mahâbhûtas (gross elements) are called Bhûta. Then the aggregate⁵ of all these is called sarîra, body⁶. And lastly he of whom it was said that he dwelt in the body⁷, he is called Bhûtâtâmâ, the elemental Self. Thus his immortal Self⁸ is like a drop of water on a lotus leaf⁹, and he himself is overcome by the qualities of nature. Then¹⁰, because he is thus overcome, he becomes bewildered, and because he is bewildered, he saw not the creator, the holy Lord, abiding within himself. Carried along by the waves of the qualities¹¹, darkened in his imaginations, unstable, fickle,

¹ M. reads here and afterwards avâkam ūrdhvam vâ gatidvandvaiḥ.

² M. adds at the end, paribhramatīti katama esha iti, tām hovâketi, and leaves it out at the end of § 2.

³ M. here reads avara.

⁴ M. reads tanmâtrâni.

⁵ M. reads teshâm samudayas takkharîram.

⁶ The commentator distinguishes between lînga-sarîra, consisting of prânas, indriyas, the antaḥkarana, and the sūkshmathûtas ; and the sthûla-sarîra, consisting of the five Mahâbhûtas.

⁷ M. reads sarîram ity uktam.

⁸ M. reads athâsti tasyâḥ bindur iva.

⁹ It sticks to it, yet it can easily run off again.

¹⁰ M. reads Ato, and the commentator explains atho by atah kâranât, adding sandhiḥ khandasaḥ.

¹¹ See VI, 30.

crippled, full of desires, vacillating, he enters into belief, believing "I am he," "this is mine¹;" he binds his Self by his Self, as a bird with a net, and overcome afterwards by the fruits of what he has done, he enters on a good and bad birth; downward or upward is his course, and overcome by the pairs he roams about.'

They asked: 'Which is it?' And he answered them:

3. 'This also has elsewhere been said: He who acts, is the elemental Self; he who causes to act by means of the organs², is the inner man (*antaḥpuruṣa*). Now as even a ball of iron, pervaded (overcome) by fire, and hammered by smiths, becomes manifold (assumes different forms, such as crooked, round, large, small³), thus the elemental Self, pervaded (overcome) by the inner man, and hammered by the qualities, becomes manifold⁴. And the four tribes (mammals, birds, &c.), the fourteen worlds (*Bhûr*, &c.), with all the number of beings, multiplied eighty-four times⁵, all this appears as manifoldness. And those multiplied things are impelled by man (*puruṣa*) as the wheel by the potter⁶. And as when the ball of iron is hammered, the fire is not overcome, so the (inner) man is not overcome, but the elemental Self is overcome, because it has united itself (with the elements).

¹ M. reads *aham* so mamedam.

² M. *antaḥkaranaiḥ*.

³ See commentary, p. 48, l. 7.

⁴ M. reads *upety atha trigunam katurgālam*.

⁵ M. reads *katurasītilakshayoniparinatam*. See also *Anubhūti-prakāśa*, ver. 118.

⁶ *Mrityava* seems an impossible word, though the commentator twice explains it as *kulāla*, potter. M. reads *kakrizeti*, which seems preferable. Weber conjectures *mrīṭpaka*.

4. And it has been said elsewhere¹: This body produced from marriage, and endowed with growth² in darkness, came forth by the urinary passage, was built up with bones, bedaubed with flesh, thatched with skin, filled with ordure, urine, bile, slime, marrow, fat, oil³, and many impurities besides, like a treasury full of treasures⁴.

5. And it has been said elsewhere: Bewilderment, fear, grief, sleep, sloth, carelessness, decay, sorrow, hunger, thirst, niggardliness, wrath, infidelity, ignorance, envy, cruelty⁵, folly, shamelessness, meanness⁶, pride, changeability⁷, these are the results of the quality of darkness (*tamaḥ*)⁸.

¹ Part of this passage has been before the mind of the author of the *Mânava-dharmasâstra*, when writing, VI, 76, 77: *asthithûnam snâyuyutam mâmsasonitalepanam, karmâvanaddham durgandhi pûrnam mûtrapurishayoḥ, garâsokasamâvisham rogâyatanam âturam ragasvalam anityam ka bhûtâvâsam imam tyaget*. The same verses occur in the *Mahâbhârata* XII, 12463-4, only with *tyaga* at the end, instead of *tyaget*. The rendering of *asthibhis kîtam* by *asthithûnam* shows that *kîta* was understood to mean piled or built up, i. e. supported by bones.

² Instead of *samvridhyupetam* M. reads *samviddhyapetam*.

³ M. adds *snâyû* after *vasâ*, and instead of *âmayaiḥ* reads *malaiḥ*. This reading, *malaiḥ*, would seem preferable, though Manu's *rogâyatanam* might be quoted in support of *âmayaiḥ*. The exact meaning of *vasâ* is given in the *Âryavidyâsudhâkara*, p. 82, l. 9.

⁴ Therefore should wise people not identify their true Self with the body. M. reads *vasuneti*.

⁵ M. reads *vaikârūyam*.

⁶ Instead of *nirâkrîtitvam* M. reads *nikrîtatvam*, which is decidedly preferable. We may take it to mean either meanness, as opposed to *uddhatatvam*, overbearing, or knavery, the usual meaning of *nikrîti*.

⁷ M. reads *asatvam*, possibly for *asattvam*.

⁸ M. reads *tâmasânvitaiḥ*, and afterwards *râgasânvitaiḥ*; also *trishnâ* instead of *antastrishnâ*.

Inward thirst, fondness, passion, covetousness, unkindness, love, hatred, deceit¹, jealousy, vain restlessness, fickleness², unstableness, emulation, greed, patronising of friends, family pride, aversion to disagreeable objects, devotion to agreeable objects, whispering³, prodigality, these are the results of the quality of passion (ragas).

By these he is filled, by these he is overcome, and therefore this elemental Self assumes manifold forms, yes, manifold forms.'

FOURTH PRAPÂTHAKA.

1. The Vâ lakhilyas, whose passions were subdued, approached him full of amazement and said: 'O Saint, we bow before thee; teach thou, for thou art the way, and there is no other for us. What process is there for the elemental Self, by which, after leaving this (identity with the elemental body), he obtains union⁴ with the (true) Self?' Pragâpati Kratu said to them:

2. 'It has been said elsewhere: Like the waves in large rivers, that which has been done before, cannot be turned back, and, like the tide of the sea, the approach of death is hard to stem. Bound⁵ by the fetters of the fruits of good and evil, like a cripple; without freedom, like a man in prison; beset by many fears, like one standing before Yama (the judge of

¹ M. reads vyavartatvam.

² It should be *kañkalatvam*.

³ M. reads mattasvaro.

⁴ Instead of the irregular *sâyogyam*, M. always reads *sâyugyam*.

⁵ It is not quite clear what is the subject to which all these adjectives refer. M. reads *baddho* for *baddham*, but afterwards agrees with the text as published by Cowell.

the dead); intoxicated by the wine of illusion, like one intoxicated by wine; rushing about, like one possessed by an evil spirit; bitten by the world, like one bitten by a great serpent; darkened by passion, like the night; illusory, like magic; false, like a dream; pithless, like the inside of the Kadālī; changing its dress in a moment, like an actor¹; fair in appearance, like a painted wall, thus they call him; and therefore it is said:

Sound², touch, and other things are like nothings; if the elemental Self is attached to them, it will not remember the Highest Place³.

3. This is indeed the remedy for the elemental Self: Acquirement of the knowledge of the Veda, performance of one's own duty, therefore conformity on the part of each man to the order to which he happens to belong. This⁴ is indeed the rule for one's own duty, other performances are like the mere branches of a stem⁵. Through it one obtains the Highest above, otherwise one falls downward⁶. Thus is one's own duty declared, which is to be found in the Vedas. No one belongs truly to an order (âsrama) who transgresses his own law⁷. And if people say, that a man does not belong to any of the orders, and that he is an ascetic⁸, this is wrong, though, on

¹ M. reads na/avat.

² M. reads ye 'rthâ anarthâ iva te sthitâḥ, esham.

³ M. reads na smaret paramam padam.

⁴ M. reads svadharma eva sarvaṁ dhatte, stambhasâkhevetarâṇi.

⁵ The commentator considers the other sacrificial performances as hurtful, and to be avoided.

⁶ M. reads anyathâdhaḥ pataty, esha.

⁷ The rules of the order to which he belongs.

⁸ A Tapasvin is free from the restrictions of the preceding âsra-

the other hand, no one who is not an ascetic brings his sacrificial works to perfection or obtains knowledge of the Highest Self¹. For thus it is said :

By ascetic penance goodness is obtained, from goodness understanding is reached, from understanding the Self is obtained, and he who has obtained that, does not return².

4. "Brahman is," thus said one who knew the science of Brahman; and this penance is the door to Brahman, thus said one who by penance had cast off all sin. The syllable Om is the manifest greatness of Brahman, thus said one who well grounded (in Brahman) always meditates on it. Therefore by knowledge, by penance, and by meditation is Brahman gained. Thus one goes beyond³ Brahman (Hiranyagarbha), and to a divinity higher than the gods; nay, he who knows this, and worships Brahman by these three (by knowledge, penance, and meditation), obtains bliss imperishable, infinite, and unchangeable. Then freed from those things (the senses of the body, &c.) by which he was filled and overcome, a mere charioteer⁴, he obtains union with the Self.'

mas, but he must have obeyed them first, before he can become a real Tapasvin.

¹ M. reads *âsrameshv evâvasthitas tapasvî kety ukṛyata ity, etad apy uktam, &c.* This would mean, 'For it is said that he only who has dwelt in the âsramas is also called a Tapasvin, a real ascetic; and this also has been said, that no one obtains self-knowledge except an ascetic.' This is not impossible, but the commentator follows the text as printed by Cowell. M. reads *âtmagñânênâdhigamaḥ, karma-suddhi.*

² M. reads *manasâ prâpyate tv âtmâ hy âtmâpyâ na nivartata iti.*

³ M. reads *pura eta*, which may be right.

⁴ *Rathitaḥ* is a very strange word, but, like everything else, it is

5. The Vâlakhilyas said: 'O Saint, thou art the teacher, thou art the teacher¹. What thou hast said, has been properly laid up in our mind. Now answer us a further question: Agni, Vâyu, Âditya, Time (kâla) which is Breath (prâna²), Food (anna), Brahmâ³, Rudra, Vishnu, thus do some meditate on one, some on another. Say which of these is the best for us.' He said to them:

6. 'These are but the chief manifestations of the highest, the immortal, the incorporeal Brahman. He who is devoted to one, rejoices here in his world (presence), thus he said. Brahman indeed is all this, and a man may meditate on, worship, or discard also those which⁴ are its chief manifestations. With these (deities) he proceeds to higher and higher worlds, and when all things perish, he becomes one with the Purusha, yes, with the Purusha.'

explained by the commentator, viz. as ratham prâpito rathitvam ka prâpita iti yâvat. Nevertheless the reading of M. seems to me preferable, viz. atha yaiḥ paripūrṇo 'bhibhūto 'yam tathaitais ka, taiḥ sarvair vimukta svâtmany eva sâyugyam upaiti. I should prefer vimuktas tv âtmany eva, and translate, 'But then, freed from all those things by which he was filled and likewise was overcome by them, he obtains union with the Self.'

¹ M. reads the second time abhivâdy asmîti, which is no improvement. It might have been ativâdyasîti.

² M. reads Yamaḥ prâno.

³ This is, of course, the personal Brahmâ of the Hindu triad. To distinguish this personal Brahmâ from the impersonal, I sometimes give his name in the nom. masc., Brahmâ, and not the grammatical base, Brahman.

⁴ M. reads yâ vâ asyâ. The commentator explains yâ vâsyâḥ by vâsayogyâḥ; or yâ vâ yâḥ by kâśîti, admitting a Vedic irregularity which is not quite clear.

FIFTH PRAPÂTHAKA ¹.

1. Next follows Kutsâyana's hymn of praise :

'Thou art Brahmâ, and thou art Vishnu, thou art Rudra, thou Pragâpati ², thou art Agni, Varuna, Vâyu, thou art Indra, thou the Moon.

Thou art Anna ³ (the food or the eater), thou art Yama, thou art the Earth, thou art All, thou art the Imperishable. In thee all things exist in many forms, whether for their natural or for their own (higher) ends.

Lord of the Universe, glory to thee! Thou art the Self of All, thou art the maker of All, the enjoyer of All; thou art all life, and the lord of all pleasure and joy ⁴. Glory to thee, the tranquil, the deeply hidden, the incomprehensible, the immeasurable, without beginning and without end.'

2. 'In the beginning ⁵ darkness (tamas) alone was this. It was in the Highest, and, moved by the Highest, it becomes uneven. Thus it becomes obscurity

¹ At the beginning of the fifth Prapâthaka my MS. gives the Slokas which in the printed edition are found in VI, 34, p. 178, *Atreme slokâ bhavanti, yathâ nirindhano vahnir, &c., to nirvishayam smritam.* Then follows as § 2, *Atha yathedam Kautsyâyânistutis, tvam, &c.*

² The commentator explains Brahmâ by *Hiranyagarbha* and Pragâpati by *Virâg*.

³ M. reads *tvam Manus, tvam Yamas ka tvam, prithivî tvam athâ-kyutah*, which is so clearly the right reading that it is difficult to understand how the mistakes arose which are presupposed by the commentary. See *Taitt. Up. II, 2*.

⁴ M. reads *visvakrîdâratiḥ prabhuḥ*, which seems better.

⁵ M. reads *tamo vâ idam ekam âsta tat paro syât tat pareneritam.* It may have been *tat pare 'sthât*.

(ragas)¹. Then this obscurity, being moved, becomes uneven. Thus it becomes goodness (sattva). Then this goodness, being moved, the essence flowed forth². This is that part (or state of Self) which is entirely intelligent, reflected in man (as the sun is in different vessels of water) knowing the body (kshetragña), attested by his conceiving, willing, and believing, it is Pragâpati, called Visva. His manifestations have been declared before³. Now that part of him which belongs to darkness, that, O students⁴, is he who is called Rudra. That part of him which belongs to obscurity, that, O students, is he who is called Brahmâ. That part of him which belongs to goodness, that, O students, is he who is called Vishnu. He being one, becomes three, becomes eight⁵, becomes eleven⁶, becomes twelve, becomes infinite. Because⁷ he thus came to be, he is the Being (neut.), he moves about, having entered all beings, he has become the Lord of all beings. He is the Self within and without, yes, within and without.'

¹ M. reads *etad vai ragaso rūpam*, which is better, or, at least, more in accordance with what follows.

² M. reads *sattvam everitarasas sam prâsrivat*.

³ A reference to Maitr. Up. II, 5, would have saved the commentator much trouble. M. has a better text. It leaves out *visveti* or *visvâkhyas* after *pragâpati*, which may be wrong, but then goes on: *tasya proktâ agryâs tanavo brahmâ rudro vishnur iti*. In enumerating the three *agryâs tanavaḥ*, however, M. is less consistent, for it begins with *ragas* or *Brahmâ*, then goes on to *tamas* or *Rudra*, and ends with *sattva* or *Vishnu*. The *Anubhûtiprakâsa*, verse 142, has the right succession.

⁴ This vocative, *brahma-kârino*, is always left out in M.

⁵ The five *prâṇas*, the sun, moon, and asterisms.

⁶ The eleven organs of sense and action, which, by dividing *manas* and *buddhi*, become twelve.

⁷ M. reads *aparimitadhâ kodbhûtatvâd bhûteshu karati pravishat sarvabhûtânâm*.

SIXTH PRAPÂTHAKA ¹.

1. He (the Self) bears the Self in two ways ², as he who is Prâna (breath), and as he who is Âditya (the sun). Therefore there are two paths for him ³, within and without, and they both turn back in a day and night. The Sun is the outer Self, the inner Self is Breath. Hence the motion of the inner Self is inferred from the motion of the outer Self ⁴. For thus it is said :

‘He who knows, and has thrown off all evil, the overseer of the senses ⁵, the pure-minded, firmly

¹ The commentator describes the sixth and seventh chapters as Khila, supplementary, and does not think that they are closely connected with the chief object of the Upanishad. This chief object was to show that there is only one thinking Self (*ĥidâtâmâ*) to be known, and that the same is to be meditated on as manifested in the different forms of Rudra, Brahmâ, Vishnu, &c. Thus the highest object of those who wish for final liberation has been explained before, as well as the proper means of obtaining that liberation. What follows are statements of the greatness of the various manifestations of the Âtman, and advice how to worship them. My MS. gives the beginning of the sixth Prapâthaka, but ends with the end of the eighth paragraph. The verses in paragraph 34, as mentioned before, are given in my MS. at the end of the fourth Prapâthaka. My translation deviates considerably from the commentary. The text is obscure and not always correct. My rule has been throughout to begin a new sentence with *evam hy âha*, ‘for thus it is said,’ which introduces proofs of what has been said before. The passages thus quoted as proofs from the Veda are often difficult to understand, nor do they always consist of a complete sentence. My translation therefore is often purely tentative.

² M. reads *dvitîyâ* for *dvidhâ*.

³ M. reads *dvaṁ vâ etâv asya paññadhâ nâmantar bahis kâhorâtretau vyâvartete*.

⁴ While the sun goes round Meru in a day and a night, the breath performs 21,000 breathings, or, more exactly, 21,600. M. reads *bahirâtmatyâ*.

⁵ M. reads *adhyaksha*, not *akshâdhyaksha*.

grounded (in the Self) and looking away (from all earthly objects), he is the same.' Likewise the motion of the outer Self is inferred from the motion of the inner Self. For thus it is said :

'He who within the sun is the golden person, who looks upon this earth from his golden place, he is the same who, after entering the inner lotus of the heart¹, devours food (perceives sensuous objects, &c.)'

2. And he who having entered the inner lotus of the heart, devours food, the same, having gone to the sky as the fire of the sun, called Time, and being invisible, devours all beings as his food.

What is that lotus and of what is it made? (the Vâlakhilyas ask².)

That lotus is the same as the ether; the four quarters, and the four intermediate points are its leaves³.

These two, Breath and the Sun, move on near to each other (in the heart and in the ether). Let him worship these two, with the syllable Om, with the Vyâhrîti words (bhûh, bhuvaḥ, svar), and with the Sâvitri hymn.

3. There are two forms of Brahman⁴, the material (effect) and the immaterial (cause). The material is false, the immaterial is true. That which is true is Brahman, that which is Brahman is light, and that which is light is the Sun⁵. And this Sun became the Self of that Om.

¹ M. reads sa esho 'ntaḥ pushkare hrîtpushkare vâsrito.

² The commentator ascribes the dialogue still to the Vâlakhilyas and Pragâpati Kratu.

³ M. reads dalasamsthâ âsur vâgniḥ parata etaiḥ prânâdityâv etâ.

⁴ See Brîh. Up. II, 3, 1.

⁵ Professor Cowell, after giving the various readings of his MSS., says, 'the true reading would seem to be yat satyam tad brahma,

He divided himself threefold, for Om consists of three letters, a + u + m. Through them all this¹ is contained in him as warp and woof. For thus it is said :

‘Meditate on that Sun as Om, join your Self (the breath) with the (Self of the) Sun.’

4. And thus it has been said elsewhere: The Udgîtha (of the Sâma-veda) is the Pranava² (of the Rig-veda), and the Pranava is the Udgîtha, and thus the Sun is Udgîtha, and he is Pranava or Om. For thus it is said³:

‘The Udgîtha, called Pranava, the leader (in the performance of sacrifices), the bright⁴, the sleepless, free from old age and death, three-footed⁵, consisting of three letters (a + u + m), and likewise to be known as fivefold (five prânas) placed in the cave.’ And it is also said :

‘The three-footed Brahman has its root upward⁶, the branches are ether, wind, fire, water, earth, &c. This one Asvattha⁷ by name, the world, is Brahman, and of it that is the light which is called the Sun, and it is also the light of that syllable Om. Therefore let him for ever worship that (breath and sun, as manifestations of Brahman) with the syllable Om.’

He alone enlightens us. For thus it is said :

yad brahma tag gyotir, yad gyotis sa âdityaḥ.’ This is exactly the reading of my own MS.

¹ M. reads *kaivâsminn ity evam* hyâha.

² The mystic syllable Om.

³ See *Khândogyaopanishad* I, 5 ; *Maitr. Up.* VI, 25.

⁴ M. reads *nâmarûpam*.

⁵ The three feet of the prâna are waking, slumber, and deep sleep ; the three feet of the sun, the three worlds, *bhûḥ*, *bhuvaḥ*, *svaḥ*, as in VII, 11. See also *Khând. Up.* III, 12.

⁶ Cf. *Kaṭh. Up.* VI, 1.

⁷ *Asvattha*, lit. fig-tree, then frequently used metaphorically as a name of the world. Here explained as ‘it will not stand till to-morrow.’

‘This alone is the pure syllable, this alone is the highest syllable; he who knows that syllable only, whatever he desires, is his¹.’

5. And thus it has been said elsewhere : This Om² is the sound-endowed body of him (Prânâdityâtman). This is his gender-endowed body, viz. feminine, masculine, neuter. This is his light-endowed body, viz. Agni, Vâyu, Âditya. This is his lord-endowed body, viz. Brahmâ, Rudra, Vishnu. This is his mouth-endowed body, viz. Gârhapatya, Dakshinâgni, Âhavanîtya³. This is his knowledge-endowed body, viz. Rik, Yagus, Sâman. This is his world-endowed body, viz. Bhûh, Bhuva, Svar. This is his time-endowed body, viz. Past, Present, Future. This is his heat-endowed body, viz. Breath, Fire, Sun. This is his growth-endowed body, viz. Food, Water, Moon. This is his thought-endowed body, viz. intellect, mind, personality. This is his breath-endowed body, viz. Prâna, Apâna, Vyâna. Therefore by the aforesaid syllable Om are all these here enumerated bodies praised and identified (with the Prânâdityâtman). For thus it is said⁴:

‘O Satyakâma, the syllable Om is the high and the low Brahman.’

6. This⁵ (world) was unuttered⁶. Then forsooth Pragâpati, having brooded, uttered it in the words Bhûh, Bhuva, Svar. This is the grossest body of that Pragâpati, consisting of the three worlds⁷. Of that body Svar is the head, Bhuva the navel, Bhûh

¹ Ka/h. Up. II, 16.

² M. reads tanûr yom iti.

³ The fires on the three altars.

⁴ Prasña Up. V, 2.

⁵ M. reads atha vyâtman.

⁶ So far the prâna or Om has been explained; now follows the explanation of the Vyâhṛitis; cf. VI, 2. Vyâhṛiti is derived from vyâhar, and means an utterance.

⁷ Cf. VI, 5.

the feet, the sun the eye. For in the eye is fixed man's great measure, because with the eye he makes all measurements. The eye is truth (*satyam*), for the person (*purusha*) dwelling in the eye proceeds to all things (knows all objects with certainty). Therefore let a man worship with the *Vyâhr̥tis*, *Bhûh*, *Bhuvaḥ*, *Svar*, for thus *Pragâpati*, the Self of All, is worshipped as the (sun, the) Eye of All¹. For thus it is said :

‘ This (the sun) is *Pragâpati*'s all-supporting body, for in it this all² is hid (by the light of the sun); and in this all it (the light) is hid. Therefore this is worshipped³.’

7. (The *Sâvitṛi* begins⁴ :) *Tat Savitur varenyam*, i.e. ‘ this of *Savitṛi*, to be chosen.’ Here the *Âditya* (sun) is *Savitṛi*, and the same is to be chosen by the love(r) of Self, thus say the Brahma-teachers.

(Then follows the next foot in the *Sâvitṛi*): *Bhargo devasya dhîmahi*, i.e. ‘ the splendour of the god we meditate on.’ Here the god is *Savitṛi*, and therefore he who is called his splendour, him I meditate on, thus say the Brahma-teachers.

¹ M. reads *visvatasakshur*.

² *Pragâpati*, according to the commentator, is identified with *Satya*, the true, because *sat* means the three worlds, and these (*bhûh*, *bhuvaḥ*, *sva*) are said to be his body. Hence probably the insertion of *Satyam* before *Pragâpati* at the beginning of the paragraph. Then he argues, as the eye has been called *satya*, and as the eye is *Âditya*, therefore *Pragâpati* also, being *Satya*, is *Âditya*, the sun. And again, if the sun is worshipped (by the *vyâhr̥tis*) then, like the sun, the eye of all, *Pragâpati* also, the self of all, is worshipped.

³ *Eshopas̥ta* is impossible. We must either read, with the commentator, *etām upâs̥ta*, or with M. *eshopas̥iteti*.

⁴ He now proceeds to explain the worship of the *Sâvitṛi* verse, which had been mentioned in VI, 2, after the *Om* and the *Vyâhr̥tis*, as the third mode of worshipping *Prâna* (breath) and *Âditya* (sun), these being two correlative embodiments of the Self. The *Sâvitṛi* is found in *Rig-veda* III, 62, 10, but it is here explained in a purely philosophical sense. See also *Bṛh. Up.* VI, 3, 6.

(Then follows the last foot): *Dhiyo yo nañ prakodayât*, i.e. 'who should stir up our thoughts.' Here the *dhiyañ* are thoughts, and he should stir these up for us, thus say the Brahma-teachers.

(He now explains the word *bhargas*). Now he who is called *bhargas* is he who is placed in yonder *Âditya* (sun), or he who is the pupil in the eye¹. And he is so called, because his going (*gati*) is by rays (*bhâbhiñ*); or because he parches (*bhargayati*) and makes the world to shrivel up. *Rudra* is called *Bhargas*, thus say the Brahma-teachers. Or *bha* means that he lights up these worlds; *ra*, that he delights these beings, *ga* that these creatures go to him and come from him; therefore being a *bha-ra-ga*, he is called *Bhargas*.

*Sûrya*² (sun) is so called, because *Soma* is continually squeezed out (*su*). *Savitri* (sun) is so called, because he brings forth (*su*). *Âditya* (sun) is so called, because he takes up (*âdâ*, scil. vapour, or the life of man). *Pâvana*³ is so called, because he purifies (*pu*). *Âpas*, water, is so called, because it nourishes (*pyâ*).

And it is said:

'Surely the Self (absorbed in *Prâna*, breath), which is called Immortal⁴, is the thinker, the perceiver, the goer, the evacuator⁵, the delighter, the doer, the speaker, the taster, the smeller, the seer, the hearer, and he touches. He is *Vibhu* (the pervader), who has entered into the body.' And it is said:

¹ M. reads *târake 'kshñi*.

² *Sûrya* is considered as the daily performer of the *Prâtaḥsavana*, &c., the sacrifice at which *Soma* is squeezed out as an offering.

³ M. reads *pavamânât pavamânañ*.

⁴ M. reads *amṛtâkhyas ketâkhyas ketâ*.

⁵ M. reads *gantâ srîshâ*.

‘When the knowledge is twofold (subjective and objective), then he hears, sees, smells, tastes, and touches (something), for it is the Self that knows everything.’

But when the knowledge is not twofold (subjective only), without effect, cause, and action¹, without a name, without a comparison, without a predicate²— what is that? It cannot be told³.

8. And the same Self is also called *Isâna* (lord), *Sambhu*, *Bhava*, *Rudra* (*tâmasa*); *Pragâpati* (lord of creatures), *Visvasrig* (creator of all), *Hiranyagarbha*, *Satyam* (truth), *Prâna* (breath), *Hamsa* (*râgasa*); *Sâstri* (ruler), *Vishnu*, *Nârâyana* (*sâtvika*); *Arka*, *Savitri*, *Dhâtri* (supporter), *Vidhâtri*⁴ (creator), *Samrâg* (king), *Indra*, *Indu* (moon). He is also he who warms, the Sun, hidden by the thousand-eyed golden egg, as one fire by another. He is to be thought after, he is to be sought after. Having said farewell to all living beings, having gone to the forest, and having renounced all sensuous objects, let man perceive the Self⁵ from his own body.

‘(See him)⁶ who assumes all forms, the golden, who knows all things, who ascends highest, alone in his splendour, and warms us; the thousand-rayed,

¹ M. reads *kâryakâraṇakarmavinirmuktam*.

² *Nirupâkhyam*, rightly translated by Cowell by ‘without a predicate,’ and rendered by the commentator by *apramaya*, i. e. not to be measured, not to be classed, i. e. without a predicate.

³ I have translated this in accordance with a well-known passage, quoted by the commentator from the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, rather than in accordance with his own interpretation.

⁴ M. leaves out *vidhâtâ*.

⁵ Instead of the peculiar *Maitrâyaṇi* reading, *svâñ sârîrâd*, M. reads *svâs kharîrâd*.

⁶ The oneness of the Sun and the Breath is proclaimed in the following verse of the *Prasṇa Upanishad* I, 8.

who abides in a hundred places, the spirit of all creatures, the Sun, rises¹.'

9. Therefore he who by knowing this has become the Self of both Breath and Sun, meditates (while meditating on them) on his Self, sacrifices (while sacrificing to them) to his Self—this meditation, the mind thus absorbed in these acts, is praised by the wise.

Then let him purify the contamination of the mind by the verse *Ukkl̥ish̥topahatam*, &c.²: 'Be it food left, or food defiled by left food, be it food given by a sinner, food coming from a dead person, or from one impure from childbirth, may the purifying power of Vasu, may Agni, and the rays of Savit̥ri, purify it, and all my sin³.'

First (before eating) he surrounds (the offered food) with water (in rinsing his mouth⁴). Then saying, Svâhâ to Prâna, Svâhâ to Apâna, Svâhâ to Vyâna, Svâhâ to Samâna, Svâhâ to Udâna, he offers (the food) with five invocations (in the fire of the mouth). What is over, he eats in silence, and then he surrounds (the food) once more afterwards with water (rinsing the mouth after his meal). Having washed let him, after sacrificing to himself, meditate on his Self with these two verses, Prâno 'gniḥ and Visvo 'si, viz. 'May the Highest Self as breath, as fire (digestive heat), as consisting of the

¹ Here ends the M. manuscript, with the following title: iti sr̥iyagussâkhâyâm Maitr̥âyanyabrâhmanopanishadi shash̥hakaḥ prapâḥhakaḥ. Samâptâ.

² In the following paragraphs the taking of food is represented as a sacrifice offered by the Self to the Self (âtmayaganarûpam bhoganam, p. 106, l. 13).

³ Several words have been inserted in this verse, spoiling the metre.

⁴ See *Khând. Up. V, 2*.

five vital airs, having entered (the body), himself satisfied, satisfy all, he who protects all.' 'Thou art Visva (all), thou art Vaisvânara (fire), all that is born is upheld by thee; may all offerings enter into thee; creatures live where thou grantest immortality to all.' He who eats according to this rule, does not in turn become food for others.

10. There is something else to be known. There is a further modification of this Self-sacrifice (the eating), namely, the food and the eater thereof. This is the explanation. The thinking Purusha (person), when he abides within the Pradhâna (nature), is the feeder who feeds on the food supplied by Prakṛiti (nature). The elemental Self¹ is truly his food, his maker being Pradhâna (nature²). Therefore what is composed of the three qualities (*gunas*) is the food, but the person within is the feeder. And for this the evidence is supplied by the senses. For animals spring from seed, and as the seed is the food, therefore it is clear that what is food is Pradhâna (the seed or cause of everything). Therefore, as has been said, the Purusha (person) is the eater, Prakṛiti, the food; and abiding within it he feeds. All that begins with the Mahat³ (power of intellect) and ends with the Viśeṣas (elements⁴), being developed from the distinction of nature with its three qualities, is the sign (that there must be a Purusha, an intel-

¹ See before, III, 3.

² This is very doubtful, in fact, unintelligible. The commentator says, *asya bhûtâtmanaḥ kartâ pradhânaḥ pûrvoktaḥ*, so 'pi bhogyā ity arthaḥ.

³ Technical terms, afterwards adopted by the Sâṅkhya philosophers.

⁴ Professor Cowell observes that the term *viśeṣa*, as here applied to the five gross elements, occurs in the Sâṅkhya-kârikâ, ver. 38.

ligent subject). And in this manner the way with its fourteen steps has been explained¹. (This is comprehended in the following verse): 'This world is indeed the food, called pleasure, pain, and error (the result of the three qualities); there is no laying hold of the taste of the seed (cause), so long as there is no development (in the shape of effect).' And in its three stages also it has the character of food, as childhood, youth, and old age; for, because these are developed, therefore there is in them the character of food².

And in the following manner does the perception of Pradhâna (nature) take place, after it has become manifest :—Intellect and the rest, such as determination, conception, consciousness, are for the tasting (of the effects of Pradhâna). Then there are the five (perceptive organs) intended for the (five) objects of senses, for to taste them. And thus are all acts of the five active organs, and the acts of the five Prânas or vital airs (for the tasting of their corresponding objects). Thus what is manifest (of nature) is food, and what is not manifest is food. The enjoyer of it is without qualities, but because he has the quality of being an enjoyer, it follows that he possesses intelligence.

As Agni (fire) is the food-eater among the gods, and Soma the food, so he who knows this eats food by Agni (is not defiled by food, as little as Agni, the sacrificial fire). This elemental Self, called Soma (food), is also called Agni, as having undeveloped nature for its mouth (as enjoying through nature, and being independent of it), because it is said, 'The

¹ Five receptive, five active organs, and four kinds of consciousness.

² Its very development proves it to be food. Cowell.

Purusha (person) enjoys nature with its three qualities, by the mouth of undeveloped nature.' He who knows this, is an ascetic, a yogin, he is a performer of the Self-sacrifice (see before). And he who does not touch the objects of the senses when they intrude on him, as no one would touch women intruding into an empty house, he is an ascetic, a yogin, a performer of the Self-sacrifice.

11. This is the highest form of Self, viz. food, for this Prâṇa (this body) subsists on food. If it eats not, it cannot perceive, hear, touch, see, smell, taste, and it loses the vital airs¹. For thus it is said :

'If it eats, then in full possession of the vital airs, it can perceive, hear, touch, speak, taste, smell, see.' And thus it is said :

'From food are born all creatures that live on earth ; afterwards they live on food, and in the end (when they die) they return to it².'

12. And thus it is said elsewhere: Surely all these creatures run about day and night, wishing to catch food. The sun takes food with his rays, and by it he shines. These vital airs digest, when sprinkled with food. Fire flares up by food, and by Brahmâ (Pragâpati), desirous of food, has all this been made. Therefore let a man worship food as his Self. For thus it is said :

'From food creatures are born, by food they grow when born ; because it is eaten and because it eats creatures, therefore it is called food (annam).'

13. And thus it is said elsewhere: This food is the body of the blessed Vishṇu, called Visvabhṛit (all-sustaining). Breath is the essence of food, mind of breath, knowledge of mind, joy of knowledge. He

¹ Kṣând. Up. VII, 9, 1.

² Taitt. Up. II, 2.

who knows this is possessed of food, breath, mind, knowledge, and joy. Whatever creatures here on earth eat food, abiding in them he, who knows this, eats food. Food has been called undecaying, food has been called worshipful; food is the breath of animals, food is the oldest, food has been called the physician.

14. And thus it has been said elsewhere : Food is the cause of all this, time of food, and the sun is the cause of time¹. The (visible) form of time is the year, consisting of twelve months, made up of Nimeshas (twinklins) and other measures. Of the year one half (when the sun moves northward) belongs to Agni, the other to Varuṇa (when the sun moves southward). That which belongs to Agni begins with the asterism of Maghâ and ends with half of the asterism of Śravishṭhâ, the sun stepping down northward. That which belongs to Soma (instead of Varuṇa) begins with the asterism (of Aśleshâ), sacred to the Serpents, and ends with half of the asterism of Śravishṭhâ, the sun stepping up southward. And then there (are the months) one by one, belonging to the year, each consisting of nine-fourths of asterisms (two asterisms and a quarter being the twelfth part of the passage of the sun through the twenty-seven Nakṣatras), each determined by the sun moving together with the asterisms. Because time is imperceptible by sense, therefore this (the progress of the sun, &c.) is its evidence, and by it alone is time proved to exist. Without proof there is no apprehension of what is to be proved; but even what is to be proved can become proof, for the sake of making itself known,

¹ As food depends on time, therefore time is praised, which again depends on the sun, which is a form of the Self.

if the parts (the twinklings, &c.) can be distinguished from the whole (time¹). For thus it is said :

‘As many portions of time as there are, through them the sun proceeds : he who worships time as Brahman, from him time moves away very far.’ And thus it is said :

‘From time all beings flow, from time they grow ; in time they obtain rest ; time is visible (sun) and invisible (moments).’

15. There are two forms of Brahman, time and non-time. That which was before the (existence of the) sun is non-time and has no parts. That which had its beginning ‘from the sun is time and has parts. Of that which has parts, the year is the form, and from the year are born all creatures ; when produced by the year they grow, and go again to rest in the year. Therefore the year is Pragâpati, is time, is food, is the nest of Brahman, is Self. Thus it is said :

‘Time ripens and dissolves all beings in the great Self, but he who knows into what time itself is dissolved, he is the knower of the Veda.’

16. This manifest time is the great ocean of creatures. He who is called Savitri (the sun, as begetter) dwells in it, from whence the moon, stars, planets, the year, and the rest are begotten. From them again comes all this, and thus, whatever of good or evil is seen in this world, comes from them. Therefore Brahman is the Self of the sun, and a man should worship the sun under the name of time. Some say the sun is Brahman, and thus it is said :

¹ Thus, the commentator says, the existence of the lamp can be proved by the light of the lamp, as the existence of time is proved by what we see, the rising of the sun. All this is very obscure.

‘The sacrificer, the deity that enjoys the sacrifice, the oblation, the hymn, the sacrifice, Vishnu, Pragâpati, all this is the Lord, the witness, that shines in yonder orb.’

17. In the beginning Brahman was all this¹. He was one, and infinite ; infinite in the East, infinite in the South, infinite in the West, infinite in the North, above and below and everywhere infinite. East and the other regions do not exist for him, nor across, nor below, nor above. The Highest Self is not to be fixed, he is unlimited, unborn, not to be reasoned about, not to be conceived. He is like the ether (everywhere), and at the destruction of the universe, he alone is awake. Thus from that ether he wakes all this world, which consists of thought only, and by him alone is all this meditated on, and in him it is dissolved. His is that luminous form which shines in the sun, and the manifold light in the smokeless fire, and the heat which in the stomach digests the food. Thus it is said :

‘He who is in the fire, and he who is in the heart, and he who is in the sun, they are one and the same.’

He who knows this becomes one with the one.

18. This is the rule for achieving it (viz. concentration of the mind on the object of meditation): restraint of the breath, restraint of the senses, meditation, fixed attention, investigation, absorption, these are called the sixfold Yoga². When beholding by

¹ Brahman used as neuter, but immediately followed by *eko 'nantaḥ*, &c.

² After having explained the form of what is to be meditated on and the mode of meditation, the Upanishad now teaches the Yoga which serves to keep our thoughts in subjection, and to fix our thoughts on the object of meditation. See Yoga-Sûtras II, 29.

this Yoga, he beholds the gold-coloured maker, the lord, the person, Brahman, the cause, then the sage, leaving behind good and evil, makes everything (breath, organs of sense, body, &c.) to be one in the Highest Indestructible (in the pratyagâtman or Brahman). And thus it is said :

‘As birds and deer do not approach a burning mountain, so sins never approach those who know Brahman.’

19. And thus it is said elsewhere : When he who knows has, while he is still *Prâna* (breath), restrained his mind, and placed all objects of the senses far away from himself, then let him remain without any conceptions. And because the living person, called *Prâna* (breath), has been produced here on earth from that which is not *Prâna* (the thinking Self), therefore let this *Prâna* merge the *Prâna* (himself) in what is called the fourth¹. And thus it is said :

‘What is without thought, though placed in the centre of thought, what cannot be thought, the hidden, the highest—let a man merge his thought there : then will this living being (*liṅga*) be without attachment².’

20. And thus it has been said elsewhere : There is the superior fixed attention (*dhârânâ*) for him, viz. if he presses the tip of the tongue down the palate and restrains voice, mind, and breath, he sees

¹ The fourth stage is meant for the thinking Self, the earlier stages being waking, slumbering, and sleep.

² Professor Cowell offers two renderings of this difficult passage : ‘This which is called *prâna*, i.e. the individual soul as characterised by the subtil body, will thus no longer appear in its separate individuality from the absence of any conscious subject ; or, this subtil body bearing the name of intellect will thus become void of all objects.’

Brahman by discrimination (tarka). And when, after the cessation of mind¹, he sees his own Self, smaller than small, and shining, as the Highest Self², then having seen his Self as the Self, he becomes Self-less, and because he is Self-less, he is without limit, without cause, absorbed in thought. This is the highest mystery, viz. final liberation. And thus it is said :

‘Through the serenity of the thought he kills all actions, good or bad ; his Self serene, abiding in the Self, obtains imperishable bliss.’

21. And thus it has been said elsewhere : The artery, called Sushumnâ, going upwards (from the heart to the Brahmarandhra), serving as the passage of the Prâna, is divided within the palate. Through that artery, when it has been joined by the breath (held in subjection), by the sacred syllable Om, and by the mind (absorbed in the contemplation of Brahman), let him proceed upwards³, and after turning the tip of the tongue to the palate, without⁴ using any of the organs of sense, let greatness perceive greatness⁵. From thence he goes to selflessness, and through selflessness he ceases to be an enjoyer of pleasure and pain, he obtains aloneness (kevalatva, final deliverance). And thus it is said :

¹ The commentator remarks that this process is called Lambikâ-yoga, and the state produced by it Unmanî or Unmanîbhâva ; see amanîbhâva, in VI, 34, ver. 7.

² I should have preferred to translate âtmânam âtmanâ pasyati by ‘he sees his Self by his Self,’ but the commentator takes a slightly different view, and says : itthambhâve tṛtīyâ ; paramâtmarûpeṇa pasyati.

³ Cf. Kaṭha Up. VI, 16 ; Prasṇa Up. III, 6 (p. 277).

⁴ If we read samyogya we must follow the commentator in translating by ‘uniting the senses with the prâna and the manas.’

⁵ Let the Self perceive the Self.

‘Having successively fixed the breath, after it had been restrained, in the palate, thence having crossed the limit (the life), let him join himself afterwards to the limitless (Brahman) in the crown of the head.’

22. And thus it has been said elsewhere: Two Brahmins have to be meditated on, the word and the non-word. By the word alone is the non-word revealed. Now there is the word Om. Moving upward by it (where all words and all what is meant by them ceases), he arrives at absorption in the non-word (Brahman). This is the way, this is the immortal, this is union, and this is bliss. And as the spider, moving upward by the thread, gains free space, thus also he who meditates, moving upward by the syllable Om, gains independence.

Other teachers of the word (as Brahman) think otherwise. They listen to the sound of the ether within the heart while they stop the ears with the thumbs. They compare it to seven noises, like rivers, like a bell, like a brazen vessel, like the wheels of a carriage, like the croaking of frogs, like rain, and as if a man speaks in a cavern. Having passed beyond this variously apprehended sound, and having settled in the supreme, soundless (non-word), unmanifested Brahman, they become undistinguished and undistinguishable, as various flavours of the flowers are lost in the taste of honey. And thus it is said:

‘Two Brahmins are to be known, the word-Brahman and the highest Brahman; he who is perfect in the word-Brahman attains the highest Brahman¹.’

¹ Cf. Mahâbhârata XII, 8540; Sarvadarsana-saṅgraha, p. 147; Cowell's Translation, p. 271.

23. And thus it has been said elsewhere : The syllable Om is what is called the word. And its end is the silent, the soundless, fearless, sorrowless, joyful, satisfied, firm, unwavering, immortal, immovable, certain (Brahman), called Vishnu. Let him worship these two, that he may obtain what is higher than everything (final deliverance). For thus it is said :

‘He who is the high and the highest god¹, by name Om-kâra, he is soundless and free from all distinctions : therefore let a man dwell on him in the crown of his head.’

24. And thus it has been said elsewhere : The body is the bow, the syllable Om is the arrow, its point is the mind. Having cut through the darkness, which consists of ignorance², it approaches that which is not covered by darkness³. Then having cut through that which was covered (the personal soul), he saw Brahman, flashing like a wheel on fire, bright like the sun, vigorous, beyond all darkness, that which shines forth in yonder sun, in the moon, in the fire, in the lightning⁴. And having seen him, he obtains immortality. And thus it has been said :

‘Meditation is directed to the highest Being (Brahman) within, and (before) to the objects (body, Om, mind) ; thence the indistinct understanding becomes distinct.

And when the works of the mind are dissolved,

¹ The commentator takes devâ as devaḥ, though the accent is against it ; see Schroeder, *Über die Maitrâyanî Samhitâ*, p. 9, l. 11.

² Should it not be, ‘darkness is the mark?’

³ Atamâvishâ, explained as an irregular compound, atama-âvishâ-m, tama-âvesanarahitam.

⁴ Cf. *Bhagavadgîtâ* XV, 12.

then that bliss which requires no other witness, that is Brahman (Âtman), the immortal, the brilliant, that is the way, that is the (true) world.'

25. And thus it has been said elsewhere: He who has his senses hidden as in sleep, and who, while in the cavern of his senses (his body), but no longer ruled by them, sees, as in a dream, with the purest intellect, Him who is called *Pranava* (Om), the leader¹, the bright, the sleepless, free from old age, from death, and sorrow, he is himself also called *Pranava*, and becomes a leader, bright, sleepless, free from old age, from death, and sorrow. And thus it is said:

'Because in this manner he joins the *Prâna* (breath), the Om, and this Universe in its manifold forms, or because they join themselves (to him), therefore this (process of meditation) is called *Yoga* (joining).

The oneness of breath, mind, and senses, and then the surrendering of all conceptions, that is called *Yoga*.'

26. And thus it has also been said elsewhere: As a sportsman, after drawing out the denizens of the waters with a net, offers them (as a sacrifice) in the fire of his stomach, thus are these *Prânas* (vital airs), after they have been drawn out with the syllable Om, offered in the faultless fire (Brahman)².

Hence he is like a heated vessel (full of clarified butter); for as the clarified butter in the heated vessel lights up, when touched with grass and sticks, thus does this being which is called Not-breath (Âtman) light up, when touched by the *Prânas* (the

¹ Cf. VI, 4.

² Cf. *Svetâsvatara-upanishad* III, 10.

vital airs)¹. And that which flares up, that is the manifest form of Brahman, that is the highest place of Vishnu², that is the essence of Rudra. And this, dividing his Self in endless ways, fills all these worlds. And thus it is said:

‘As the sparks from the fire, and as the rays from the sun, thus do his Prâṇas and the rest in proper order again and again proceed from him here on earth³.’

27. And thus it has also been said elsewhere: This is the heat of the highest, the immortal, the incorporeal Brahman, viz. the warmth of the body. And this body is the clarified butter (poured on it, by which the heat of Brahman, otherwise invisible, is lighted up). Then, being manifest, it is placed in the ether (of the heart). Then by concentration they thus remove that ether which is within the heart, so that its light appears, as it were⁴. Therefore the worshipper becomes identified with that light without much delay. As a ball of iron, if placed in the earth, becomes earth without much delay, and as, when it has once become a clod of earth, fire and smiths have nothing more to do with that ball of iron, thus does thought (without delay) disappear, together with its support⁵. And thus it is said:

¹ As the fire which exists invisibly in a heated vessel becomes visible when the heated vessel is touched with sticks dipped in butter, thus the Âtman in the body appears only when the Prâṇas are diffused in it. Or, as the clarified butter, heated together with the vessel, lights up grass that comes in contact with it, so does this Âtman (called Not-breath), by heating its two bodies which are pervaded by the reflections of the thinker, light up everything brought in contact with it, viz. the world.

² See *Kaṭha Up.* III, 9.

³ See *VI*, 31; *Bṛih. Up.* II, 1, 10.

⁴ The light was always there, but it seems then only to appear.

⁵ The commentator explains this differently. He says that the

‘The shrine which consists of the ether in the heart, the blissful, the highest retreat, that is our own, that is our goal, and that is the heat and brightness of the fire and the sun.’

28. And thus it has been said elsewhere : After having left behind the body, the organs of sense, and the objects of sense (as no longer belonging to us), and having seized the bow whose stick is fortitude and whose string is asceticism, having struck down also with the arrow, which consists in freedom from egotism, the first guardian of the door of Brahman—(for if man looks at the world egotistically, then, taking the diadem of passion, the earrings of greed and envy, and the staff of sloth, sleep; and sin, and having seized the bow whose string is anger, and whose stick is lust, he destroys with the arrow which consists of wishes, all beings)—having therefore killed that guardian, he crosses by means of the boat Om to the other side of the ether within the heart, and when the ether becomes revealed (as Brahman), he enters slowly, as a miner seeking minerals in a mine, into the Hall of Brahman. After that let him, by means of the doctrine of his teacher, break through the shrine of Brahman, which consists of the four nets (of food, breath, mind, knowledge, till he reaches the last shrine, that of blessedness and identity with Brahman). Thenceforth pure,

similes are intended to show how, as soon as the impediment is removed, the worshipper obtains his true form, i.e. becomes Brahman. Afterwards he explains *ġittam*, thought, by the individual thinker, and declares that he vanishes together with the thought, which forms the *āsraya*, the place, or the *upādhi*, the outward form. Or again, he says that the *ġitta*, the mind, vanishes with its outward sign, viz. the thoughts and imaginations.

clean, undeveloped, tranquil, breathless, bodiless, endless, imperishable, firm, everlasting, unborn and independent, he stands on his own greatness¹, and having seen (the Self), standing in his own greatness, he looks on the wheel of the world as one (who has alighted from a chariot) looks on its revolving wheel. And thus it is said :

‘If a man practises Yoga for six months and is thoroughly free (from the outer world), then the perfect Yoga (union), which is endless, high, and hidden, is accomplished.

But if a man, though well enlightened (by instruction), is still pierced by (the *gunas* of) passion and darkness, and attached to his children, wife, and house, then perfect Yoga is never accomplished².’

29. After he had thus spoken (to *Brîhadratha*), *Sâkâyanya*, absorbed in thought, bowed before him, and said : ‘O King, by means of this Brahma-knowledge have the sons of *Pragâpati* (the *Vâlakhilyas*) gone to the road of Brahman. Through the practice of Yoga a man obtains contentment, power to endure good and evil, and tranquillity. Let no man preach this most secret doctrine to any one who is not his son or his pupil³, and who is not of a serene mind. To him alone who is devoted to his teacher only, and endowed with all necessary qualities, may he communicate it⁴.

¹ See *Maitr. Up.* II, 4 ; VI, 31.

² This would seem to have been the end of the dialogue between *Pragâpati* and the *Vâlakhilyas*, which, as related by *Sâkâyanya* to King *Brîhadratha*, began in II, 3. See, however, VII, 8.

³ *Svet. Up.* VI, 22 (p. 267) ; *Brîh. Up.* VI, 3, 12.

⁴ Here may have been the end of a chapter, but the story of *Sâkâyanya* and *Brîhadratha* is continued to VI, 30.

30. Om! Having settled down in a pure place let him, being pure himself, and firm in goodness, study the truth, speak the truth, think the truth, and offer sacrifice to the truth¹. Henceforth he has become another; by obtaining the reward of Brahman his fetters are cut asunder, he knows no hope, no fear from others as little as from himself, he knows no desires; and having attained imperishable, infinite happiness, he stands blessed in the true Brahman, who longs for a true man². Freedom from desires is, as it were, the highest prize to be taken from the best treasure (Brahman). For a man full of all desires, being possessed of will, imagination, and belief, is a slave; but he who is the opposite, is free.

Here some say, it is the *Guṇa*³ (i. e. the so-called Mahat, the principle of intellect which, according to the Sâṅkhyas, is the result of the *Guṇas* or qualities), which, through the differences of nature (acquired in the former states of existence), goes into bondage to the will, and that deliverance takes place (for the *Guṇa*) when the fault of the will has been removed. (But this is not our view), because (call it *guṇa*, intellect, buddhi, manas, mind, ahaṅkāra, egotism, it is not the mind that acts, but) he sees by the mind (as his instrument), he hears by the mind; and all that we call

¹ The truth or the true are explained by, (1) the book which teaches the Highest Self; (2) by Brahman, who is to be spoken about; (3) by Brahman, who is to be meditated on; (4) by Brahman, who is to be worshipped in thought.

² I have translated this according to the commentary, but I should prefer to read *satyābhilāshini*.

³ The passages within brackets had to be added from the commentary in order to make the text intelligible, at least according to Râmatîrtha's views.

desire, imagination, doubt, belief, unbelief, certainty, uncertainty, shame, thought, fear, all that is but mind (manas). Carried along by the waves of the qualities, darkened in his imaginations, unstable, fickle, crippled, full of desires, vacillating, he enters into belief, believing I am he, this is mine, and he binds his Self by his Self, as a bird with a net¹. Therefore a man, being possessed of will, imagination, and belief, is a slave, but he who is the opposite is free. For this reason let a man stand free from will, imagination, and belief—this is the sign of liberty, this is the path that leads to Brahman, this is the opening of the door, and through it he will go to the other shore of darkness. All desires are there fulfilled. And for this they quote a verse :

“When the five instruments of knowledge stand still together with the mind, and when the intellect does not move, that is called the highest state².”

Having thus said, Sākāyanya became absorbed in thought. Then Marut (i. e. the King *Bṛīhadratha*)³, having bowed before him and duly worshipped him, went full of contentment to the Northern Path⁴, for there is no way thither by any side-road. This is the path to Brahman. Having burst open the solar door, he rose on high and went away. And here they quote :

‘There are endless rays (arteries) for the Self who, like a lamp, dwells in the heart: white and black, brown and blue, tawny and reddish⁵.

¹ See III, 2.

² See the same verse in *Kaṭha* Up. VI, 10.

³ See before, II, 1.

⁴ See *Prasṇa* Up. I, 10, ‘But those who have sought the Self by penance, abstinence, faith, and knowledge, gain by the Northern Path *Āditya*, the sun.’

⁵ See *Khând.* Up. VIII, 6, 1.

One of them (the Sushumnâ) leads upwards, piercing the solar orb: by it, having stepped beyond the world of Brahman, they go to the highest path.

The other hundred rays¹ rise upwards also, and on them the worshipper reaches the mansions belonging to the different bodies of gods.

But the manifest rays of dim colour which lead downwards, by them a man travels on and on helplessly, to enjoy the fruits of his actions here.'

Therefore it is said that the holy Âditya (sun) is the cause of new births (to those who do not worship him), of heaven (to those who worship him as a god), of liberty (to those who worship him as Brahman)².

31. Some one asks: 'Of what nature are those organs of sense that go forth (towards their objects)? Who sends them out here, or who holds them back?'

Another answers: 'Their nature is the Self; the Self sends them out, or holds them back; also the Apsaras (enticing objects of sense), and the solar rays (and other deities presiding over the senses).'

Now the Self devours the objects by the five rays (the organs of sense); then who is the Self?

He who has been defined by the terms pure, clean, undeveloped, tranquil³, &c., who is to be apprehended independently by his own peculiar signs. That sign of him who has no signs, is like what the pervading

¹ A similar verse, but with characteristic variations, occurs in the *Khând. Up.* VIII, 6, 6, and in the *Kaṭha Up.* VI, 16.

² Here ends the story of *Sâkâyanya*, which began I, 2, and was carried on through chap. VI, though that chapter and the seventh are called *Khilas*, or supplements, and though the MS. M. also ends, as we saw, with the eighth paragraph of the sixth chapter.

³ See before, II, 4 VI, 1⁵

heat is of fire, the purest taste of water ; thus say some¹. It is speech, hearing, sight, mind, breath ; thus say others². It is intellect, retention, remembering, knowledge ; thus say others³. Now all these are signs of the Self in the same sense in which here on earth shoots are the signs of seed, or smoke, light, and sparks of fire. And for this they quote⁴ :

‘As the sparks from the fire, and as the rays from the sun, thus do his Prâṇas and the rest in proper order again and again proceed from him here on earth.’

32. From this very Self, abiding within his Self, come forth all Prâṇas (speech, &c.), all worlds, all Vedas, all gods, and all beings ; its Upanishad (revelation)⁵ is that it is ‘the true of the true.’ Now as from a fire of greenwood, when kindled, clouds of smoke come forth by themselves (though belonging to the fire), thus from that great Being has been breathed forth all this which is the *Rig-veda*, the *Yagur-veda*, the *Sâma-veda*, the *Atharvângirasas* (*Atharva-veda*), the *Itihâsa* (legendary stories), the *Purâṇa* (accounts of the creation, &c.), *Vidyâ* (ceremonial doctrines), the *Upanishads*, the *Slokas* (verses interspersed in the *Upanishads*, &c.), the *Sûtras* (compendious statements), the *Anuvyâkhyânas* (explanatory notes), the *Vyâkhyânas* (elucidations)⁶—all these things are his.

¹ See *Svet. Up.* VI, 13.

² See *Ken. Up.* 2.

³ See *Ait. Up.* III, 2. Here we find *dhr̥iti* (holding), *smṛiti* (remembering), *pragñānam* (knowledge), but not *buddhi*. *Pragñānam* seems the right reading, and is supported by M.

⁴ See before, VI, 26.

⁵ Revelation is here the rendering of *Upanishad*, *upanigamaitritvât sâkshâdrahasyam*, and the true (*sattya*) is explained first by the five elements, and then by that which is their real essence.

⁶ See *Kāṇḍ. Up.* VI, 1. The explanations given of these literary

33. This fire (the Gârhapatya-fire) with five bricks is the year. And its five bricks are spring, summer, rainy season, autumn, winter ; and by them the fire has a head, two sides, a centre, and a tail. This earth (the Gârhapatya-fire) here is the first sacrificial pile for Pragâpati, who knows the Purusha (the Virâg). It presented the sacrificer to Vâyû (the wind) by lifting him with the hands to the sky. That Vâyû is Prâna (Hiranyagarbha).

Prâna is Agni (the Dakshinâgni-fire), and its bricks are the five vital breaths, Prâna, Vyâna, Apâna, Samâna, Udâna ; and by them the fire has a head, two sides, a centre, and a tail. This sky (the Dakshinâgni-fire) here is the second sacrificial pile for Pragâpati, who knows the Purusha. It presented the sacrificer to Indra, by lifting him with the hands to heaven. That Indra is Âditya, the sun.

That (Indra) is the Agni (the Âhavanîya-fire), and its bricks are the *Rik*, the Yagush, the Sâman, the Atharvângirasas, the Itihâsa, and the Purâna ; and by them the fire has a head, two sides, a tail, and a centre. This heaven (Âhavanîya-fire) is the third sacrificial pile for Pragâpati, who knows the

titles are on the whole the same as those we had before in similar passages. What is peculiar to Râmatîrtha is that he explains Upanishad by such passages as we had just now, viz. its Upanishad is that it is the true of the true. The Slokas are explained as verses like those in VI, 19, *aḥittam kṛttamadhyastham*. The Sûtras are explained as comprehensive sentences, such as II, 2, *ayam vâva khalv âtmâ te*. Anuvyâkhyânas are taken as explanations following on the Sûtra in II, 2, beginning with *atha ya eshokâhâvâsâvish/ambhanena*. The Vyâkhyânas are taken as fuller statements of the meaning contained in the Sûtra, such as the dialogue between the Vâ lakhilyas and Kratu.

Purusha. With the hands it makes a present of the sacrificer to the Knower of the Self (Pragâpati); then the Knower of the Self, lifting him up, presented him to Brahman. In him he becomes full of happiness and joy.

34. The earth is the Gârhapatya-fire, the sky the Dakshina-fire, the heaven the Âhavanîya-fire; and therefore they are also the Pavamâna (pure), the Pāvaka (purifying), and the Suñi (bright)¹. By this (by the three deities, Pavamâna, Pāvaka, and Suñi) the sacrifice (of the three fires, the Gârhapatya, Dakshina, and Âhavanîya) is manifested. And because the digestive fire also is a compound of the Pavamâna, Pāvaka, and Suñi, therefore that fire is to receive oblations, is to be laid with bricks, is to be praised, and to be meditated on. The sacrificer, when he has seized the oblation, wishes² to perform his meditation of the deity:

‘The gold-coloured bird abides in the heart, and in the sun—a diver bird, a swan, strong in splendour; him we worship in the fire.’

Having recited the verse, he discovers its meaning, viz. the adorable splendour of Savitrî (sun) is to be meditated on by him who, abiding within his mind, meditates thereon. Here he attains the place of rest for the mind, he holds it within his own Self. On this there are the following verses:

(1) As a fire without fuel becomes quiet in its

¹ Epithets of Agni, the sacrificial-fire, pavamâna applying to the Gârhapatya-fire, pāvaka to the Dakshina-fire, and suñi to the Âhavanîya-fire. The construction of the sentence, however, is imperfect.

² This means, he ought to perform it.

place¹, thus do the thoughts, when all activity ceases, become quiet² in their place.

(2) Even in a mind which loves the truth³ and has gone to rest in itself there arise, when it is deluded by the objects of sense, wrongs resulting from former acts⁴.

(3) For thoughts alone cause the round of births⁵; let a man strive to purify his thoughts. What a man thinks, that he is: this is the old secret⁶.

(4) By the serenity of his thoughts a man blots out all actions, whether good or bad. Dwelling within his Self with serene thoughts, he obtains imperishable happiness.

(5) If the thoughts of a man were so fixed on Brahman as they are on the things of this world, who would not then be freed from bondage?

(6) The mind, it is said, is of two kinds, pure or impure; impure from the contact with lust, pure when free from lust⁷.

(7) When a man, having freed his mind from sloth, distraction, and vacillation, becomes as it were delivered from his mind⁸, that is the highest point.

(8) The mind must be restrained in the heart till it comes to an end;—that is knowledge, that is liberty: all the rest are extensions of the ties⁹ (which bind us to this life).

¹ Dies in the fireplace.

² M. reads *uparâmyati* twice.

³ M. reads *satyakâminaḥ*.

⁴ The commentator inserts a negative.

⁵ M. reads *samsâraḥ*.

⁶ This is very like the teaching of the Dhammapada, I, 1.

⁷ Cf. Ind. Stud. II, 60. Brahnavindu Up. v. 1, where we read *kâmasaṅkalpam*, as in MS. M.

⁸ See note to VI, 20.

⁹ M. reads *mokshaḥ* and *reshâs tu*. The commentator says that

(9) That happiness which belongs to a mind which by deep meditation has been washed¹ clean from all impurity and has entered within the Self, cannot be described here by words ; it can be felt by the inward power only².

(10) Water in water, fire in fire, ether in ether, no one can distinguish them ; likewise a man whose mind has entered (till it cannot be distinguished from the Self), attains liberty.

(11) Mind alone is the cause of bondage and liberty for men ; if attached to the world, it becomes bound ; if free from the world, that is liberty³.

Therefore those who do not offer the Agnihotra (as described above), who do not lay the fires (with the bricks, as described above), who are ignorant (of the mind being the cause of the round of births), who do not meditate (on the Self in the solar orb) are debarred from remembering the ethereal place of Brahman. Therefore that fire is to receive oblations, is to be laid with bricks, is to be praised, to be meditated on.

35⁴. Adoration to Agni, the dweller on earth, who remembers his world. Grant that world to this thy worshipper !

Adoration to Vâyu, the dweller in the sky, who remembers his world. Grant that world to this thy worshipper !

this line is easy, but it is so by no means. Professor Cowell translates *granthavistarâh* by book-prolixity, but this sounds very strange in an Upanishad. I am not satisfied with my own translation, but it may stand till a better one is found. M. reads *grîndhavistarâh*. The granthis are mentioned in *Khând. Up.* VII, 26 ; *Ka/h. Up.* VI, 15.

¹ M. reads *nirdhûta*.

² M. reads *karaneti*.

³ M. reads *vishayâsaktam muktyai*.

⁴ Next follow invocations to be addressed to the deities.

Adoration to Âditya, the dweller in heaven, who remembers his world. Grant that world to this thy worshipper!

Adoration to Brahman, who dwells everywhere, who remembers all. Grant all to this thy worshipper!

The mouth of the true (Brahman) is covered with a golden lid; open that, O Pûshan (sun), that we may go to the true one, who pervades all (Vishnu)¹.

He who is the person in the sun, I am he².

And what is meant by the true one is the essence of the sun, that which is bright, personal, sexless³; a portion (only) of the light which pervades the ether; which is, as it were, in the midst of the sun, and in the eye, and in the fire. That is Brahman, that is immortal, that is splendour.

That is the true one, a portion (only) of the light which pervades the ether, which is in the midst of the sun, the immortal, of which Soma (the moon) and the vital breaths also are offshoots: that is Brahman, that is immortal, that is splendour.

That is the true one, a portion (only) of the light which pervades the ether, which in the midst of the sun shines as Yagus, viz. as Om, as water, light, essence, immortal, Brahman, Bhûh, Bhuva^h, Svar, Om.

‘The eight-footed⁴, the bright, the swan, bound

¹ The verse occurs in a more original form in Tal. Up. 15.

² The commentator adds *iti* after *aham*.

³ *Khând.* Up. I, 6, 6; *Svet.* Up. V, 10.

⁴ The eight feet are explained as the eight regions, or âroga and the rest. The swan is the sun. The three threads are the three Vedas; see *Kûl.* Up. I, 1; *Ind. Stud.* IX, 11—*ash/apâdam sukir hamsam trisûtram manim avyayam, dvivartamânânam taigasaidham*

with three threads, the infinitely small, the imperishable, blind for good and evil, kindled with light—he who sees him, sees everything.’

A portion (only) of the light which pervades the ether, are the two rays rising in the midst of the sun. That is the knower¹ (the Sun), the true one. That is the Yagus, that is the heat, that is Agni (fire), that is Vâyu (wind), that is breath, that is water, that is the moon, that is bright, that is immortal, that is the place of Brahman, that is the ocean of light. In that ocean the sacrificers are dissolved² like salt, and that is oneness with Brahman, for all desires are there fulfilled. And here they quote :

‘Like a lamp, moved by a gentle wind, he who dwells within the gods shines forth. He who knows this, he is the knower, he knows the difference (between the high and the highest Brahman); having obtained unity, he becomes identified with it.

They who rise up in endless number, like spray drops (from the sea), like lightnings from the light within the clouds in the highest heaven, they, when they have entered into the light of glory (Brahman), appear like so many flame-crests in the track of fire.’

36. There are two manifestations of the Brahma-light : one is tranquil, the other lively. Of that which is tranquil, the ether is the support ; of that which is lively, food. Therefore (to the former) sacrifice must be offered on the house-altar with hymns, herbs, ghee, meat, cakes, sthâlpâka, and other things ; to the latter, with meat and drinks (belonging to the great sacrifices) thrown into the mouth, for the mouth

sarvaḥ pāśyan na pāśyati. Here the eight feet are explained as the five elements, manas, buddhi, and ahaṅkāra.

¹ Savit for savitri.

² Vilīyante for vilīyante.

is the Âhavanîya-fire ; and this is done to increase our bodily vigour, to gain the world of purity, and for the sake of immortality. And here they quote :

‘Let him who longs for heaven, offer an Agni-hotra. By an Agnishôma he wins the kingdom of Yama ; by Uktha, the kingdom of Soma ; by a Shodasin-sacrifice, the kingdom of Sûrya ; by an Atirâtra-sacrifice, the kingdom of Indra ; by the sacrifices beginning with the twelve-night sacrifice and ending with the thousand years’ sacrifice, the world of Pragâpati.

As a lamp burns so long as the vessel that holds the wick is filled with oil, these two, the Self and the bright Sun, remain so long as the egg (of the world) and he who dwells within it hold together.’

37. Therefore let a man perform all these ceremonies with the syllable Om (at the beginning). Its splendour is endless, and it is declared to be three-fold, in the fire (of the altar), in the sun (the deity), in the breath (the sacrificer). Now this is the channel to increase the food, which makes what is offered in the fire ascend to the sun. The sap which flows from thence, rains down as with the sound of a hymn. By it there are vital breaths, from them there is offspring. And here they quote :

‘The offering which is offered in the fire, goes to the sun ; the sun rains it down by his rays ; thus food comes, and from food the birth of living beings.’

And thus he said :

‘The oblation which is properly thrown on the fire, goes toward the sun ; from the sun comes rain, from rain food, from food living beings¹.’

¹ See Manu III, 76.

38. He who offers the Agnihotra breaks through the net of desire. Then, cutting through bewilderment, never approving of anger, meditating on one desire (that of liberty), he breaks through the shrine of Brahman with its four nets, and proceeds thence to the ether. For having there broken through the (four) spheres of the Sun, the Moon, the Fire, and Goodness, he then, being purified himself, beholds dwelling in goodness, immovable, immortal, indestructible, firm, bearing the name of Vishnu, the highest abode, endowed with love of truth and omniscience, the self-dependent Intelligence (Brahman), standing in its own greatness. And here they quote :

‘In the midst of the sun stands the moon, in the midst of the moon the fire, in the midst of fire goodness, in the midst of goodness the Eternal.’

Having meditated on him who has the breadth of a thumb within the span (of the heart) in the body, who is smaller than small, he obtains the nature of the Highest ; there all desires are fulfilled. And on this they quote :

‘Having the breadth of a thumb within the span (of the heart) in the body, like the flame of a lamp, burning twofold or threefold, that glorified Brahman, the great God, has entered into all the worlds. Om ! Adoration to Brahman ! Adoration !’

SEVENTH PRAPÂTHAKA.

1. Agni, the Gâyatra (metre), the Trivṛt (hymn), the Rathantara (song), the spring, the upward breath (prâṇa), the Nakshatras, the Vasus (deities)—these rise in the East ; they warm, they rain, they praise¹

¹ Other MSS. read *sruvanti*, which seems better.

(the sun), they enter again into him (the sun), they look out from him (the sun). He (the sun) is inconceivable, without form, deep, covered, blameless, solid, unfathomable, without qualities, pure, brilliant, enjoying the play of the three qualities, awful, not caused, a master-magician¹, the omniscient, the mighty, immeasurable, without beginning or end, blissful, unborn, wise, indescribable, the creator of all things, the self of all things, the enjoyer of all things, the ruler of all things, the centre of the centre of all things.

2. Indra, the Trishṭubh (metre), the Pañkadasa (hymn), the Brīhat (song), the summer, the through-going breath (Vyâna), Soma, the Rudras—these rise in the South; they warm, they rain, they praise, they enter again into him, they look out from him. He (the sun) is without end or beginning, unmeasured, unlimited, not to be moved by another, self-dependent, without sign, without form, of endless power, the creator, the maker of light.

3. The Maruts, the Gagatī (metre), the Saptadasa (hymn), the Vairupa (song), the rainy season, the downward breath (apâna), Sukra, the Âdityas—these rise in the West; they warm, they rain, they praise, they enter again into him, they look out from him. That is the tranquil, the soundless, fearless, sorrowless, joyful, satisfied, firm, immovable, immortal, eternal, true, the highest abode, bearing the name of Vishṇu.

4. The Visve Devas, the Anushṭubh (metre), the Ekavimsa (hymn), the Vairâga (song), the autumn, the equal breath (samâna), Varuṇa, the Sâdhyas—these rise in the North; they warm, they rain, they

¹ See VII, 11, abhidhyâtur vistrîtir iva.

praise, they enter again into him, they look out from him. He is pure within, purifying, undeveloped, tranquil, breathless, selfless, endless.

5. Mitrâ-Varunau, the Pañkti (metre), the Trina-vatrayastrimsa (hymns), the Sâkvara-raivata (songs), the snowy and dewy seasons, the out-going breath (udâna), the Ângiras, the Moon—these rise above; they warm, they rain, they praise, they enter again into him, they look out from him—who is called Pranava (Om), the leader, consisting of light, without sleep, old age, death, and sorrow.

6. Sani (Saturn), Rahu and Ketu (the ascending and descending nodes), the serpents, Rakshas, Yakshas, men, birds, sarabhas, elephants, &c.—these rise below; they warm, they rain, they praise, they enter again into him, they look out from him—he who is wise, who keeps things in their right place, the centre of all, the imperishable, the pure, the purifier, the bright, the patient, the tranquil.

7. And he is indeed the Self, smaller (than small) within the heart, kindled like fire, endowed with all forms. Of him is all this food, within him all creatures are woven. That Self is free from sin¹, free from old age, from death and grief, from hunger and thirst, imagining nothing but what it ought to imagine, and desiring nothing but what it ought to desire. He is the highest lord, he is the supreme master of all beings, the guardian of all beings, a boundary keeping all things apart in their right places². He the Self, the lord, is indeed Sambhu, Bhava, Rudra, Pragâpati, the creator of all, Hiranya-

¹ See *Khând. Up.* VIII, 7, 1.

² See *Khând. Up.* VIII, 4, 1, where we find *setur vidhrîr eshâm lokânâm*.

garbha, the true, breath, the swan, the ruler, the eternal, Vishṇu, Nārāyaṇa. And he who abides in the fire, and he who abides in the heart, and he who abides in the sun, they are one and the same. To thee who art this, endowed with all forms, settled in the true ether, be adoration !

8. Now follow the impediments in the way of knowledge, O King¹ ! This is indeed the origin of the net of bewilderment, that one who is worthy of heaven lives with those who are not worthy of heaven. That is it. Though they have been told that there is a grove before them, they cling to a small shrub. And others also who are always merry, always abroad, always begging, always making a living by handiwork ; and others who are begging in towns, performing sacrifices for those who are not allowed to offer sacrifices, who make themselves the pupils of Sūdras, and Sūdras who know the sacred books ; and others who are malignant, who use bad language, dancers, prize-fighters, travelling mendicants, actors, those who have been degraded in the king's service ; and others who for money pretend that they can lay (the evil influences) of Yakshas, Rākshasas, ghosts, goblins, devils, serpents, imps, &c. ; and others who falsely wear red dresses², earrings, and skulls ; and others who wish to entice by the jugglery of false arguments, mere comparisons and paralogisms, the believers in the Veda—with all these he should not

¹ This king is not meant for Br̥hadratha.

² This refers to people who claim the privileges and licence of Sannyāsins without having passed through the discipline of the preceding āśramas. As this was one of the chief complaints made against the followers of Sâkyamuni, it might refer to Buddhists, but it ought to be borne in mind that there were Buddhists before Buddha.

live together. They are clearly thieves, and unworthy of heaven. And thus it is said :

‘The world unsettled by the paralogisms of the denial of Self, by false comparisons and arguments, does not know what is the difference between Veda and philosophy¹.’

9. *Br̥haspati*, having become *Sukra*, brought forth that false knowledge for the safety of *Indra* and for the destruction of the *Asuras*. By it they show that good is evil, and that evil is good. They say that we ought to ponder on the (new) law, which upsets the Veda and the other sacred books². Therefore let no one ponder on that false knowledge : it is wrong, it is, as it were, barren. Its reward lasts only as long as the pleasure lasts, as with one who has fallen from his caste. Let that false science not be attempted, for thus it is said :

(1) Widely opposed and divergent are these two, the one known as false knowledge, the other as knowledge. I (*Yama*) believe *Naṭiketas* to be possessed by a desire of knowledge ; even many pleasures do not move thee³.

(2) He who knows at the same time both the imperfect (sacrifice, &c.) and the perfect knowledge (of the Self), he crosses death by means of the imperfect, and obtains immortality by means of the perfect knowledge⁴.

(3) Those who are wrapped up⁵ in the midst of

¹ If we translate thus, the use of *vidyâ* for *vṛithâ* *vidyâ* is unusual ; if we follow the commentary, we should have to translate, he does not know the Veda and the other knowledge.

² All this may refer to Buddhists, but not by necessity, for there were heretics, such as *Br̥haspati*, long before *Sâkyamuni*.

³ See *Kaṭh.* Up. II, 4.

⁴ See *Vâg.* Up. I I.

⁵ *Veshṭyamânâḥ*, instead of *vartamânâḥ*.

imperfect knowledge, fancying themselves alone wise and learned, they wander about floundering and deceived, like the blind led by the blind¹.

10. The gods and the demons, wishing to know the Self, went into the presence of Brahman (their father, Pragâpati)². Having bowed before him, they said: 'O blessed one, we wish to know the Self, do thou tell us.' Then, after having pondered a long while, he thought, these demons are not yet self-subdued³; therefore a very different Self was told to them (from what was told to the gods). On that Self these deluded demons take their stand, clinging to it, destroying the true means of salvation (the Veda), preaching untruth. What is untrue they see as true, as in jugglery. Therefore, what is taught in the Vedas, that is true. What is said in the Vedas, on that the wise keep their stand. Therefore let a Brâhman not read what is not of the Veda, or this will be the result.

11. This is indeed the nature of it (the Veda), the supreme light of the ether which is within the heart. This is taught as threefold, in the fire, in the sun, in the breath. This is indeed the nature of it, the syllable Om, of the ether which is within the heart. By it (by the Om) that (light) starts, rises, breathes forth, becomes for ever the means of the worship and knowledge of Brahman. That (light, in the shape of

¹ See *Kaṭh. Up.* II, 5.

² Cf. *Khând. Up.* VIII, 8.

³ I prefer *ayatât mânâh*, though it is the easier (*sugama*) reading, as compared with *anyatât mânâh*, those who seek for the Self elsewhere, namely, in the body. It seems to me to refer to those who, without having subdued the passions of their body, wish to obtain the knowledge of the Highest Self. Possibly, however, the author may have intended a climax from *ayatât mânâh* to *anyatamam*.

Om), when there is breathing, takes the place of the internal heat, free from all brightness¹. This is like the action of smoke; for when there is a breath of air, the smoke, first rising to the sky in one column, follows afterwards every bough, envelopes it and takes its shape². It is like throwing salt (into water), like heating ghee³. The Veda comes and goes like the dissolving view of a master-magician⁴. And here they quote:

‘Why then is it called “like lightning?” Because as soon as it comes forth (as Om) it lights up the whole body. Therefore let a man worship that boundless light by the syllable Om.’

(1) The man in the eye who abides in the right eye, he is Indra, and his wife abides in the left eye⁵.

(2) The union of these two takes place in the cavity within the heart, and the ball of blood which is there, that is indeed the vigour and life of these two.

(3) There is a channel going from the heart so far, and fixed in that eye; that is the artery for both of them, being one, divided into two.

¹ This seems to be the meaning adopted by the commentator; but may it not be, sending forth brightness?

² The simile is not very clear. The light of Brahman is below the sphere of fire in the body. That sphere of fire becoming heated, the light of Brahman becomes manifest. When the fire has been fanned by the wind of sonant breath, then the light of Brahman, embodying itself in the wind and the fire, manifests itself first in the mere sound of Om, but afterwards, checked by throat, palate, &c., it assumes the form of articulate letters, and ends by becoming the Veda in its many branches.

³ As these are outwardly changed, without losing their nature, thus the light of Brahman, though assuming the different forms of the Veda, remains itself.

⁴ See before, VII, 1.

⁵ See Brîh. Up. IV, 2, 2, 3, where Indra is explained as Indha.

(4) The mind excites the fire of the body, that fire stirs the breath, and the breath, moving in the chest, produces the low sound.

(5) Brought forth by the touch of the fire, as with a churning-stick, it is at first a minim, from the minim it becomes in the throat a double minim; on the tip of the tongue know that it is a treble minim, and, when uttered, they call it the alphabet (*στοιχεῖα*)¹.

(6) He who sees this, does not see death, nor disease, nor misery, for seeing he sees all (objectively, not as affecting him subjectively); he becomes all everywhere (he becomes Brahman).

(7) There is the person in the eye, there is he who walks as in sleep, he who is sound asleep, and he who is above the sleeper: these are the four conditions (of the Self), and the fourth is greater than all².

(8) Brahman with one foot moves in the three, and Brahman with three feet is in the last.

¹ A comparison of this verse with *Khând. Up. VII, 26*, shows the great freedom with which the wording of these ancient verses was treated. Instead of—

Na pasyan *mṛityum* pasyati na rogam nota duḥkhatâm,
Sarvam hi pasyan pasyati sarvam âpnoti sarvasaḥ,

the *Khândogya Up.* reads:

Na pasyo *mṛityum* pasyati na rogam nota duḥkhatâm,
Sarvam ha pasyaḥ pasyati sarvam âpnoti sarvasaḥ.

² The conditions here described are sometimes called the *Viśva* (*Vaiśvânara*), *Tāgasa*, *Prâgñā*, and *Turīya*. In the first state the Self is awake, and enjoys the world; in the second he sees everything as in a dream; in the third the two former states cease, and he is absorbed in sleep; in the fourth he becomes again the pure Self. In the first state the Self has the disguise of a coarse material body; in the second of a subtle material body; in the third its disguise is potential only; in the fourth it has no disguise, either potential or realised.

It is that both the true (in the fourth condition) and the untrue (in the three conditions) may have their desert, that the Great Self (seems to) become two, yes, that he (seems to) become two¹.

¹ 'By reason of the experience of the false and the true, the great Soul appears possessed of duality.' Cowell.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.										
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k			क	𐬕	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	k	
2 " aspirata	kh			ख	𐬖	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	kh	
3 Media	g			ग	𐬗	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓		
4 " aspirata	gh			घ	𐬘	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔		
5 Gutturo-labialis	q				{ 𐬙 (ng) 𐬛 (N) 𐬞 (ṅhv)						
6 Nasalis	ñ (ng)			ङ		𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	h, hs	
7 Spiritus asper	h			ह							
8 " lenis	,										
9 " asper faucalis	'h										
10 " lenis faucalis	'h										
11 " asper fricatus		'h									
12 " lenis fricatus		'h									
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis		k		𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	k	
14 " aspirata		kh		𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	kh	
15 Media		g		𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜		
16 " aspirata		gh		𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝		
17 " Nasalis	ñ			𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞		

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬨	𐬎	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(ʔ)								
20 " lenis		(j)								
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬱	𐬵	ش	ش	ש	z
22 " lenis assibilatus		z								
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬢	𐬣	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th			थ	𐬣	𐬣	تھ	تھ	ת	th
25 " assibilata	d		TH	द						
26 Media	dh			ध						
27 " aspirata										
28 " assibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न						n
30 Semivocalis	l			ल	𐬌	𐬌	ل	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l								
32 " mollis 2			L							
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬰	𐬰	س	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2			s (ʃ)							
35 " lenis	z									z
36 " asperimus 1			z (ʒ)							
37 " asperimus 2			z (ʒ)							zh

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
	0									
1 Neutralis	0			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3 " labialis	ō			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 " longa	ā	(a)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6 Palatalis brevis	i			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 " longa	ī	(i)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 Dentalis brevis	z			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 " longa	z			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 " longa	rī			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Labialis brevis	u			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 " longa	ū	(u)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 " longa	é (ai)	(e)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 " "	ei (ēi)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 " "	oi (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22 " "	eu (ēu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 " "	ou (ōu)			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26 Labialis fracta	ū			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ō			...	...	...	...	...	...	...

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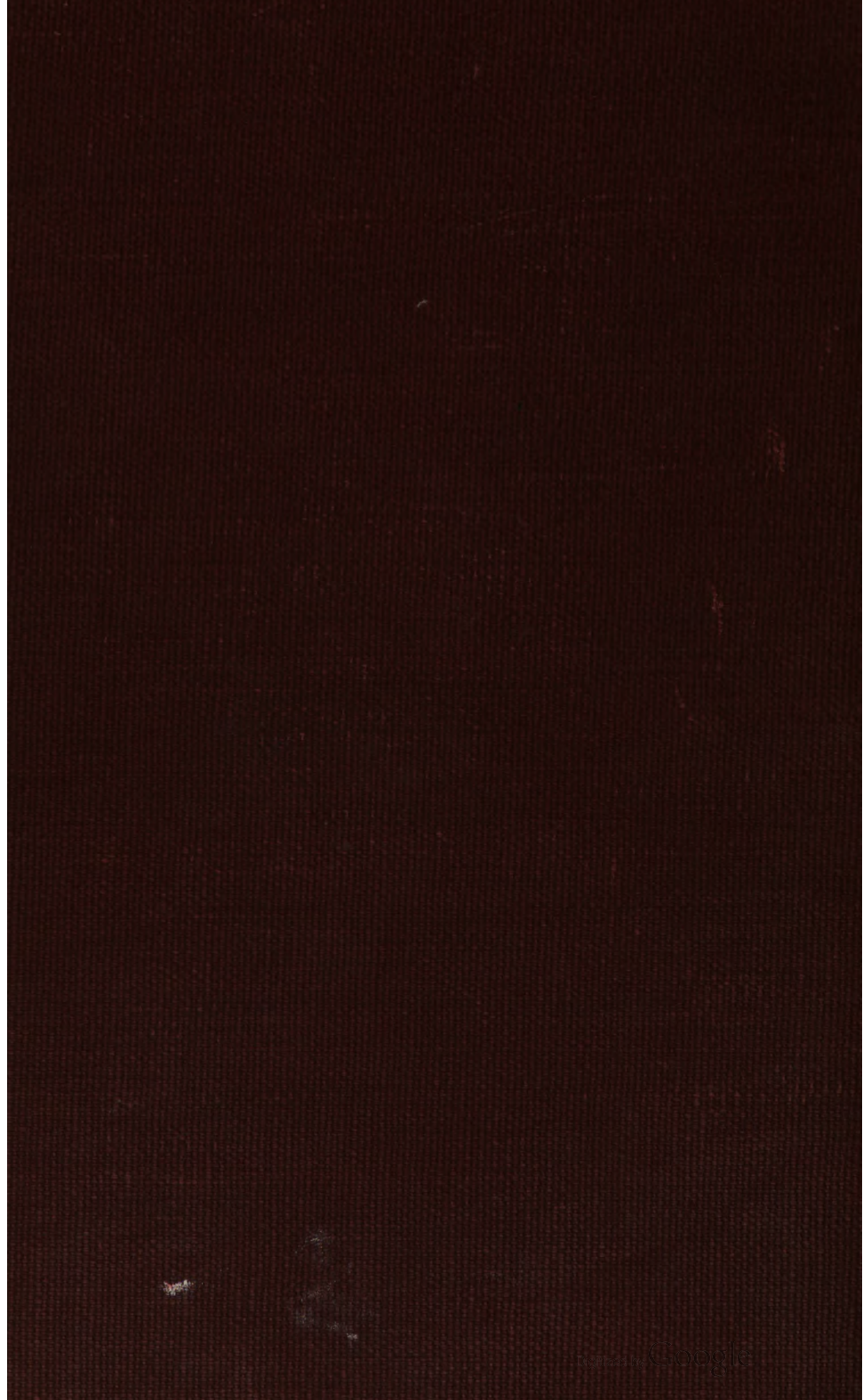
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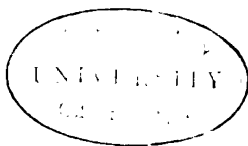
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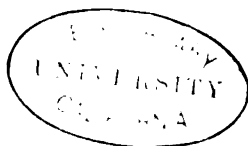
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PART II

THE MAHÂVAGGA, V—X

THE KULLAVAGGA, I—III



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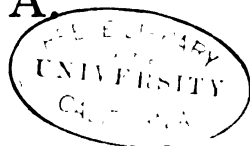
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MAHÂVAGGA.



FIFTH KHANDHAKA.

(RULES FOR FOOT-CLOTHING, SEATS, VEHICLES, ETC.)

1.

1. At that time the blessed Buddha dwelt at Râgagaha at the Vulture's Peak.

Now at that time Seniya Bimbisâra, the king of Magadha, held rule and sovranity over eighty thousand townships¹. And at that time there was at *Kampâ* a *Setthi*'s son named *Sona Koḷivisa*², delicately nurtured, on the soles of whose feet hair had grown.

Now when Seniya Bimbisâra, the king of Magadha, was holding an assembly of the eighty thousand overseers over those townships, he sent a message to *Sona Koḷivisa* on some matter of business, saying, 'Let *Sona* come hither. I desire *Sona*'s presence!'

2. Then spake the parents of *Sona Koḷivisa* to him thus: 'The king, dear *Sona*, wishes to see thy feet. But stretch not out thy feet, dear *Sona*, towards the

¹ *Gâma*, which should be understood in the sense of parishes, not of villages.

² This *Sona* is the reputed author of one of the Theragâthâs. It is interesting to notice that *Kampâ*, the capital of *Ânga*, is here included under Magadha. Compare *Ânga-magadhesu* in *Mahâvagga* I, 19, and the beginning sentences of the *Sonadanda* Sutta (*Digha Nikâya*), in which it is said that the revenues of the town of *Kampâ* had been bestowed by king Bimbisâra on the *Brâhmana* *Sonadanda*.

king. Take thy seat cross-legged before the king, that the king may see thy feet as thou sittest there.' And they carried Sona Koḷivisa in a palankeen (to Rāgagaha).

And Sona Koḷivisa went to the place where Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, was. And when he had come there, and had bowed down before Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, he took his seat cross-legged before the king. And Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, saw that hair had grown on the soles of the feet of Sona Koḷivisa.

3. Now after Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, had instructed the eighty thousand overseers over those townships in the things of this world he exhorted them, saying, 'Ye have now received from me instruction in the things of this world. Go now, and wait upon the Blessed One. The Blessed One himself shall instruct you in the things of eternity.'

Then the eighty thousand overseers over those townships went on to the Vulture's Peak.

4. Now at that time the venerable Sāgata was the attendant on the Blessed One. And the eighty thousand overseers over those townships went to the place where the venerable Sāgata was. And when they were come there they spake thus to the venerable Sāgata :

'The eighty thousand overseers over the townships are come here, Sir, to visit the Blessed One. It were well, Sir, that we should be granted an audience of the Blessed One.'

'Then do you, Sirs, stay here yet a moment, while I let the Blessed One know.'

5. Then the venerable Sâgata disappeared down the steps¹ from before the very eyes of the eighty thousand overseers over those townships, and appeared before the Blessed One, and spake to the Blessed One, and said :

‘Lord, the eighty thousand overseers over the townships are come here to visit the Blessed One. Let the Blessed One do as seemeth to him fit.’

‘Do thou then, Sâgata, make a seat ready in the shade of the house².’

6. ‘Even so, Lord!’ said the venerable Sâgata, in assent, to the Blessed One. And taking a chair, he disappeared from before the Blessed One, and reappeared up the steps before the very eyes of those eighty thousand overseers over those townships, and made ready a seat in the shade of the house.

And the Blessed One came out of the house and sat down on the seat made ready in the shade thereof.

7. Then those eighty thousand overseers over the townships went up to the place where the Blessed One was. And when they had come there they bowed down before the Blessed One and took their seats on one side. But those eighty thousand overseers over the townships paid more respect in their hearts to the venerable Sâgata than to the Blessed One³.

And the Blessed One perceived by his mind the thoughts of the minds of those eighty thousand

¹ Pâsikâya nimuggitvâ ’ti sopânassa heṭṭhâ addhaṭṭandapâsâṇena nimuggitvâ (Comm.).

² Vihârapaṭṭhâyâyan ti vihaṭṭapattante kkhâyâyam.

³ Samannâharantīti pasâdavasena punappunam manasikaronti (Buddhaghosa).

overseers over the townships ; and he addressed the venerable Sâgata, and said : ' Show them now, Sâgata, a still greater wonder, beyond the power of men.'

' Even so, Lord !' said the venerable Sâgata, in assent, to the Blessed One. And rising up into the air he walked, and stood, and sat, and lay down, and gave forth smoke and fire, and disappeared in the sky.

8. Then the venerable Sâgata, when he had shown in the open sky wonders of various kinds beyond the power of men, fell down with his head at the feet of the Blessed One, and said to the Blessed One :

' My teacher, Lord, is the Blessed One ; and I am the disciple. My teacher, Lord, is the Blessed One ; and I am the disciple.'

Then those eighty thousand overseers over the townships thinking, ' Wonderful is it, most marvellous ! If even the pupil be so mighty and so powerful, how much more then the master !' paid more respect in their hearts to the Blessed One than to the venerable Sâgata.

9. Then the Blessed One perceived by his mind the thoughts of the minds of those eighty thousand overseers over the townships, and held to them a discourse in due order ; that is to say, he spake to them of giving, of righteousness, of heaven, of the danger, the worthlessness, the depravity of lusts, and of the advantages of renunciation. And when the Blessed One perceived that they had become pliant, softened, unprejudiced, upraised and believing in heart, then he proclaimed that which is the special doctrine of the Buddhas ; (that is to say), Suffering, its Origin, its Cessation, and the Path.

Just as a clean cloth, from which all stain has been washed away, would readily take the dye, just even so did those eighty thousand overseers over the townships obtain, even while sitting there, the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth; (that is to say, the knowledge that) whatsoever has a beginning, in that is inherent also the necessity of dissolution.

10. And having seen the Truth, having mastered the Truth, having understood the Truth, having penetrated the Truth, having overcome uncertainty, having dispelled all doubts, having gained full knowledge, dependent on nobody else for the knowledge of the doctrine of the Teacher, they said to the Blessed One: 'Glorious, Lord! glorious, Lord! Just as if one should set up, Lord, what had been overturned, or should reveal what had been hidden, or should point out the way to one who had lost his way, or should bring a lamp into the darkness, in order that those who had eyes might see visible things, thus has the Blessed One preached the doctrine in many ways. We take our refuge, Lord, in the Blessed One, and in the Dhamma, and in the fraternity of Bhikkhus; may the Blessed One receive us from this day forth while our life lasts as his disciples who have taken their refuge in Him.'

11. And *Sona Koḷivisa* thought: 'As I understand the Dhamma proclaimed by the Blessed One, it is not easy to a person living as a layman to lead a wholly perfect and pure and altogether consummate¹ life of holiness. What if I were to cut off my hair and beard, and to put on yellow robes, and give up the world, and go forth into the houseless state.'

¹ *Saṅkhalikhita*. See Boehtlingk-Roth s. v. *Likhita*.

And those eighty thousand overseers over the townships, having expressed their joy and delight at the words of the Blessed One, rose from their seats, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and passing round him with their right sides towards him, went away.

12. And *Sona Koḷivisa*, soon after those eighty thousand overseers over the townships had departed, went to the place where the Blessed One was. And when he had come there he bowed down before the Blessed One and took his seat on one side. Sitting on one side *Sona Koḷivisa* said to the Blessed One : 'As I understand the Dhamma proclaimed by the Blessed One (&c., as in § 11, down to :) and go forth into the houseless state. I desire, Lord, to cut off my hair and beard, and to put on yellow robes, and to give up the world, and to go forth into the houseless state. May the Blessed One, Lord, ordain me.'

Thus *Sona Koḷivisa* received from the Blessed One the pabbaggā and upasāmpadā ordinations. And the venerable *Sona*, soon after his upasāmpadā, dwelt in the *Stavana* grove.

13. As he, with eager determination, was walking up and down there, his feet were injured, and the place in which he walked became covered with blood, like a slaughter-house for oxen. Then in the mind of the venerable *Sona*, who had gone apart and was plunged in meditation, there sprang up this thought :

'Though I have become one of those disciples of the Blessed One who live in the exercise of strenuous determination, yet my heart has not been set free from the *Āsavas* through absence of craving. And there is much wealth laid up for me at home. It is possible both to enjoy that wealth, and to do good

deeds. Let me now, then, returning to the lower state¹, enjoy my wealth and do good deeds.'

14. Now the Blessed One perceived in his mind the thought of the heart of the venerable *Sona*; and as quickly as a strong man can stretch forth his arm, or can draw it back again when it has been stretched forth, he disappeared from the hill of the Vulture's Peak, and appeared in the *Sitavana* grove. And the Blessed One, as he was passing through the sleeping-places (of the *Bhikkhus*), came up, with a multitude of *Bhikkhus*, to the place where the venerable *Sona* had walked up and down.

When the Blessed One saw that the place where the venerable *Sona* had walked up and down was covered with blood, he addressed the *Bhikkhus*, and said: 'Whose walking-place² is this, O *Bhikkhus*, which is covered with blood, like a slaughter-house for oxen?'

'As the venerable *Sona*, Lord, was walking up and down here with eager determination, his feet were injured; and so this place has become covered with blood, like a slaughter-house for oxen.'

15. Then the Blessed One went on to the house in which the venerable *Sona* was living, and sat down there on a seat made ready for him. And the venerable *Sona* bowed down before the Blessed

¹ That is to say, the state of a layman (*Hīnāy'āvattitvā*).

² *Kaṅkama*, for which there is no real equivalent in English. In speaking of later periods the word 'cloister' is sometimes a correct rendering, for the places in which the recluses walked up and down, thinking, were then in some cases paved and even roofed. The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing has a description of such a stone *kaṅkama*, which he saw at the great monastery at *Nālanda* (Indian Antiquary, X, 192). In this passage it only means a narrow, open, space of ground, levelled and cleared for the purpose.

One, and took his seat on one side. And when he was thus seated, the Blessed One addressed the venerable *Soṇa*, and said : ' Is it not true, *Soṇa*, that in your mind, when you had gone apart and were plunged in meditation, there sprung up this thought : " Though I have become (&c., as in § 13, down to the end) ? "'

' Even so, Lord !'

' Now what think you, *Soṇa*,—you were skilled, were you not, when you formerly lived in the world, in the music of the lute ?'

' That was so, Lord !'

' Now what think you, *Soṇa*,—when the strings of your lute¹ were too much stretched, had your lute then any sound, was it in a fit state to be played upon ?'

' Not so, Lord !'

16. ' Now what think you, *Soṇa*,—when the strings of your lute were too loose, had your lute then any sound², was it in a fit state to be played upon ?'

' Not so, Lord !'

' Now what think you, *Soṇa*,—when the strings of your lute were neither too much stretched nor too loose, but fixed in even proportion, had your lute sound then, was it then in a fit state to be played upon ?'

' Yes, Lord !'

' And just so, *Soṇa*, does too eager a determination conduce to self-righteousness, and too weak a deter-

¹ *Vīṇā*. On the construction of the ancient Indian lute, see *Milinda Pañha* (p. 53, ed. Trenckner), where all the various parts are mentioned. Compare also the *Guttīla Gāṭaka* (No. 243, ed. Fausbøll).

² There is a misprint here in the text, *savaratī* for *saravati*.

mination to sloth. [17.] Do thou, therefore, O *Sona*, be steadfast in evenness of determination, press through to harmony of your mental powers. Let that be the object of your thought¹!

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the venerable *Sona*, and hearkened to the word of the Blessed One.

And when the Blessed One had exhorted the venerable *Sona* with this exhortation, then, as quickly as a strong man can stretch forth his arm, or can draw it back again when it has been stretched forth, he vanished from the presence of the venerable *Sona* in the *Sitavana* grove, and reappeared on the hill of the Vulture’s Peak.

18. Thenceforward the venerable *Sona* was steadfast in evenness of determination, he pressed through to harmony of his mental powers, that did he take as the object of his thought. And the venerable *Sona* remaining alone and separate, earnest, zealous, and resolved, attained ere long to that supreme goal of the higher life for the sake of which noble youths go out from all and every household gain and comfort to become houseless wanderers—yea, that supreme goal did he, by himself, and while yet in this visible world, bring himself to the knowledge of, and continue to realise, and to see face to face! And he became conscious that rebirth was at an end, that the higher life had been fulfilled, that all that should be done had been accomplished, and that after this present life there would be no beyond!

¹ *Buddhaghosa* says: *Tattha ka nimittam gaṇhāhīti: tasmiṃ samathe sati yena ādāse mukhabimben’ eva nimittena uppaggi-tabbam, tam samatha-nimittam vipassanā-nimittam magga-nimittam phala-nimittañ ka gaṇhāhi nipatteti (nippādehīti, nibbattehīti) attho.*

So the venerable *Sona* became yet another among the Arahats.

19. Now when the venerable *Sona* had attained to Arahatship there occurred to him the thought: 'Let me now make known my Insight in the presence of the Blessed One¹!'

Then the venerable *Sona* went to the place where the Blessed One was, and bowed down before the Blessed One, and took his seat on one side. And when he was thus seated, the venerable *Sona* said to the Blessed One:

20. 'Whatsoever Bhikkhu, Lord, is an Arahāt whose Āsavas are rooted out, who has lived the life, who has accomplished the task, who has laid aside every burden, who has gained the end he had in view, who has quite broken the fetter of a craving for (future) existence, who is completely set free by insight, six things doth he reach up unto²—unto renunciation, unto the love of solitude, unto kindness of heart, unto the destruction of craving, unto the destruction of thirst, unto the getting free from delusions.

21. 'Now it may be, Lord, that it might occur, regarding this matter, to some brother, thus: "For the sake of faith merely³ hath this brother attained

¹ It is often represented in the Pāli Piṭakas to have been a customary thing for any one who thought he had attained to Arahatship to deliver a discourse in the presence of Gotama, as a kind of proof, or test, of his emancipation; and to receive the decision of Gotama thereupon. Buddhaghosa says: *Aññam vyākareyyan ti: arahā ahan ti gāṇāpeyyam*. Compare *Gāṭaka* I, 140; II, 333.

² *Adhimutto hotīti: paṣīvigghitvā paṭṭakkham katvā tīhi hoti* (B.).

³ *Kevalam saddhāmattakan ti: paṣīvedha-rahitam kevalam paṣīvedha-paññāya asammissam saddhāmattakam* (B.). On the lower position here assigned to faith, compare *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* VI, 9.

unto renunciation." But not thus, Lord, should this matter be regarded. For the Bhikkhu in whom the Âsavas are rooted out, who has lived the life, who has accomplished the task, he looks not upon himself as one who has anything yet to do, or to gather up, of (the fruit of his past) labour; but he attaineth to renunciation by the destruction of lust, by the very condition of the absence of lust; he attaineth to renunciation by the destruction of ill-will, by the very condition of the absence of ill-will; he attaineth to renunciation by the destruction of delusions, by the very condition of the absence of delusions.

22. 'Now it may be, Lord, that it might occur, regarding this matter, to some brother, thus: "Seeking after gain, hospitality, and fame hath this brother attained to the love of solitude." But not thus (&c., as in § 21, down to the end, substituting "love of solitude" for "renunciation").

23. 'Now it may be, Lord, that it might occur, regarding this matter, to some brother, thus: "Returning, verily, to the dependence upon works, as if that were the true essence (of spiritual welfare), hath this brother attained to kindness of heart." But not thus (&c., as in § 21, down to the end, substituting "kindness of heart" for "renunciation").

24. 'He attaineth to the destruction of craving by the destruction of lust (&c., as in § 21, down to the end, substituting "absence of craving" for "renunciation"). He attaineth to the absence of thirst (&c., as in § 21). He attaineth to the absence of delusions (&c., as in § 21, down to the end).

25. 'When a Bhikkhu, Lord, has thus become fully emancipated in heart, even though many objects

visible to the sight should enter the path of his eye¹, yet they take not possession of his mind : undefiled is his mind, firm, immovable ; and he sees into the (manner which that impression) passes away²—even though many objects audible to the ear, smellable to the nostrils, tastable to the tongue, feelable by the body, sensible to the intellect should enter the path of the ear, the nose, the tongue, the skin, the intellect, yet they take not possession of his mind : undefiled is his mind, firm, immovable, and he sees into the (manner in which that impression) passes away.

26. 'Just, Lord, as if there be a mountain of rock, undivided, solid, one mass, and much wind and rain should fall upon it from the direction of the East, or of the West, or of the North, or of the South, yet they would not make it shake, or tremble, or quake ; just so, Lord, when a Bhikkhu has thus become fully emancipated in heart (&c., as in § 25, down to the end).

27. 'He who has attained to renunciation, to solitude of heart, who has attained to kindness, and to the rooting out of craving,—

'He who has attained to the rooting out of thirst, to the absence of delusions from the mind, he sees the source of sensations, his mind is quite set free.

'To such a Bhikkhu, so emancipated, and with calmness in his heart, there is no gathering up of what is done, nothing to be done still remains.

'As a rock, all of one mass, is not shaken by

¹ *Kakkhussa âpâtham âgaḁḁhanti* ; that is, should come within reach of his vision.

² *Vayaṇ k' assânupassatîti : tassa kîttassa uppâdam pi vayam pi passati* (B.).

the breezes¹, just so never can shapes and tastes, and sounds, and smells, and touch—the whole of them

‘Things wished for, things unwished—make tremble such a one. Firm is his mind, set free. He sees into the end thereof.’

28. And the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: ‘Thus, brethren, do young men of worth make their insight known. The truth is spoken, and the self is not obtruded. But herein some foolish ones, methinks, make known their insight to be a thing ridiculous, and they, thereafter, fall into defeat!’

29. Then the Blessed One said to the venerable Sona, ‘You, Sona, have been delicately nurtured. I enjoin upon you, Sona, the use of shoes with one lining².’

‘I have gone out from the world, Lord, into the houseless state, abandoning eighty cart-loads of gold³, and a retinue of seven elephants⁴. It will be said against me for this matter: “Sona Koṭṭhisa went out from the world into the houseless state, abandoning eighty cart-loads of gold, and a retinue of seven elephants; but the very same man now accustoms himself to the use of shoes with a lining

¹ This half sloka recurs in Dhammapada, verse 81.

² Ekapalāsikan ti eka-paṭalam (B.).

³ Asīti-sakaṭa-vāhe hiraṇṇam (so correct the misprint in the text). Buddhaghosa says: ettha dve sakaṭabhārā eko vāho ‘ti vedītabbo; but compare Rh. D., ‘Ancient Coins and Measures,’ &c., p. 18, § 32, and p. 14, § 23. Vāha occurs also in the Mahāvamsa, p. 22.

⁴ Sattahatthikaṇi ka anīkan ti: ettha kha hatthiniyo eko ka hatthi, idam ekam anīkam, idisani satta anīkāni sattahatthikam nāma (B.).

to them." [30.] If the Blessed One will enjoin their use upon the Order of Bhikkhus, I will also use them. If the Blessed One will not enjoin their use upon the Order of Bhikkhus, neither will I use them.'

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion, having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus:

'I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, the use of shoes with one lining to them. Doubly lined shoes, Bhikkhus, are not to be worn, nor trebly lined ones, nor shoes with many linings¹. Whosoever shall wear such, is guilty of a *dukkata* offence.'

2.

1. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus were in the habit of wearing slippers all of a blue, yellow, red, brown, black, orange, or yellowish colour². People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, '(These act) like those who still enjoy the pleasures of the world³.' The brethren told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Do not wear, O Bhikkhus, shoes that are all of

¹ *Dvi-guṇā 'ti dvi-paṭalā. Ti-guṇā 'ti ti-paṭalā. Ganamganū-pāhanā 'ti katu-paṭalato paṭṭhāya vuḍḍati* (B.).

² *Nilikā ummāra-puppha-vannā hoti; pitikā kanikāra-puppha-vannā; lohikā gayasumana-puppha-vannā; maṅgetṭhikā maṅgetṭhi-vannā eva; kanhā afāritṭhaka-vannā; mahāraṅgarattā satapada-piṭṭhi-vannā* (Mahāragana is saffron; the colour of the back of a centipede is brownish yellow), *mahānāmarattā sambhinna-vannā hoti paṇḍu-palāsa-vannā, Kurundiyaṃ pana paduma-puppha-vannā 'ti vuttam* (B.).

³ Read *gihikāma bhogino* (as corrected at vol. ii. p. 363).

a blue, yellow, red, brown, black, orange, or yellowish colour. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a *dukkaṭa* offence.'

2. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus were in the habit of wearing shoes with edges of a blue, yellow, red, brown, black, orange, or yellowish colour.

People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'These act like those who still enjoy the pleasures of the world.' The brethren told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Do not wear, O Bhikkhus, shoes that have edges of a blue, yellow, red, brown, black, orange, or yellowish colour. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a *dukkaṭa* offence.'

3. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus were in the habit of wearing shoes with heel-coverings¹; mocassins²; laced boots³; boots lined with cotton⁴; boots of various hues, like the wings of partridges⁵; boots pointed with rams' horns, and with goats' horns⁶; ornamented with scorpions'

¹ All the names of boots or shoes are of doubtful meaning; and as the use of every sort of foot-covering has long been given up among those Buddhists who have preserved the use of the Pāli language, Buddhaghosa's explanations are not very reliable. He says here: *Khallaka-baddhā 'ti pañhi-pidhānattham tale khallakam bandhitvā katā*.

² *Puṇabaddhā 'ti Yonaka-upāhanā vukṭati, yāva gaṅghato sabba-pādam pañikkhādeti*.

³ *Pāligunṭhimā 'ti paligunṭhitvā katā upari-pāda-mattam eva pañikkhādeti na gaṅgham*.

⁴ *Tūlapunnikā 'ti tūlapunnā pūretvā katā*.

⁵ *Tittirapattikā 'ti tittira-patta-sadisa-viṭṭra-baddhā*.

⁶ *Mendā-visāna-baddhikā 'ti kannika-//hāne mendaka-siṅga-saṇṭhāne vaddhe yogetvā katā. Aga-visāna-vaddhikādisu pi es' eva nayo*.

tails¹; sewn round with peacocks' feathers²; or shoes of all kinds of colours³.

People were annoyed (&c., as in § 2, down to :) told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Do not wear, O Bhikkhus, shoes with heel-coverings (&c., as in § 3, down to :) shoes of all kinds of colours. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

4. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus were in the habit of wearing shoes adorned with lion-skins⁴, tiger-skins, panther-skins, antelope-skins, otter-skins⁵, cat-skins, squirrel-skins, and owl-skins⁶.

People were annoyed (&c., as in § 3, down to the end, substituting 'shoes adorned with lion-skins, &c.,' for 'shoes with heel-coverings, &c.')

3.

1. Now the Blessed One, having dressed early in the morning, went into Rāgagaha, duly bowled and robed, for alms, with a certain Bhikkhu as his companion. And that Bhikkhu followed limping step by step behind the Blessed One.

¹ *Vikkhikālikā* 'ti tath' eva *vikkhika-naṅgutta-saṅhāne* vaddhe yogetvā katā.

² *Morapiṇḍhaparisibbitā* (sic) 'ti talesu vā baddhesu vā mora-*viṇṇhehi* (sic) *suttakasadisehi* *parisibbitā*.

³ *Kītrā* 'ti *vikītrā*.

⁴ *Siha-kamma-parikkhatā* nāma *pariyantesu*, *āvaresu* *anuvātam* *viya* *sīhakkammam* yogetvā katā.

⁵ *Udda*, an animal, feeding on fish; but Childers thinks it is not an amphibious creature, and therefore not 'otter.'

⁶ *Lūka-kamma-parikkhatā* (sic) 'ti *pakkha-biḍāla-kamma-parikkhatā*. The latter is the flying fox, a large kind of bat.

Now a certain lay-disciple who had put on a pair of shoes with many linings, saw the Blessed One approaching from afar. And when he saw him, he took off that pair of shoes and went up to the Blessed One, and saluted him; and went on to that Bhikkhu, and saluted him, and said:

2. 'Why does your reverence limp?'

'My feet, friend, are blistered.'

'But here, Sir, are shoes.'

'Enough, good friend! shoes with linings have been forbidden by the Blessed One.'

'Take the shoes, O Bhikkhu¹!'

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion, having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said:

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of shoes with linings, when they have been cast off by others². But new shoes with linings are not to be worn. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

4.

1. Now at that time the Blessed One walked up and down in the open air³ unshod. Noticing that, 'The Master walks unshod,' the Elders (the Thera Bhikkhus) also went unshod when they were walking up and down³. But though the Master and the Thera Bhikkhus went unshod, the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus walked up and down with coverings on their feet.

¹ This must be understood as spoken by the Buddha.

² Omukkan ti paṣimuñḥitvā apantam (B.).

³ This walking up and down thinking is represented as a constant habit of the early Buddhist Samānas.

The temperate Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'How can these *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus walk shod, when the Master and the Thera Bhikkhus walk unshod?'

2. Then those Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, what they say, O Bhikkhus, that the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus walk shod, though the Master and the Elders walk unshod?'

'It is true, Lord.'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying,

'How, O Bhikkhus, can these foolish persons walk shod, though (&c., as in §§ 1, 2). For even the laymen, O Bhikkhus, who are clad in white, for the sake of some handicraft that may procure them a living, will be respectful, affectionate, hospitable to their teachers. [3.] Do you, therefore, O Bhikkhus, so let (your light) shine forth, that you having left the world (to enter into) so well taught a doctrine and discipline may be respectful, affectionate, hospitable to your teachers (*âkariyas*), or those who rank as teachers¹, and to your superiors (*upagghâyas*), or those who rank as superiors². This will not conduce, O Bhikkhus, to the conversion of the unconverted, and to the augmentation of the number of the con-

¹ *Avassikassa khabbasso âkariyamatto*. So hi *katuvassakâle tam nissâya vaikkhati* (Mahâvagga I, 35). *Evam ekavassassa satta-vasso, duvassassa atthavasso, tivassassa dasavasso* (B.).

² *Upagghâyassa sandittâ-sambhattâ pana sahayâ bhikkhû, ye vâ pana kehi dasahi vassehi mahantatarâ, te sabbe pi upagghâyamattâ nâma*. This confirms the view expressed in a note to the first Book (chap. 32. 1), that the *Upagghâyâ* is a more important person than the *Âkariya*. The former must have ten years, the latter need only have six years, seniority.

verted : but it will result, O Bhikkhus, in the unconverted being repulsed (from the faith), and in many of the converted becoming estranged.' Having thus rebuked them, and having delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus :

'None of you, O Bhikkhus, is to walk shod, when your teachers or those who rank as teachers, or your superiors, or those who rank as superiors, are walking unshod. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.

'And no one of you, O Bhikkhus, is to wear shoes in the open Ārāma. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

5.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had an eruption¹ on his feet. They used to carry that Bhikkhu out when he wanted to ease himself. The Blessed One as he was passing through the sleeping places (of the Bhikkhus) saw them (doing so), and going up to them, he said :

2. 'What is the disease, O Bhikkhus, from which this Bhikkhu suffers ?'

'This venerable brother has an eruption on his feet, Lord, and we are carrying him out to ease himself.'

Then, on that occasion, the Blessed One, having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'I enjoin, O Bhikkhus, the use of foot coverings

¹ Pādakhilābādho nāma pādato khīla-sadisam mamsam nikkhantam hoti (B.).

by one whose feet hurt him, or are blistered, or who has an eruption on his feet.'

6.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus used to get up on to couches or chairs with unwashed feet; and the robes and seats became soiled.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I enjoin, O Bhikkhus, the use of foot coverings when one of you wishes to get up on to couches or chairs.'

2. Now at that time when the Bhikkhus were going to the Uposatha Hall or to the assembly in the dark, they trod upon stakes or thorns, and their feet were hurt.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I enjoin, O Bhikkhus, the use of foot coverings in the open Ārāma, and of a torch, or lamp, and a walking stick¹.'

3. Now at that time the *Kabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to rise up in the night towards dawn; and, putting on wooden shoes, walked up and down in the open air talking, in tones high, loud, and harsh, of all kinds of worldly things—such as tales of kings, of robbers, of ministers of state; tales of armies, of terror, of war; conversation respecting meats, drinks, clothes, couches, garlands, perfumes, relationships, equipages, villages, towns, cities, provinces, women, warriors, and streets; tales about buried treasures, ghost stories; various tales; discussions

¹ *Kattara-danda*. Compare *Kullavagga* VIII, 6, 3, and Childers under *Kattara-yatthi*. Our word occurs at *Gātaka* I, 9.

on the world; disasters by sea; things which are, and things which are not¹. And so doing they both trod upon and slew all kinds of insects, and disturbed the Bhikkhus in their meditations.

4. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'How can the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus [do so]?'

And those Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Is it true' (&c., comp. chap. 4. 2)?

'It is true, Lord.'

He rebuked them, and having delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'Wooden shoes, O Bhikkhus, are not to be worn. Whosoever wears them, is guilty of a *dukkata* offence.'

7.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Rāgagaha as long as he thought fit, he set out on his journey towards Benares. And wandering from place to place, he came to Benares, and there at Benares the Blessed One stayed in the deer-park Isipatana.

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, since the Blessed One had forbidden wooden shoes, used to break off young palmyra palms, and wear shoes made of the talipat leaves². The young palmyra plants withered. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'How can

¹ This list recurs in the *Magghima Sila*, § 7 (Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,' p. 194).

² These are the leaves on which the MSS. are written.

the Sakyaputtiya Samanas break off young palmyra palms, and wear shoes made of the talipat leaves? The young palmyra plants wither. (By so doing), the Sakyaputtiya Samanas destroy vegetable life.'

2. The Bhikkhus heard those people murmuring in annoyance and indignation; and they told this matter to the Blessed One.

'Is it true' (&c., as in chap. 4. 2)?

'It is true, Lord.'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying, 'How can those foolish persons, O Bhikkhus, [act thus]? For people believe, O Bhikkhus, that life dwells in a tree. Such conduct will not conduce (&c., as in chap. 4. 2, down to :) becoming estranged.

'Foot coverings made of talipat leaves, O Bhikkhus, are not to be worn. Whosoever wears them, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

3. Now at that time the Kḥabbaggiya Bhikkhus, since the Blessed One had forbidden talipat shoes, used to break off young bambus, and wear shoes made of the bambu leaves (&c., as in last section down to the end, substituting bambu for palmyra).

8.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Benares as long as he thought fit, he set out on his journey towards Bhaddiya. And wandering from place to place he came to Bhaddiya: and there, at Bhaddiya, he stayed in the Gātiyā Grove.

Now at that time the Bhikkhus at Bhaddiya were accustomed to the use of various kinds of foot coverings for the sake of ornament. They made,

or had made for themselves foot coverings of *tina*-grass, of *muṇḍa*-grass, of *babbaga*-grass, of the leaves of the date-palm¹, of *kamala*-grass², and of wool³. And they neglected⁴ instruction, enquiry, morality, self-concentration, and wisdom⁵.

2. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, thinking, 'How can they [do so]?' And those Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Is it true' (&c., as in chap. 4. 2)?

'It is true, Lord.'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying, 'How can they [do so]?' This will not conduce (&c., as in chap. 4. 2, down to :) becoming estranged.

3. Having thus rebuked them, and having delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Shoes, O Bhikkhus, made of *tina*-grass are not to be worn, or made of *muṇḍa*-grass, or of *babbaga*-grass, or of leaves of the date-palm, or of *kamala*-grass, or of wool, nor [ornamented with] gold, or silver, or pearls, or beryls, or crystal, or copper, or glass, or tin, or lead, or bronze. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a *dukkata* offence.

¹ *Hintāla-pādukā* 'ti *khaggūra*- (MS. *khaggari*) *pattehi kata-pādukā*: *hintāla-pattehi pi na vaṭṭati yeva* (B.).

² *Kamala-pādukā* 'ti *kamala-tinaṃ nāma atthi, tena kata-pādukā*. *Ussra-pādukā* 'ti *pi vadanti*. Childers only gives lotus as the meaning of *kamala*. At *Gātaka* I, 119, 149, 178; IV, 42, it must be *kamala*, and not *kambala* as printed by Fausbøll, that is meant.

³ *Kambala-pādukā* 'ti *unnāhi kata-pādukā*.

⁴ On *riṇṇanti* (Sanskrit *riṇ*, *riṇakti*), compare the verses in *Milinda Pañha*, p. 419 (ed. Trenckner).

⁵ The *adhisīlādi-sikkhā-ttayaṃ* mentioned at Dh. p. 358 is explained in the *Samgiti Sutta* as training in *adhisīla*, *adhiṭṭita*, and *adhipaññā*. On the first, compare the note on *Mahāvagga* I, 36, 8.

‘And clogs, O Bhikkhus, that are taken away¹, are not to be worn. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of three kinds of clogs, that are fixed to the ground, and are not taken away², privy-clogs, urinal-clogs, and rinsing-clogs³.’

9.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Bhaddiya as long as he thought fit, he set out on a journey towards Sāvatti. And walking from place to place he arrived at Sāvatti. There the Blessed One dwelt at Sāvatti at the Getavana, Anātha-piṇḍika's Grove.

2. Now at that time the Khabbaggiya Bhikkhus used to catch hold of the heifers crossing on the Akiravati River by their horns, or ears, or dewlaps, or tails⁴, or spring up upon their backs, or touch with lustful

¹ See next clause.

² Asaṃkamanīyāyo 'ti bhūmiyaṃ supatiṃhā nikkalā asaṃhariyā (sic), (B. here). Compare Pātimokkha, pp. 106, 113 (ed. Minayeff), and Childers's interpretation of those passages under saṃkamati.

³ On vaṭṭa-pāḍukā, see Kullavagga V, 35, 2, at the end; and VIII, 10, 3, at the beginning. On the other two, Kullavagga V, 35; 1, 4, and VIII, 10, 3; and see also VIII, 9. The use of them was part of the sanitary arrangements enjoined upon the Order. A very ancient pair of stone vaṭṭa-pāḍukā, forming part of a slab of stone, was discovered at Anurādhapura by Rhys Davids, and is now in the Colombo Museum. As they were dug up in one of the palaces there, they were probably for the use of the king, or some high official. These ruins are among the most ancient in Ceylon, and are certainly pre-Christian in date.

⁴ On kḥeppā, compare Sutta-vibhaṅga I, 6; and Bōhtlingk-Roth under sepa and paruḥkḥepa.

thoughts their privy parts: and they used to duck the young calves and so kill them. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samāṇas [act thus]? it is like men still enjoying the pleasures of the world.'

And Bhikkhus heard them murmuring in annoyance and indignation: and those Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Is it true' (&c., see chap. 4. 2)?

'It is true, Lord.'

He rebuked them, and having delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said:

'Heifers are not to be caught hold of, O Bhikkhus, by their horns, or their ears, or their dewlaps, or their tails. You are not to get up on their backs. Whosoever gets up on their backs, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. And their privy parts, O Bhikkhus, are not to be touched with lustful thoughts. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a thullakkāya offence. And calves ought not to be killed. Whosoever kills them, let him be dealt with according to law¹.'

3. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to have themselves carried in vehicles to which cows were yoked with a bull between them, or bulls were yoked with a cow between them². People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, 'That is as is done at the Feast of the Gaṅgā and the Maḥi³.'

¹ See the 61st Pāṭṭiya Rule.

² Buddhaghosa explains this passage in a different way: Itthiyuttenā'ti dhenu-yuttena. Purisantarenā'ti purisa-sārathinā. Purisa-yuttenā'ti goṇa-yuttena. Itthantarenā'ti itthi-sārathinā.

³ Gaṅgā-mahiyāyā'ti Gaṅgā-mahī-kīṭikāya (B.). It is possible that Maḥi may here mean the Earth; but it is probably the

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Do not have yourselves carried in vehicles, O Bhikkhus. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭṭa offence.’

10¹.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu, as he was passing through the Kosala country to Sāvatti, to visit the Blessed One, was taken ill on the way. And that Bhikkhu went aside out of the road, and sat down at the foot of a certain tree.

When people saw him sitting there, they said : ‘Whither is your reverence going ?’

‘I am going, friends, to Sāvatti to visit the Blessed One.’

2. ‘Come along, Sir ; let us go together.’

‘I cannot, friends. I am sick.’

‘Well then, Sir, get up into the cart.’

‘Enough, friends ! The Blessed One has forbidden the use of vehicles.’ And fearing to offend, he refused to get up into the cart.

And when that Bhikkhu had come to Sāvatti, he told this thing to the Bhikkhus, and they told it to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, if you are sick, to use a cart.’

Now the Bhikkhus thought : ‘Should the carts be yoked with cows or bulls ?’

well-known affluent of the Ganges, which is one of the Mahānadi. Compare *Kullavagga* IX, 1, 3, Spence Hardy’s ‘Manual,’ p. 17, and the *Dhaniya Sutta* in the *Sutta Nipāta*.

¹ *Kullavagga* X, 21 gives the rules for sisters of the Order, corresponding to the first two sections of this chapter.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use a cart drawn by bullocks, or by hand¹.’

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was exceedingly distressed by the jolting of a cart.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a litter or a sedan-chair.’

3. Now at that time the *Khaggaggiya* Bhikkhus were in the habit of using lofty and large things to recline upon, that is to say: large cushions²; divans; coverlets with long fleece; counterpanes of many colours, woollen coverlets³, white or marked with thick flowers; mattresses; cotton coverlets, dyed with figures of animals; rugs with long hair on one or both sides; carpets inwrought with gold, or with silk; large woollen carpets such as the nautch girls dance upon⁴; rich elephant housings, horse-rugs, or carriage rugs; panther or antelope skins; couches covered with canopies, or with crimson cushions at both ends⁵.

¹ On *hatthavaṭṭakam* here Buddhaghosa merely says, ‘*itthiyo vā vaṭṭantu purisā vā vaṭṭantu* (MS. *vaṭṭati*) *yeva*.’ The word recurs in *Kullavagga* X, 21.

² That *Āsandi* is a cushion, and not a chair as Childers gives, is clear from *Gāṭaka* I, 108.

³ *Paṭikā* ‘*ti unnāmayo setattharako* (Sum. Vil. on *Brahmagāla Sutta* 9).

⁴ *Kuttakan ti soḷasannam nāṭakithīnam* *ṭhatvā nakkana-yoggam unnāmayattharanam* (Sum. Vil. on *Brahmagāla Sutta* 9).

⁵ This list recurs in the *Maggħima Sila*, § 5 (Rh. D., ‘*Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli*,’ p. 193). Childers has given the commentary on most of these terms from the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*. Several of the items are also mentioned among the possessions of the Great King of Glory (Rh. D., loc. cit., p. 274, &c.). In several cases the exact meaning is at present quite uncertain. The comment on the last two words runs as follows: *Sauttarakkhadan ti saha uttara-*

When people, who went to visit the Vihâras, saw these things, they were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, thinking, 'This is as if they were still enjoying the pleasures of the world.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

4. 'Lofty and large things to recline upon, such as large cushions (&c., as in § 3, down to :) cushions crimson at both ends, are not, O Bhikkhus, to be used. Whosoever uses them, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

5. Now at that time the Kḥabbaggiya Bhikkhus, since the use of lofty and large things to recline upon had been forbidden by the Blessed One, used to use fine skins, such as lion, tiger, and panther skins. These skins were cut to fit the couches, and to fit the chairs; and were spread inside or outside the couches or the chairs.

When people, who went to visit the Vihâras, saw these things, they were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, thinking, 'This is as if they were still enjoying the pleasures of the world.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

6. 'Fine skins, such as lion, tiger, and panther skins, are not, O Bhikkhus, to be used. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

7. Now at that time the Kḥabbaggiya Bhikkhus, since fine skins had been forbidden by the Blessed

kkhadena upari-bandhena ratta-vitānena saddhin ti attho. Seta-vitānam pi heḷḷhā akappiya-pakkattharane sati na vaṭṭati, asati pana vaṭṭati. Ubhatolohitakūpadhānam sisūpadhānañ ka pādūpadhānañ ka mañḥassa ubhatolohitakūpadhānam evaṃ (read eva ?) na kappati. Yam pana ekam eva upadhānam ubhosu passesu rattam vā hoti paduma-vannam vā kitram vā saḷe pamāna-yuttam vaṭṭati, mahā-upadhānam pana paṭikkhittam.

One, began to use the skins of oxen. These skins were cut to fit the couches, or the chairs; and were spread inside or outside the couches, or the chairs.

Now a certain Bhikkhu of bad character was a friend of the family of a certain lay-disciple of a bad character. And that bad Bhikkhu, early one morning, dressed himself, and with his robe on and his bowl in his hand, went to the dwelling-place of that bad disciple, and sat down on a seat made ready for him. And the bad disciple went up to the place where the bad Bhikkhu was, and saluted him, and took his seat beside him.

8. Now at that time that bad disciple had a young bull beautiful to behold, quiet, and varied in colour like a panther's cub. And the bad Bhikkhu gazed with longing at the bull. And that bad disciple said to that bad Bhikkhu: 'Why does your reverence gaze so with longing at that bull?'

'My friend,' said he, 'I want that bull's skin.'

Then that bad disciple slew that bull, and skinned it, and gave it to that bad Bhikkhu. And that bad Bhikkhu, hiding that skin under his robe, went away.

9. Now the cow, greedy for her calf, followed that bad Bhikkhu, keeping behind him. The Bhikkhus said:

'How is it, friend, that this cow keeps following so behind you?'

'I don't know, friends, why it should keep following me.'

But that bad Bhikkhu's robe was soiled with blood; and the Bhikkhus asked him,

'How has this robe of yours got marked with blood?'

Then he told them the whole matter.

‘How is that, Sir? You have been causing another to deprive a living thing of life!’

‘That is so, friends.’

The modest among the Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, ‘How can this Bhikkhu induce a man to deprive a living thing of life? Has not the taking of life been censured, and the abstinence therefrom been praised in many a discourse by the Blessed One?’

And the Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One held because of this, and on that occasion, an assembly of the community of Bhikkhus, and asked that wicked Bhikkhu,

‘Is it true, as they say, that you, O Bhikkhu, have been inducing another to deprive a living thing of life?’

‘It is true, Lord.’

‘But how can you be so foolish as to do so? Have I not censured in many a discourse the taking of life, O foolish one, and praised the abstinence therefrom? Such conduct, thou foolish one, will not conduce to the conversion of the unconverted!’

And having thus rebuked him, and delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said:

‘Bhikkhus! No one shall cause a living thing to be deprived of life. Whosoever does so shall be dealt with according to the Laws¹. Ox-skins are not to be worn, O Bhikkhus. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. And neither, O Bhikkhus, is any skin to be made use of at all. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.’

¹ The Laws (Dhammas) referred to are the first Pārāgika, the 11th Pāṭittiya, and the 61st and 62nd Pāṭittiyas.

11.

Now at that time men had couches and chairs covered or bound with skins. The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not sit down upon them.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to sit down on seats arranged by laymen, but not to lie down upon them.’

Now at that time the Vihâras were bound together by thongs made of skin¹. The Bhikkhus fearing to offend, would not sit down upon them.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to sit down upon (skins when they are) only used for binding things together.’



12.

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to go into the villages with their shoes on. The people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, ‘That is how those behave who are still enjoying the pleasures of the world!’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘You are not to go into the villages, O Bhikkhus, with your shoes on. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a *dukkaṭa* offence.’

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was sick, and unable to go into the village without shoes on.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow a sick Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, to go into the village with his shoes on.’

¹ Ogumphiyaṇṭṭi bhitti-dandakâdisu ve/hetvâ bandhanti (B.).

13¹.

1. Now at that time the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana was staying in Avanti on the hill called the Precipice, near Kuraraghara². And at that time the lay-disciple named Sona Kuṭikanna³ was the personal attendant upon the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana.

And the disciple Sona Kuṭikanna went to the place where the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana was, and saluted him, and took his seat beside him. And when he was thus seated, he said to the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana :

‘As I understand the doctrine laid down by the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana, it is difficult for the man who dwells at home to live the higher life in all its fulness, in all its purity, in all its bright perfection. I wish therefore to cut off my hair and beard, to clothe myself in the orange-coloured robes, and to go forth from the household life into the houseless state⁴. May the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana receive me into the Order of those who have renounced the world!’

2. ‘Hard is it, Sona, your life long to live the

¹ Sections 1–6 of this chapter were published and translated by Alwis in his ‘Kakkāyana’s Pali Grammar,’ pp. 92 and following.

² Buddhaghosa spells this name Kuduraghara, and says it was there that Kakkāyana had been accustomed to go for alms, and that he dwelt on the precipice itself.

³ Buddhaghosa has a curious explanation of this name, Koṣi-agghanakam pana kanna-pilandhanakam dhāreti, tasmā Kuṭikanno ‘ti vuttati. This is evidently merely drawn from the word itself, which may just as well have meant ‘with pointed ears.’

⁴ This is a common phrase. Compare Teviga Sutta (Rh. D., ‘Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,’ pp. 187, 188).

higher life using only one bed, and with but one meal a day. Do you, therefore, *Sona*, remain in the state of a householder, and practise only for a time the higher life, the precepts of the Buddhas, using only one bed, and with but one meal a day.'

Then the desire for renunciation¹ which had arisen in the disciple *Sona Kuṭikanna* abated in him.

A second time the disciple *Sona Kuṭikanna* [made the same request, and received the same reply with the same result].

And a third time *Sona Kuṭikanna* made the same request. Then the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana conferred the pabbaggā (ordination) on the disciple *Sona Kuṭikanna*.

Now at that time in the Southern country and in Avanti there were but few Bhikkhus. And it was only after the lapse of three years that the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana was able, with difficulty, and with trouble, to get together a meeting of the Order in which ten Bhikkhus were present². And then he admitted the venerable *Sona* into the higher rank of the Order.

3. Now when the venerable *Sona* had passed the rainy season there sprang up in his mind, when he was meditating alone, this thought :

'I have heard indeed that the Blessed One is such and such a one. But I have not as yet seen him face to face. I should like to go and visit the Blessed One, the Arahāt Buddha, if my superior would allow me.'

And in the evening the venerable *Sona*, leaving his solitude, went to the place where the venerable

¹ Compare gamikābhisaṃkhāra, Mahāvagga VI, 31, 2.

² On the necessity of this, see Mahāvagga IX, 4, 1.

Mahā Kakkāyana was, and saluted him, and took his seat beside him. And when he was thus seated, he said to the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana :

4. 'When I was meditating alone, venerable Sir, the following thought occurred to my mind, "I have heard (&c., as above)." Now I would go and visit the Blessed One, the Arahāt Buddha, if you, as my superior, allow it.'

'That is good, that is good, Sona! Go then, Sona, to visit the Blessed One, the Arahāt Buddha. [5.] You shall see, Sona, how the Blessed One arouses faith, is worthy of faith, calm in his senses, calm in his mind, gifted with the highest self-control and quietude, an elephant among men, subdued, guarded, with his senses in subjection to himself. Do you therefore, Sona, bow down in my name at the feet of the Blessed One, and say, "Lord! my superior, the venerable Mahā Kakkāyana, bows down in salutation at the feet of the Blessed One!" and add, "In the Southern country and in Avanti there are, Lord, but few Bhikkhus. And it was only after the lapse of three years that with difficulty and with trouble an assembly of the Order was got together, in which ten members were present, and I could be received into the higher rank of the Order. May the Blessed One be pleased, therefore, to allow the higher ordination in the Southern country and in Avanti before a meeting of a lesser number. [6.] In the Southern country and in Avanti, Lord, the soil is black on the surface¹, rough, and trampled by the feet of cattle².

¹ *Kaṇhuttarā* 'ti *kaṇha-mattik-uttarā upari-vaddhitā kaṇha-mattikā* (B.). Alwis translates, 'overrun with thorns.'

² *Gokaṇṭaka-hatā* 'ti *gunnaṃ khurehi akkanta-bhumito samuṭṭhehi go-kaṇṭakehi upahatā*. Te kira *gokaṇṭake ekapaṭalikā upāhanā*

May the Blessed One be pleased, therefore, to allow the use, in the Southern country and in Avanti, of shoes with thick linings. In the Southern country and in Avanti, Lord, men attach great importance to bathing, and are pure by use of water. May the Blessed One be pleased to allow, in the Southern country and in Avanti, the constant use of the bath¹. In the Southern country and in Avanti, Lord, skins, such as sheep-skins, goat-skins, and deer-skins, are used as coverlets. Just as in the Middle country² the eragu, moragu, magghâru, and gantu grasses³ are used for coverlets, so are sheep-skins, goat-skins, and deer-skins in the Southern country and in Avanti. May the Blessed One be pleased to allow the use of such coverlets there. [7.] At present, Lord, people are in the habit of giving a set of robes to Bhikkhus, who have left the district, saying, 'We give this set of robes to (a Bhikkhu) of such and such a name.' When they return, the Bhikkhus tell them, 'A set of robes has been given to you by a person of such and such a name.' But they, fearing to offend, do not accept it, saying, 'Let us not be guilty of a Nissaggiya.' May the Blessed One be pleased to make a detailed statement in the matter of robes.'"

rakkhitum na sakkonti, evam kharâ honti (B.). Alwis takes *gokan-taka* as a plant (*Ruellia Longifolia*).

¹ Compare the 57th Pâṭittiya.

² See below, § 12; and compare Rh. D., 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 61.

³ Imâ katasso pi tina-gâtiyo. Etehi kata-sâtake ka ta/sikâyo ka karonti. Ettha eragû 'ti ekaraka-tinam, tam o/ârikam. Moragu-tinam tamba-sisam sukhumam mudukam sukha-samphassam; tena katâ ta/sikâ nipaggitvâ vu//hitamatte pana uddhumâtâ hutvâ ti//hati. Maggârūnâ (sic, and so Alwis) kata-sâtake pi karonti. Gantussa mani-sadiso vanno hoti. Ta/sikâ is a mat; see Gâtaka I, 141. Compare Sanskrit Eraka, and Mayûraka.

‘Even so, Lord,’ said the venerable Sona in assent to the venerable Mahâ Kakkâyaṇa, and, rising from his seat, he departed thence, keeping his right side towards him. And taking up his bed, he went on with his robe on, and his bowl in his hand to Sâvatthi.

8. And wandering from place to place he arrived at the place where the Blessed One was, at Sâvatthi in the Getavana, Anâtha-piṇḍika’s park. And when he had come there he saluted the Blessed One, and took his seat beside him.

Then the Blessed One said to the venerable Ânanda: ‘Make ready a sleeping-place, Ânanda, for this Bhikkhu who has just arrived.’ And the venerable Ânanda thought:

‘Inasmuch as the Blessed One commands me to make ready a sleeping-place for the Bhikkhu who has just arrived, the Blessed One evidently desires to dwell in the same Vihâra with that Bhikkhu, he desires to dwell in the same Vihâra with the venerable Sona.’ And he made ready a sleeping-place for the venerable Sona at the place where the Blessed One was staying.

9. Then the Blessed One, after spending the greater part of the night in the open air, entered the Vihâra. And also the venerable Sona, having spent the greater part of the night in the open air, entered the Vihâra. And the Blessed One rose up, early in the morning, towards dawn, and requested the venerable Sona, saying,

‘May the Dhamma so become clear to you that you may speak¹.’

¹ Paṣibhâtu tam bhikkhu dhammo bhâsitaṃ. Compare Buddhaghosa’s commentary on the similar idiom used in the Mahâ-

‘ Even so, Lord !’ said the venerable *Sona* in assent to the Blessed One ; and he intoned all the verses in the Book of the Eights (*Atthaka-vaggikāni* ¹).

And the Blessed One, at the conclusion of the venerable *Sona*’s recitation, expressed his pleasure, saying,

‘ Excellent, most excellent, O Bhikkhu ! Well have the Eights been grasped by thee, well thought over, well learnt by heart : and with a fine voice art thou gifted, distinct, pleasant ², able to make things understood. How many years is it since thou hast been ordained ?’

‘ One year, my Lord !’

10. ‘ But why have you postponed it so long ?’

‘ Tis long, Lord, since I saw into the danger of the passions, but life in a household is crowded with business and with cares.’

And the Blessed One, when he heard that matter, gave utterance at that time to the expression of emotion :

‘ When he has seen the danger of the world, when he has understood the Truth, when he has become free from Upadhi ³,

parinibbāna Sutta II, 31 as given by Rh. D. (‘ Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,’ p. 36).

¹ *Atthaka-vagga* is the name of the fourth book in the Sutta Nipāta. See Professor Fausbøll’s translation, p. viii. It may also be the name of divisions of other books, but probably that portion of the Sutta Nipāta is here referred to.

² On *Ane/agalāya* compare *ne/ā vāḥā* in § 6 of the *Kūla-sīla*.

³ *Ariyo* is the man who has entered the Path, *Suḥi* is locative. *Nirūpadhi*, he in whom there remains no longer the cause of the renewal of existence as a separate individual (the cause referred to being thirst or excitement and craving, *Taṇhā*, *Upādāna*).

‘The pilgrim finds in sin no pleasure, his delight is in the word, the pure.’

11. Then thought the venerable Sona: ‘The Blessed One is pleased with me. This then is the time which my superior spoke of.’ And rising from his seat, and arranging his robe on one shoulder, he bowed down with his head at the feet of the Blessed One, and said:

‘Lord! my superior Mahā Kakkāyana bows down in salutation at the feet of the Blessed One. In the Southern country and in Avanti there are (&c., as in §§ 4–7, down to the end of the message).’

Then the Blessed One on that occasion and in that connection, having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus and said:

‘The Southern country and Avanti has but few Bhikkhus. I allow the upasampadā (ordination) in border countries to be held in a meeting of only four Bhikkhus, beside the chairman, who must be a Vinaya-dhara.’

12. ‘In this passage the following are the border countries referred to¹. To the East is the town Kagaṅgala, and beyond it Mahāsālā. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the South-east is the river Salalavattī. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the South is the town Setakammika. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the West is the Brāhman district of Thûna. Beyond that is

¹ Compare Cunningham, ‘Ancient Geography of India,’ I, 440; Childers, *Khuddaka Pâṭha*, p. 20; Alwis, ‘Introduction to Pali Grammar,’ XXIX; Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, I, 119 (2nd ed.); Rhys Davids, ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ p. 61.

border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the North is the mountain range called Ustra-dhaga. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. In such border countries, I allow, O Bhikkhus, the upasampadâ (ordination) to be held in a meeting of only four Bhikkhus, beside the chairman, who must be a Vinaya-dhara.

13. 'In the Southern country and in Avanti, O Bhikkhus, the soil is black on the surface and rough, and trampled by the feet of cattle. I allow the use, in all the border countries, O Bhikkhus, of shoes with thick linings.

'In the Southern country and in Avanti, O Bhikkhus, men attach great importance to bathing, and are pure by use of water. I allow the constant use of the bath, O Bhikkhus, in all the border countries.

'In the Southern country and in Avanti, O Bhikkhus, skins, such as sheep-skins, goat-skins, and deer-skins, are used as coverlets. Just as in the Middle country, Bhikkhus, the *eragu*, *moragu*, *magghâru*, and *gantu* grasses are used for coverlets, so in the Southern country and in Avanti are used skins, such as sheep-skins, goat-skins, and deer-skins. I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of skins, such as sheep-skins, goat-skins, and deer-skins, as coverlets, in all the border countries.

'There also, O Bhikkhus, people are in the habit of giving a set of robes to Bhikkhus who have left the district, saying, "We give this set of robes to (a Bhikkhu) with such and such a name." I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to accept such robes. The set of robes does not become subject to the ten-days'

rule, before it reaches the hand (of the person for whom it was intended)¹.

¹ On this last clause compare the first Nissaggiya, and our note there. The clause here means that the ten days of the rule in the Pātimokkha are not to begin to run, under the circumstances specified, till the set of robes has actually reached the hand of the Bhikkhu for whom they were intended.

Buddhaghosa says here : Yāva āharitvā vā na dinnam tumhākam bhante *kivaram* uppannan ti pahinitvā vā nāro~~kitam~~, tāva *gananam* na upeti, anadhi~~hitam~~ na va~~ttati~~. Yadā pana ānetvā vā dinnam hoti, uppannan ti vā sutam, tato pa~~h~~hāya dasāham eva parihāram labhati.

SIXTH KHANDHAKA.

(ON MEDICAMENTS.)

1.

1. At that time the Blessed One dwelt at Sāvatti, in the *Getavana*, the park of *Anâtha-pindîka*. And at that time *Bhikkhus*, attacked by the sickness of the hot season¹, threw up the rice-milk they had drunk, and the food they had eaten. And thereby they became lean, rough, ill-favoured, yellow and ever yellower, and the veins stood out on their limbs².

And the Blessed One saw those *Bhikkhus* thus lean, rough, ill-favoured, yellow and ever yellower, and with the veins standing out on their limbs. And on seeing it, he asked the venerable *Ānanda* : 'How is it, *Ānanda*, that the *Bhikkhus* are become now so lean, rough, &c.?'

'At this time, Lord, the *Bhikkhus* are attacked with the disease of the hot season; and they throw up the rice-milk they have drunk, and the food they have eaten. Thence is it that they are become lean, rough, ill-favoured, yellow and ever yellower, and that the veins stand out on their limbs.'

2. Then there occurred to the mind of the

¹ *Sâradikena âbâdhenâ 'ti sarada-kâle uppannena pittâbâdhenâ. Tasmim hi kâle vassodakena pi tementi, kaddamam pi maddanti, antarantarâ âtapo pi kharo hoti. Tena tesam pittam kottahabbhantara-gatam hoti (B.).*

² Read in the text *Dhamani-santata-gattâ*; and compare *Lalita Vistara*, p. 226, and Professor Weber's '*Bhagavatî*', II, 289.

Blessed One, when meditating alone, this consideration: 'At this time the Bhikkhus (&c., down to :) on their limbs. What medicaments shall I now prescribe for the Bhikkhus, as may be authorised as common medicine, and may be diffused through the body, though it be not regarded as ordinary (material) food?' And the Blessed One thought: 'These five medicaments—that is to say, ghee, butter, oil, honey, molasses—are such medicaments. Let me then prescribe them as medicines which the Bhikkhus may accept at the right time, and use at the right time.'

3. And in the evening, when the Blessed One had arisen from his meditation, having delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus in that connection, saying,

'When I was meditating alone, O Bhikkhus, then occurred to my mind this consideration: "At this time (&c., as in § 2, down to :) material food." Then I thought: "These five (&c., as in § 2, down to :) at the right time." I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, these five things as medicine to be accepted at the right time, and to be used at the right time.'

4. Now at that time the Bhikkhus accepted those five things at the right time, and used them at the right time. And foods which though rough, were ordinary foods, they could not digest¹, much less greasy foods². Then they—attacked both by the hot-season disease, and by this want of appetite³—became by both at once still more lean, rough,

¹ Na kkhādentī na gīranti, na vātarogam paṣipassambhetum sakkonti (B.).

² Senesikāni siniddhāni (B.). Compare Sanskrit snaihika.

³ Bhattākkhandakenā 'ti bhattam aroḥakena (B.).

ill-favoured, yellow and ever yellower, and with the veins standing out on their limbs.

And the Blessed One saw the Bhikkhus thus still more lean, &c. And when he saw it, he asked the venerable Ānanda : ' How is it, Ānanda, that the Bhikkhus are become now still more lean, &c. ? '

5. ' At present, Lord, these Bhikkhus, who use the five medicaments only at the right time, cannot digest foods which, though ordinary, are rough, much less greasy foods. Then they, attacked (&c., as in § 4, down to :) standing out on their limbs. '

Then the Blessed One on that occasion, having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said : ' I permit you, O Bhikkhus, not only to receive those five medicaments, but to use them both at the right time, and at other times. '

2.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were sick had need of fatty substances as medicine.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

' I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of the fat of bears, of fish, of alligators, of swine, and of asses, if received at the right time, cooked at the right time, mixed at the right time, to be partaken of with oil. '

2. ' If the fat be received, O Bhikkhus, at the wrong time, cooked at the wrong time, and mixed at the wrong time, and then taken, the Bhikkhu is guilty of three dukkaṭa offences. '

' If it be received, O Bhikkhus, at the right time, cooked at the wrong time, and mixed at the wrong

time, and then taken, the Bhikkhu is guilty of two dukkaṭa offences.'

'If it be received, O Bhikkhus, at the right time, cooked at the right time, and mixed at the wrong time, and then taken, the Bhikkhu is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

'If it be received, O Bhikkhus, at the right time, cooked at the right time, and mixed at the right time, and then taken, the Bhikkhu is not guilty.'

3.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were sick had need of roots for medicine.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of roots as medicine—turmeric, ginger, orris root, white orris root, ativisa, black hellebore, usīra root, bhadda-muttaka, and whatsoever other roots are used for medicine, and impart an appetising flavour to foods, either hard or soft, which the sick Bhikkhus could not otherwise eat¹. They may be received, and stored up your life long; and, if there be necessity, they may be eaten. If eaten without necessity, (the Bhikkhu who uses them) is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were sick had need for medicine of different sorts of flour made from roots.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

¹ Literally, 'which impart the quality of eatableness to not eatable food, either hard or soft.'

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a grind-stone, and of another stone to grind upon¹.’

4.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were sick had need of astringent decoctions as medicine.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of astringent decoctions as medicine—the nimba², the kutaga³, the pakkava⁴, the nattamāla⁵, and whatsoever other astringent roots are used for medicine, which impart an appetising flavour to foods, either hard or soft, which the sick Bhikkhus could not otherwise eat. They may be received, and stored up your life long; and, if there be necessity, they may be eaten. If eaten without necessity, (the Bhikkhu who uses them) is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.’

5.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were sick had need of leaves as medicine.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of leaves as

¹ Compare the Sanskrit root pūth. Buddhaghosa says: Pisana-silā ka pisana-poto ka. Pestle and mortar is in Pāli udukkhalam musalañ ka: see below, VI, 9, 2.

² Azadirachta Indica. Compare Mahāvagga III, 12, 5.

³ Wrightia anti-dysenterica. Wise, p. 142, gives the botanical name as Echites anti-dysenterica, and says it is an emetic.

⁴ A kind of creeper, says Buddhaghosa.

⁵ Pongania Glabra (the same as Karañga, says Buddhaghosa).

medicine—the leaves of the nimba¹, of the kutaga¹, of the patola², of the tulasi³, of the kappāsika⁴, and whatsoever other leaves are used for medicine, and impart an appetising flavour to foods, either hard or soft, which the sick Bhikkhus could not otherwise eat. They may be received, and stored up (&c., as in last chapter, down to:) guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.’

6.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were sick had need of fruits as medicine.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of fruits as medicine—the vi/aṅga⁵, the pippala⁶, and mariṭa peppers; the haritaka⁷, and vibhītaka⁸, and āmalaka⁹ myrobalans; the goṭṭha fruit¹⁰; and whatsoever other fruits are used for medicine, and impart an appetising flavour to foods, either hard or soft, which the

¹ See the last chapter for these plants.

² A species of cucumber, *Trichosanthes Dioeca*.

³ That is, basil; but the reading is conjectural only. The text has *sulasi*.

⁴ This is ordinary cotton.

⁵ *Erycibe Paniculata*.

⁶ This is not the *Ficus Religiosa*, but simply pepper. Childers, following Subhūti's edition of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, spells both this word and the allied form *Pippalī* with *pph* instead of *pp*. So also Fausbøll at *Gāṭaka*, vol. i, p. 29, verse 218. We prefer the spelling with *pp* in accordance with the Sanskrit.

⁷ Yellow myrobalan.

⁸ Beleric myrobalan.

⁹ Emblic myrobalan.

¹⁰ We cannot suggest any explanation of this word. Buddha-ghosa has no comment on any of these medicinal fruits or seeds.

sick Bhikkhus could not otherwise eat. They may be received and stored up (&c., as in chap. 4, down to :) guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

7.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were sick had need of various kinds of gum as medicine.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of gums as medicine—hiṅgu¹, hiṅgu lac, sipāṭikā², taka³, takapatti³, taka-panni³, saṅgulasa⁴, and whatsoever other gums are used for medicine, and impart (&c., as in chap. 4, down to :) is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

8.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were sick had need of various kinds of salt⁵ as medicine.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of salts as

¹ *Ferula assa foetida*. Böhtlingk-Roth (sub voce) say it comes from Persia. It is much used in Hindu medicine. See Wise, 'Hindu System of Medicine,' pp. 152-154.

² The correct spelling is probably *sivāṭikā*. Böhtlingk-Roth under *Sivāṭikā* and *Hiṅgu-sivāṭikā* say it is the same as *Vamsa-patṭī*.

³ *Buddhaghosa* merely says these are kinds of lac. According to Wise, p. 152, *lākshā* is used as errhine.

⁴ Resin.

⁵ On these salts compare *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, verse 461; *Susruta*, vol. i, pp. 226, 227, of the edition by *Madhusūdana Gupta*; Wise, 'Hindu Medicine,' p. 117.

medicine—sea-salt ¹, black salt ², rock salt ³, kitchen salt ⁴, red salt ⁵, and whatsoever other salts are used in medicine (&c., as in chap. 4, down to :) is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

9^a.

1. Now at that time the venerable Belatthasā, the superior of the venerable Ānanda, had a disease of thick scabs; and by reason of the discharge thereof his robes stuck to his body. The Bhikkhus moistened those robes with water, and loosened them (from his body).

The Blessed One as he was wandering in search of a lodging-place for the night saw them [doing so], and going up to the place where they were, he asked them :

'What is the matter, O Bhikkhus, with this Bhikkhu ?'

'The venerable one has the disease of thick scabs; and by reason of the discharge thereof his robes stick to his body. So we moisten those robes with water, and loosen them (from his body).'

¹ Sāmuddikā 'ti samudda-tīre vālukā viya tiṭṭhati (B.).

² Kāḷa-lonā ti pakati-lonā (B.).

³ Sindhavan ti seta-vannā : pabbate utthahati (B.). It was probably called Sindh salt because it was found there, though, like Sindhava horses, it is always supposed to be white.

⁴ Ubbhidā 'ti bhummito añkuyā (sic) utthahati (B.).

⁵ Bilā ti dabba-sambhārehi saddhim paṭitam : tam ratta-vannā (B.). It is Sanskrit *vidā*, Hindustāni *biḷ* laban, and the same as *bilāla* in the Abhidhānappadīpikā.

⁶ This introductory story recurs as the introduction to the rule laid down in VIII, 17.

2. Then the Blessed One on that occasion, having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of chunam as a medicine by whomsoever has the itch, or boils, or a discharge, or scabs, or whose body is ill-smelling, and to those in health the use of dry dung¹, and of clay, and of colouring matter². I allow the use, O Bhikkhus, of a pestle and mortar³.’

10.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were sick had need of sifted⁴ chunam as medicine.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a chunam sieve.’

They had need of the chunam very fine.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a cloth sieve.’

2. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had a disease not human. Though his teacher and his superior nursed him, they were not able to make him well. He went to a place where swine were slaughtered, and ate the raw flesh, and drank the blood. Thereby his sickness abated.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, in the case of a disease not human, the use of raw flesh and of blood.’

¹ *Khakanan ti gomayam* (B.).

² *Ragana-pakkan* (sic) ti *raganakasatam*. *Pâkâsika-kunnam* pi *koṭetvâ udakena temetvâ nhâyitum vaṭṭati*, etam pi *ragana-nipakka-samkhepam* (sic, read *samkham*) eva *gakkhati* (B.). *Satam* in this passage must be equal to *sritam*. On *samkham* compare below, *Mahāvagga* VI, 16, 1.

³ Compare above, VI, 3, 2.

⁴ *Kāleti* has often a more definite meaning than ‘shake.’ Compare *Gâtaka* I, 71.

11.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had disease of the eyes. They used to carry that Bhikkhu out to ease himself. The Blessed One as he was passing through the Bhikkhus' sleeping quarters saw them [doing so]. When he saw them, he went up to the place where they were, and asked those Bhikkhus :

‘What is the disease, O Bhikkhus, from which this Bhikkhu suffers?’

2. ‘This venerable one, Lord, has disease of the eyes. Therefore do we carry him out to ease himself.’

Then the Blessed One, on that account, having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of eye ointments¹; to wit, black collyrium², rasa ointment³, sota ointment⁴, geruka⁵, and kapalla⁶.’

They had need of perfumes to grind up into ointments.

¹ *Aṅgana*, which is here a generic term, inclusive of all the following ; *sabba-saṃgāhika-vaṭṭanam*, says Buddhaghosa.

² *Kālaṅganan ti ekā aṅgana-gāti* (B.).

³ *Rasaṅganan ti nānā-sambhārehi katam* (B.). Böhrling-Roth say it is made with vitriol.

⁴ *Sotaṅganan ti nadisotādisu uppagganakam aṅganam* (B.). It is called in Sanskrit *śrotoṅgana*, and was made with antimony.

⁵ *Geruka* is the Sanskrit *gairika*, ochre; and the kind meant is yellow ochre. *Geruko nāma suvanna-geruko*, says Buddhaghosa. Compare the Sanskrit *Kāñṭhika-gairika* and *svarna-gairika*.

⁶ *Kapallan ti dīpa-sikhāto gahita-masi*, ‘soot taken from the flame of a lamp’ (B.).

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of sandal wood, tagara ¹, black anusâri ², kâlîya ³, and bhadda-muttaka ⁴.’

12.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus used to put pulverised ointments into pots and saucers. They became sprinkled over with herb-powders and dust.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a box for ointment.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to carry about various kinds of boxes for ointments—gold ones, and silver ones. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, ‘Like those who still live in the world.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Various kinds of boxes for ointments, gold ones, and silver ones, are not, O Bhikkhus, to be used. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of such boxes made of bone, or ivory, or horn, or of the naḷa reed, or of bambu, or of wood, or of lac, or of the shells of fruit, or of bronze, or of the centre of the chank-shell ⁵.’

¹ Tagara as a fragrant flower is mentioned in verse 54 of the Dhammapada quoted in Milinda Pañha, p. 333.

² A kind of dark fragrant sandal wood.

³ Read so in the text as corrected on p. 381. It is a kind of sandal wood.

⁴ A perfume made from the grass of the same name (mentioned above, VI, 3).

⁵ Saṅkha-nābhi, the meaning of the latter part of which compound is not quite clear.

2. Now at that time the boxes of ointment had no lid. (The ointment) was sprinkled over with herb-powders and dust.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a lid.’

The lids used to fall off.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to fasten the lid with thread, and to tie it on to the box.’

The boxes used to fall.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to sew the boxes on with thread¹.’

3. Now at that time the Bhikkhus used to rub the ointment on with their fingers: and the eyes were hurt.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a stick or holder to put the ointment on with.’

Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to keep various kinds of ointment-sticks—gold ones, and silver ones. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, ‘Like those who still live in the world.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Various kinds of ointment-holders, O Bhikkhus, are not to be used. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a *dukkaṭa* offence. I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of ointment-holders of bone, or of ivory, or of horn, or of the *naḷa* reed, or of bambu, or of wood, or of lac, or of fruit, or of bronze, or of the chank-shell.’

¹ Buddhaghosa has no comment on this. It may mean that the ointment boxes might be sewn either on to some place in the *Vihāra*, or on to some part of the Bhikkhu's dress. The latter is more in accordance with § 4 below.

4. Now at that time the ointment-sticks used to fall on the ground and become rough.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a case for the ointment-sticks¹.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus used to carry the ointment-boxes and ointment-sticks about in their hands.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a bag to put the ointment-box in.’

They had no shoulder strap.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a shoulder strap (by which to carry the ointment-box), or of a thread (by which to sew or tie it on).’

13.

1. Now at that time the venerable Pilindavakkha had head-ache².

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a little oil on the head.’

(The disease) became no better³.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the practice of taking up (medicine) through the nose⁴.’

¹ *Salâkoddhâniyan ti yatha salâkam odahanti susiradantakam vâ thâlikam vâ anuganâmî ’ti attho (B.).*

² *Sîsâbhitâpo*, literally ‘heat in the head.’

³ Compare *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta* II, 31, and below, 13. 2 ;

14. 3.

⁴ *Natthu-kamma*. In the commentary on the *Dhammapada*, pp. 83 and foll., there is an example of the way in which a physician administers medicinal oil in this manner to a sick Bhikkhu.

The nose ran.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a nose-spoon¹.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus had various kinds of nose-spoons—made of gold, and of silver. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, ‘Like those who still live in the world.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Various kinds of nose-spoons, O Bhikkhus, are not to be used. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of such nose-spoons made of bone (&c., as in chap. 12. 1, down to :) or of the chank-shell.’

2. The nose took up the medicament in unequal proportions.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a double nose-spoon².’

(The disease) became no better.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to sniff up the aroma.’

They used to spread the drugs on a wick before they sniffed up the aroma³: and their throats got burnt.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a pipe to conduct the aroma.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus had various kinds of pipes (&c., as in the last clauses of § 1, down to the end).

¹ Natthu-karaṇī, that is, an instrument to hold up the nose, so that the medicinal oil does not run out.

² Yamaka-natthu-karaṇī, that is, one that would go up both nostrils. The last sentence of § 1 would come in better after this clause.

³ They used to burn the drugs by smearing them on wicks, and then inhale the smoke through their nostrils.

Now at that time the aroma-pipes came open :
and worms got in.

‘ I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a lid to the pipes.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus carried the pipes
about in their hands.

‘ I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a bag to carry
the aroma-pipes in.’

The aroma-pipes rubbed against one another.

‘ I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a double bag.’

They had no shoulder strap.

‘ I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a shoulder strap
(by which to carry the double bag), or of a thread
(by which to sew it on).’

14.

1. Now at that time the venerable Pilindavakkha
was troubled with wind in the stomach¹. The
physicians said he must drink oil.

‘ I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a decoction of oil.’

It was necessary to put strong drink into the
decoction.

‘ I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to put strong drink in
decoctions of oil.’

Now at that time the Khabbaggiya Bhikkhus
used to put too much strong drink into their decoc-
tions of medicinal oils : and they got drunk.

‘ Oil should not be drunk, O Bhikkhus, when too
much strong drink has been put into it. Whosoever
does so, shall be dealt with according to law².’

‘ I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to drink such decoctions

¹ Compare chapter 17.

² See the 51st Pâṭṭiya.

of oil with strong drink in them, as wherein neither the colour, nor the smell, nor the taste of the strong drink shall be sensible.'

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus had a quantity of decoction in which too much strong drink had been put. Then those Bhikkhus thought: 'What shall we do with this oil, which has too much strong drink in it?'

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, to use it as an ointment.'

Now at that time the venerable Pilindavakkha had a quantity of oil-decoction; but he had no vessel for it.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of three kinds of pots, bronze pots, wooden pots, pots made of the shells of fruits¹.'

3. Now at that time the venerable Pilindavakkha had rheumatism.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to bring on sweating².'

(The disease) became no better.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to bring on sweating by the use of herbs which have that effect³.'

(The disease) became no better.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a great steam bath⁴.'

(The disease) became no better.

¹ Compare VI, 12, 1.

² Perhaps fumigations.

³ Sambhāra-sedan ti nānāvidha-panna-bhaṅga-sedan (B.). Apparently a poultice or fomentation in which various kinds of leaves or twigs are used.

⁴ Mahāsedan ti mahantaṃ sedan: porisa-ppamāṇam āvātam āṅgārāṇam pūretvā, pamsu-vālikādīhi pidahitvā, tattha nānāvidhāni vāta-harāṇa-pannāni santharitvā tela-makkhitenā gattena tattha nipaggitvā samparivattantena sarīraṃ sedetum anugānāmiti attho (B.). A pit, six feet deep, is filled with charcoal, and covered with a coating of earth or sand. The leaves good for rheumatism are spread

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of hemp-water (bang)¹.'

(The disease) became no better.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of hot baths in water in which medicinal herbs have been steeped².'

4. Now at that time the venerable Pilindavakkha had intermittent ague.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, the letting of blood.'

(The disease) became no better.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make use of a horn to let blood³.'

Now at that time the feet of the venerable Pilindavakkha were blistered.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of ointment for the feet.'

(The disease) became no better.

over the sand. The patient reposes on the leaves on the affected limb, which has been rubbed over with oil; and turns over and over until his whole body has been well steamed.

¹ Bhaṅgodakan ti nānā-*panna*-bhaṅga-kudhita-udakam. Tehi *pannehi ka* udakena *ka* *siṅkitvā* sedetabbo (B.). Bhaṅga may here mean 'broken bits,' namely, of the leaves, just as *sākhā-bhaṅga* at *Gātaka* I, 158 means 'twig.' Compare *uttari-bhaṅga*, *Gātaka* I, 197, 349; *Dhammapada* 171; *Kullavagga* VIII, 4, 4; *sarīra-bhaṅga*, *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* VI, 59; and *bhaṅga* alone at *Gātaka* I, 392; *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 10; Rh. D., 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,' p. 241. For *kudhita* we should read *kuthita*.

² *Dakakoṭṭhakan ti udaka-kotṭham kām vā donim vā unho-dakassa pūretvā tattha tattha pavisitvā seda-kamma-karanam anu-gānāmīti* attho (B.). Compare *Dhammapada*, p. 103.

³ Wise, p. 176, says, 'The local accumulation of bad blood may be removed by means of cupping, which is performed by a horn, cut smooth and even at the large extremity, and with a small opening at the narrow end.' Compare *Susruta*, *Sūtrasthāna*, chap. 27, and *Sarīrasthāna*, chap. 8 (at the end).

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to keep water ready for washing the feet (of travellers)¹.’

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had boils.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of the lancet.’

Decoctions of astringent herbs were required.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, decoctions of astringent herbs².’

Sesamum salve was required.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of sesamum salve³.’

5. Compresses were required.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of compresses⁴.’

It was necessary to tie up the sore with cloth.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of bandages for tying up wounds.’

The sore itched.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the sprinkling of a sore with mustard-powder⁵.’

The sore became moist⁶.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to fumigate (the sore).’

Proud flesh formed on the wound⁷.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cut off (proud flesh) with a lancet.’

¹ This would seem to be a preventive remedy. Water may be kept ready, so that the incoming Bhikkhus may use it, and their feet therefore may not become blistered. But perhaps *pagga* here means some curative application of water to the feet, such as cold water bandages, for example. Compresses (?poultices) are mentioned below (§ 5) for boils.

² Compare chapter 4.

³ Buddhaghosa explains *tila-kakka* as ground sesamum seeds (*piṭṭhehi tilehi attho*); but *kalka* is paste or salve. See Wise, p. 129.

⁴ *Kabalikan ti* (MS. *pakalikan*) *vana-mukhe sattū-piṇḍam pakkhipitum* (B.). Compare Böhtlingk-Roth, sub voce *kavalikā*.

⁵ *Sāsapa-piṭṭhena*, says Buddhaghosa.

⁶ Compare the quotations from Susruta in Böhtlingk-Roth under *klidyati*.

⁷ *Vana-* (MS. *viddham*) *mamsan ti adhika-mamsam: āni viya utthahati* (B.).

The wound would not close up.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of oil for wounds.’

The oil ran over.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of fine rags¹, and of all kinds of ways of treating wounds.’

6. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was bitten by a snake.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the four kinds of filth to be given—dung, urine, ashes, and clay.’

Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘Are these things among those which may be taken even without being offered to us by others, or among things which cannot be taken unless they are offered?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow these things, O Bhikkhus, to be accepted if any one be there to offer them², and if not, then that you may take them yourselves and use them.’

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had drunk poison.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give (as an emetic) a decoction of dung.’

Then the Bhikkhus thought: ‘Is this among those things which may be taken even without being offered to us by others, or is it among things which cannot be taken unless they are offered?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I rule, O Bhikkhus, that there is a proper taking when a man takes what he himself has made; and

¹ *Vikâsikan ti tela-ruddhana-pilotikam* (B.). See VIII, 2.

² A *kappiya-kâraka* is one who by offering a thing to a Bhikkhu, makes that thing *kappiya*, allowable, to the Bhikkhu.

that such a thing need not be received again from others.'

7. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu suffered from the ghara-dinnaka¹ disease.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give him to drink a decoction of soil turned up by the plough².'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had constipation³.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give him a decoction of the ashes of burnt rice⁴.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had the jaundice.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give to drink a decoction made with (cows') urine⁵.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had skin disease.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, the anointing with perfumes.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had a superfluity of humors in his body⁶.'

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give a purgative.'
Clarified gruel was required.

¹ Ghara-dinnakan ti vasikarana-pâna-samuññita-rogo, 'a disease arising from a philter, which when given brings another into one's power' (B.). He was bewitched, was suffering from the results of sorcery.

² Sītalo/in ti naṅgalena kasantassa phāle lagga-mattikam udakena aloḍṭvā pāyetum anugānāmīti attho (B.).

³ Duṭṭhagahaniko 'ti vipanna-gahaniko. Kikkhena ukkāro nikkhamatīti. Compare Rh. D., 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,' p. 260 note.

⁴ Âmisakhâran ti sukkhodanam ghâpetvā tâya kharikâya paggharitam khârodakam (B.).

⁵ Mutta-harītakan ti gomutta-paribhāvitam harītakam (B.).

⁶ Abhisannakâyo 'ti ussanna-dosa-kâyo (B.). Dosa is a disturbance of the so-called humors in the body. Compare VIII, 1, 30.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of clarified gruel.’

Natural juice was required ¹.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of natural juice.’

Artificial and natural juice was required ².

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of artificial and natural juice.’

Meat broth was required ³.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of meat broth.’

15.

1. Now at that time the venerable Pilindavakkha had a mountain cave at Rāgagaha cleared out, with the object of making it into a cave dwelling-place. And the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra went to the place where the venerable Pilindavakkha was; and when he had come there, he saluted the venerable Pilindavakkha, and took his seat on one side.

And when he was so seated the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra said to the venerable Pilindavakkha, ‘What is it that my Lord, the Thera, is having done?’

‘I am having a cave cleared out, with the object of making it into a cave dwelling-place.’

‘Do you then, Sir, require an ārāmika (a park-keeper)?’

‘Not so, great king! A park-keeper has not been prescribed by the Blessed One.’

‘Then, Sir, enquire of the Blessed One (concerning this matter), and let me then know.’

¹ Aka/a-yūsan ti asiniddho mugga-pāṭita-pāriyo (B.).

² Ka/āka/an ti so ka baddhoka-siniddho (B.).

³ Compare chap. 23. 1-8.

‘Very well, O King!’ said the venerable Pilindavakkha in assent to the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra.

2. Then the venerable Pilindavakkha taught and incited and roused and gladdened the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra with religious discourse. And the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra, when he had been taught &c. by the religious discourse, rose from his seat, and bowed down before the venerable Pilindavakkha, and passing round him with his right side towards him, departed thence.

Then the venerable Pilindavakkha sent a message to the Blessed One, saying, ‘Lord! the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra desires to present me with a park-keeper. What am I, therefore, Lord, to do?’

Then the Blessed One, in that connection, after delivering a religious discourse, said to the Bhikkhus:

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the accepting of a park-keeper.’

3. And a second time the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra went to the place where the venerable Pilindavakkha was; and when he had come there he saluted the venerable Pilindavakkha, and took his seat on one side.

And when he was so seated the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra said to the venerable Pilindavakkha, ‘Has the Blessed One allowed a park-keeper?’

‘Yes, O King!’

‘Then, Sir, I will present a park-keeper to you.’

Now the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra, after he had (thus) promised a park-keeper to the venerable Pilindavakkha, forgot it. And after a time he

recovered recollection of it, and addressed a certain minister who had charge of general affairs, and said :
 'The park-keeper whom I promised to the venerable one, has he been given to him?'

'No, your Majesty!'

'How long is it then, good Sir, since that was determined?'

4. Then that minister, counting up the nights, said to the Mâgadha king Seniya Bimbisâra, 'Five hundred nights, your Majesty.'

'Give then, my good Sir, five hundred park-keepers to the venerable one!'

'As your Majesty commands,' said that minister in assent to the Mâgadha king Seniya Bimbisâra ; and he gave over to the venerable Pilindavakkha five hundred park-keepers, and (for their use) a distinct village grew up. And they called it Ârâ-mika-gâma, and they called it also Pilinda-gâma. Thenceforward the venerable Pilindavakkha depended upon the families living in that village (for alms, &c.). And the venerable Pilindavakkha robed himself early in the morning, and entered into Pilinda-gâma, duly bowled and robed for alms.

5. Now at that time there was a feast in that village, and the children were celebrating it, with their ornaments on, and decked with garlands. And the venerable Pilindavakkha, when he was going his rounds for alms, straight on from house to house, came to the dwelling-place of a certain park-keeper ; and when he had come there he sat down on a seat prepared for him.

And at that time the daughter of that park-keeper's wife, seeing the other children with their ornaments on, and decked with garlands, began to

cry (saying), 'Give me too a garland, give me an ornament!'

And the venerable Pilindavakkha said to that park-keeper's wife: 'Why does that girl cry?'

'This girl, venerable Sir, seeing the other children with their ornaments on, and decked with garlands, is crying (and saying), "Give me too a garland, give me too an ornament!" But whence should we, who have become so poor, get garlands or ornaments?'

6. Then the venerable Pilindavakkha took a grass chumbat¹, and said to the park-keeper's wife: 'Bind, I pray you, this grass chumbat round the child's head.'

And the park-keeper's wife took the grass chumbat, and bound it round the girl's head. And that became a chaplet of gold, beautiful, lovely, and pleasing, such that there was no chaplet of gold in the king's seraglio like it.

And people told the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra, 'There is a chaplet of gold, your Majesty, in the house of such and such a park-keeper, such that there is no chaplet of gold in the king's seraglio like it. How could he, poor as he is, have got (such a thing)? For a certainty he must have procured it by theft.'

Then the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra had (the whole of) that park-keeper's family thrown into bonds.

7. Now the venerable Pilindavakkha robed himself again early in the morning, and went, duly bowled and robed, into Pilinda-gāma for alms. And going his round for alms straight on from house to house he came to the dwelling-place of that park-keeper; and

¹ A circular roll of grass, or cloth, to be placed on the head when a pot of oil or water was being carried on the head. Compare kumbataka, and Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 295.

when he had come there he asked the neighbours, 'Where is the family of this park-keeper gone to?'

'The king, Sir, has had them thrown into bonds on account of that chaplet of gold.'

Then the venerable *Pilindavakkha* went on to the residence of the Mâgadha king *Seniya Bimbisâra*: and when he had come there he sat down on the seat prepared for him. And the Mâgadha king *Seniya Bimbisâra* went to the place where the venerable *Pilindavakkha* was; and when he had come there, he bowed down before the venerable *Pilindavakkha*, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated the venerable *Pilindavakkha* said to the Mâgadha king *Seniya Bimbisâra*:

8. 'Why, O King, has the park-keeper's family been thrown into bonds?'

'That park-keeper, Sir, has in his house a chaplet of gold, such that there is no chaplet of gold in the king's seraglio like it. Whence should he, poor as he is, have got (such a thing)? For a certainty he has procured it by theft.'

Then the venerable *Pilindavakkha* determined that the palace of the Mâgadha king *Seniya Bimbisâra* should be gold. And it became all of gold.

'Now, your Majesty, whence have you this so great quantity of gold?'

'I understand, Lord. This is your miraculous power' (said the king. And so saying) he set that park-keeper's family free.

9. When the people, glad at heart and full of satisfaction, saw that so great a miracle had been shown by the venerable *Pilindavakkha* to the king and his royal retinue, they brought to the venerable *Pilindavakkha* the five kinds of medicine,—that is to

say, ghee, butter, oil, honey, and molasses. Now (besides this) the venerable *Pilindavakkha* was accustomed to receive the five kinds of medicine; and whatever he received he distributed among his attendant (*Bhikkhus*). So the retinue became abounding therein, and as they received it they laid it aside, filling vessels and pots; and filling water-strainers and bags with it they laid them in the windows, and they remained there clinging and adhering together, and the *Vihâras* became sprinkled and scattered all over with them through the (gnawing of) rats. People who saw this, when they went round the *Vihâras*, were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant (saying), 'These *Sakya*puttiya *Samanas* are becoming storers up of goods like the *Mâgadha* king *Seniya Bimbisâra*.'

10. The *Bhikkhus* heard the people thus murmuring, &c. And those *Bhikkhus* who were moderate were indignant, &c., saying,

'How can *Bhikkhus* think (of possessing) such abundance?'

And those *Bhikkhus* told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, *Bhikkhus*, as they say, that *Bhikkhus* think (of possessing) such abundance?'

'It is true, Lord.'

The Blessed One rebuked them, and after delivering a religious discourse, he addressed the *Bhikkhus*:

'Whatsoever kinds of medicine are meet for the use of sick *Bhikkhus*,—that is to say, ghee, butter, oil, honey, and molasses,—when such are received they must be used within a period of seven days during which they may be stored up. Whosoever

goes beyond that limit shall be dealt with according to law¹.

End of the first Bhāṇavāra on the law of medicines.

16.

1. Now after the Blessed One had remained at Sāvatti as long as he thought fit, he went forth on his journey towards Rāgagaha. And on the way the venerable Kaṅkhā-revata saw a sugar factory, and on stepping aside to it (he saw the men) putting flour and cane-dust into the molasses. When he saw that he thought: 'Molasses mixed with food is not permitted: it is not permitted to take such molasses (at a time) beyond the time (for the daily meal).' And fearing to offend he ate not of it, and his attendant Bhikkhus ate not, and such as held him worthy to be heard, they ate not.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Why, O Bhikkhus, do they put flour and cane-dust into molasses?'

'In order, Lord, to make it firm.'

'If, O Bhikkhus, they put flour and cane-dust into molasses to make it firm, but it is still (nevertheless) considered to be molasses, I allow you, O Bhikkhus, such molasses as much as you like.'

2. Now the venerable Kaṅkhā-revata saw on the way a kidney bean growing out of a dung heap. And when he had seen it, he thought: 'Beans are not permitted (to us, for) beans grow ready ripe².' And

¹ Compare the 23rd Nissaggiya.

² Pakkā pi muggā gāyanti, the meaning of which is not quite clear. Buddhaghosa says, yathāsukham paribhuṅgitabbā, pakkattā

he did not eat, fearing to offend, and his attendant Bhikkhus did not eat, and such as held him worthy to be heard, they also did not eat the beans.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Though, Bhikkhus, beans grow ready ripe, yet I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to eat beans as much as you like.’

3. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu suffered from wind in the stomach. He drank salt sour gruel; and thereby his sickness abated.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, to one who is sick the use of salt sour gruel, to one who is not sick the use thereof mixed with water¹ as a beverage.’

17.

1. Now the Blessed One journeying on in due course came to Rāgagaha. And there at Rāgagaha the Blessed One stayed at the Veluvana in the Kalandaka-nivāpa.

Now at that time the Blessed One was troubled with wind in his stomach. And the venerable Ānanda thinking, ‘Now formerly the Blessed One when suffering from wind in the stomach had ease from Tekatūla² gruel,’ made ready of his own accord tila seeds, and rice, and beans; and kept

hi te kappiyā. Perhaps the doubt was supposed to have arisen because the beans required no cooking, but grew, ready to eat, of themselves.

¹ Compare asam bhinna-pāyāsa at Gāṭaka, vol. i, p. 55, l. 32.

² That is, gruel containing the three pungent (kaṭu) substances, which are explained to be ginger and two kinds of pepper.

them indoors ; and cooked them indoors of his own accord, and offered them to the Blessed One, saying, 'Let the Blessed One drink this Tekatula gruel.'

2. Now the Tathâgatas sometimes ask about what they know (&c., as usual, as, for instance, in I, 31, 5, down to the end).

And the Blessed One said to the venerable Ānanda, 'Whence, Ānanda, is this gruel?'

Then the venerable Ānanda told this thing to the Blessed One.

3. The Blessed Buddha rebuked him, saying, 'This is improper, Ānanda, unbecoming, unsuitable, unworthy of Samanas, not allowable, and ought to be avoided. How can you, Ānanda, think (of permitting yourself) such abundance? Whatever, Ānanda, is kept indoors, is not allowed ; whatever is cooked indoors, is not allowed ; and whatever is cooked of your own accord, is not allowed. This will not redound, Ānanda, to the conversion of the unconverted.'

And when he had rebuked him, and delivered a religious discourse, he said to the Bhikkhus : 'Whatsoever is kept indoors, O Bhikkhus, or cooked indoors, or cooked of your own accord, is not to be eaten. Whosoever shall eat thereof, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.

4. 'And if, O Bhikkhus, there be food kept indoors, or cooked indoors, or cooked of your own accord, and one shall eat thereof, he is guilty of three dukkaṭa offences. If, O Bhikkhus, food kept indoors, and cooked indoors, shall have been so cooked by others, and one eat thereof, he is guilty of two dukkaṭa offences. If, O Bhikkhus, food kept indoors, shall have been cooked out of doors, and

so cooked of your own accord, and one eat thereof, he is guilty of two dukkaṭa offences.

5. 'If, O Bhikkhus, food kept out of doors shall have been cooked indoors, and of your own accord, and one eat thereof, he is guilty of two dukkaṭa offences. If, O Bhikkhus, food kept indoors, shall have been cooked out of doors, and by others, and one eat thereof, he is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. If, O Bhikkhus, food kept out of doors shall have been cooked indoors, and by others, and one eat thereof, he is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. If, O Bhikkhus, food kept out of doors, shall have been cooked out of doors, and of your own accord, and one shall eat thereof, he is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. If, O Bhikkhus, food kept out of doors, shall have been cooked out of doors, and by others, and one shall eat thereof, he is not guilty.'

6. Now at that time, the Bhikkhus, thinking, 'Food cooked of one's own accord has been disallowed by the Blessed One,' feared to offend by cooking a second time food (already cooked once).

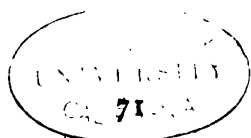
They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cook food a second time.'

7. Now at that time there was a scarcity of food in Rāgagaha. People brought salt, and oil, and rice, and hard food to the Ārāma. These the Bhikkhus kept out of doors; and vermin¹ ate them, and thieves carried them off.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

¹ Buddhaghosa says, *ukkapinḍakâ pi khādantīti bilāla-mūsika-godha-muṅgusâ khādanti*. The expression recurs in VI, 33, 5.



‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to keep food indoors.’

When they kept it indoors, and cooked it out of doors, those men who practised self-mortification by living on the remains of offered food¹ crowded round them; and the Bhikkhus ate in fear.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cook indoors.’

In the time of scarcity, those who (by offering food, inviting Bhikkhus to their houses, &c.) made (the accepting or eating of food) allowable (to the Bhikkhus), used to take more (for themselves), and give less to the Bhikkhus.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cook of your own accord. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cook indoors, and of your own accord, food kept indoors.’

8. Now at that time a number of Bhikkhus who had spent the rainy season in the land of Kâsi, and were journeying to Râgagaha to visit the Blessed One, did not receive on the way as full a supply as they required of food, either bitter or sweet. And there was plenty of eatable fruit, but there was no one to make it allowable for them². And those Bhikkhus went on in weariness to Râgagaha, to the Veluvana, in the Kalandaka-nivâpa, where the Blessed One was. And when they had come there, they bowed down before the Blessed One, and took their seats on one side.

Now it is the custom of the Blessed Buddhas to exchange courteous greetings with Bhikkhus who

¹ Buddhaghosa says, *damakâ ti vighâsâdâ*. The same explanation is given in *Abhidhânappadîpikâ*, verse 467, where the Sinhalese expression is *indul kannâ*, and the English ‘one who eats orts.’

² See the last section.

arrive. And the Blessed One said to those Bhikkhus:

‘Do things go well with you, O Bhikkhus? Do you get enough to support yourselves with? Have you accomplished your journey without too much fatigue? And whence, O Bhikkhus, have you come?’

9. ‘Things go well with us, Lord. We have spent the rainy season in the land of Kâsi; and as we were journeying to Râgagaha to visit the Blessed One, we did not receive on the way as full a supply as we required of food, either bitter or sweet. And there was plenty of eatable fruit, but there was no one to make it allowable for us. And we came on our way in weariness.’

Then the Blessed One, in that connection, after having delivered a religious discourse, said to the Bhikkhus: ‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, wherever edible fruit is seen and there is no one to make it allowable, to pick it of your own accord, and take it away. And when you see one who can make it allowable, you are to place it on the ground, and (only) eat it after you have received it again. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to take whatever (fruit) you have picked up¹.’

18.

1. Now at that time a certain Brâhman had received some fresh tila seeds, and some fresh honey. Now it occurred to that Brâhman: ‘What if I were to give these fresh tila seeds, and this

¹ Compare below, 21. 1.

fresh honey to the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head.' And that Brāhman went to the place where the Blessed One was, and when he had come there, he exchanged courteous greetings with the Blessed One. And after he had exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility, he stood on one side. And, so standing, that Brāhman said to the Blessed One :

'May the venerable Gotama grant me that the venerable Gotama shall take his morrow's meal at my home to-morrow with the Bhikkhu-saṃgha.'

The Blessed One consented by remaining silent. And when that Brāhman perceived that the Blessed One had consented he went away.

2. And that Brāhman, at the end of that night, when he had made ready sweet food, both hard and soft, had the time announced to the Blessed One (in the words), 'It is time, O Gotama, and the meal is prepared.'

And the Blessed One, early in the morning, having put on his under robe, went duly bowled and robed to that Brāhman's residence. And when he had come there, he sat down on a seat prepared for him, and with him the Bhikkhu-saṃgha.

And that Brāhman satisfied with the sweet food, hard and soft, the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head, and waited on them with his own hand. And when the Blessed One had finished his meal, and had washed his hands and his bowl, the Brāhman took his seat on one side. And as he so sat the Blessed One instructed, and roused, and incited, and gladdened that Brāhman with religious discourse, and rose from his seat, and went away.

3. Now not long after the Blessed One had gone

it occurred to that Brāhman: 'The things for the sake of which I invited the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head, thinking, "I will give them the fresh tila seeds and the fresh honey,"—those I have neglected to give. What if I were now to have the fresh tila seeds and the fresh honey taken, in pots and vessels, to the Ārāma!'

And that Brāhman had the fresh tila seeds and the fresh honey taken in pots and vessels, and went to the place where the Blessed One was. And when he had come there, he stood on one side; and so standing that Brāhman said to the Blessed One:

4. 'The things for the sake of which I invited the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head, thinking, "I will give them the fresh tila seeds and the fresh honey,"—those I have neglected to give. May the venerable Gotama receive of me the fresh tila seeds and the fresh honey.'

'Very well then, Brāhman; give them to the Bhikkhus.'

Now at that time, during the scarcity, people invited Bhikkhus to a slender meal, and they, counting the number (of those invited), refused (the invitation). And the whole Saṃgha was (once) invited; but the Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, did not accept the invitation¹.

'Accept it, O Bhikkhus, and eat. I allow, O Bhikkhus, that a Bhikkhu who has eaten and who has refused food still offered may nevertheless eat food, if it be brought from within, even if it has not been left over².

¹ Compare Pātimokkha, Pāṭittiya 32.

² This is an exception to Pāṭittiya 35. A Bhikkhu who has

19.

1. Now at that time a family who were devoted to the venerable Upananda, of the Sakya clan, sent hard food for the *Samgha*, saying, 'This is to be given to the *Samgha* with especial reference to the venerable Upananda.'

Now at that time the venerable Upananda of the Sakya clan had gone forth to the village for alms. And those men went to the *Ârâma*, and asked the *Bhikkhus* :

'Where, Sirs, is the venerable Upananda?'

'The venerable Upananda of the Sakya clan has gone forth to the village for alms.'

'This hard food, Sirs, is to be given to the *Samgha*, with especial reference to the venerable Upananda.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'In that case, O *Bhikkhus*, receive it, and put it aside till Upananda returns.'

2. And the venerable Upananda, after having attended on the families in the forenoon, returned during the (after-part of the) day.

Now at that time, during the scarcity, people invited the *Bhikkhus* to a slender meal; and they,

finished, and has declared himself to have done so by declining further food, can still take 'leavings' without offending. By this rule he is also allowed to take food *tato nîhataṃ*, literally, 'brought out thence,' which seems to mean 'out of the store of the giver.' The expression recurs in VI, 32, 1, and again in VI, 32, 2 (at the end), where the exceptions to *Pâṭittiya* 35 laid down in this and the following rules are again, the scarcity having passed away, put aside by 'the Blessed One.'

counting the numbers (of those invited, refused) the invitation. And the whole *Samgha* was (once) invited; but the *Bhikkhus*, fearing to offend, did not accept the invitation.

‘Accept it, O *Bhikkhus*, that a *Bhikkhu* who has eaten, and who has refused food still offered, may nevertheless eat food, if it have been received before meal-time (in the forenoon), even if it has not been left over¹.’

20.

1. Now the Blessed One having remained at *Râgagaha* as long as he thought fit, proceeded on his way to *Sâvatthi*. And wandering straight on from place to place he arrived at *Sâvatthi*. And there, at *Sâvatthi*, the Blessed One stayed at the *Getavana*, *Anâtha-piṇḍika*’s Grove.

Now at that time the venerable *Sâriputta* suffered from fever. And the venerable *Mahâ Moggallâna* went to the place where the venerable *Sâriputta* was; and when he had come there he said to the venerable *Sâriputta* :

‘You have lately had fever, friend *Sâriputta*. By what means has it got well?’

‘By lotus stalks, my friend, of various kinds.’

Then the venerable *Mahâ Moggallâna*, as quickly as a strong man would stretch forth his arm, or draw it in again when it had been stretched forth, vanished from the *Getavana* and appeared on the bank of the *Mandâkint* lake.

2. And a certain *Nâga* saw the venerable *Mahâ*

¹ See the last note.

Moggallâna coming from afar : and on seeing him he said to the venerable Mahâ Moggallâna :

‘May my lord, the venerable Mahâ Moggallâna, approach. Welcome to my lord, the venerable Mahâ Moggallâna. What may my lord have need of? What shall I give to him?’

‘I want the edible stalks of the various lotuses.’

Then that Nâga gave command to another Nâga, saying, ‘Very well then, good friend, give the venerable one edible stalks of the lotuses.’

And that Nâga plunged into the Mandâkint lake, and plucked with his trunk edible stalks of the lotuses, and washed them thoroughly, and bound them in a bundle, and went to the place where the venerable Mahâ Moggallâna was.

3. Then the venerable Mahâ Moggallâna as quickly (&c., as in § 1) vanished from the bank of the Mandâkint lake, and appeared in *Getavana*. Then that Nâga also vanished from the bank of the Mandâkint lake, and appeared in the *Getavana*. And when that Nâga had caused the venerable Mahâ Moggallâna to receive those edible stalks of the lotuses he vanished from the *Getavana*, and appeared on the shore of the Mandâkint lake.

Then the venerable Mahâ Moggallâna presented those edible stalks of the lotuses to the venerable Sâriputta. And the fever abated on the venerable Sâriputta when he had eaten the edible stalks of the lotuses. And many of them remained over.

4. Now at that time, during the scarcity (&c., as above, in chap. 18. 4, down to :) did not accept the invitation.

‘Accept it, O Bhikkhus, and eat. I allow a Bhikkhu who has eaten, and has refused food still

offered, to eat things growing in woods and ponds, even if they are not the leavings of the meal of one who has eaten¹.

21.

1. Now at that time edible fruit was very plentiful in Sāvatti, but there was no one to make it allowable². And the Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not eat of it.

They told that thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to eat fruit which has not yet had any seed in it, or which has no more seed in it, even without any one being there to make it allowable³.'

22.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Sāvatti as long as he thought fit, he went forth on his journey to Rāgagaha. And wandering straight on he arrived at Rāgagaha: and there at Rāgagaha he stayed at the Veluvana in the Kalan-daka-nivāpa.

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was suffering from fistula⁴. And the physician (named) Ākāsa-gotta lanced it. And the Blessed One when he

¹ See the note above, on VI, 18, 4.

² See above, VI, 17, 7.

³ Buddhaghosa says, *abhiṅgaṇaṃ ti taruna-phalaṃ; yassa bhiṅgaṇaṃ na ganeti. Nibbatta-bhiṅgaṇaṃ (nivatta-bhiṅgaṇaṃ) ti bhiṅgaṇaṃ nibbattetva (nivattetvā) apanetvā.*

⁴ Compare VIII, 1, 14.

was going round through the sleeping-places came to the place where that Bhikkhu dwelt.

2. Ākāsa-gotta, the physician, saw the Blessed One coming from afar; and when he saw him he said to the Blessed One: 'Let the venerable Gotama come and look at this Bhikkhu's orifice; it is like the mouth of an iguana!' And the Blessed One thinking, 'This foolish fellow is making fun of me,' kept silence and turned away. And in that connection, and on account of that, he called a meeting of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, and asked the Bhikkhus: 'Is there, O Bhikkhus, in that Vihāra a Bhikkhu who is sick?'

'There is, Lord.'

'What is the matter, O Bhikkhus, with that Bhikkhu?'

'That venerable one, Lord, has a fistula, and Ākāsa-gotta, the physician, has been lancing it.'

3. The Blessed Buddha rebuked (that Bhikkhu), saying, 'This is improper, O Bhikkhus, for that foolish one, unbecoming, indecent, unworthy of Samanas, not allowable, and ought not to be done. How can this foolish fellow, O Bhikkhus, allow a surgical operation to be performed in that part of his body¹? The skin there, O Bhikkhus, is tender, the wound is difficult to treat, the knife is difficult to guide. This will not redound, O Bhikkhus, to the conversion of the unconverted.'

And having rebuked him, the Blessed One, after delivering a religious discourse, said to the Bhikkhus: 'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to allow a surgical operation to be performed upon you in that part

¹ Sambādhe.

of your bodies. Whosoever allows that, is guilty of a *thullaḥkaya* offence.'

4. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya Bhikkhus*, since a surgical operation had been forbidden by the Blessed One, used a clyster¹.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, as they say, O Bhikkhus, that the *Kḥabbaggiya Bhikkhus* use a clyster?'

'It is true, Lord.'

He rebuked them, and having delivered a religious discourse, said to the Bhikkhus: 'No surgical operation is to be performed within a distance of two inches round the anus, and a clyster is not to be used. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a *thullaḥkaya* offence².'

23.

1. And the Blessed One, after having dwelt at Rāgagaha as long as he thought fit, went forth to Benares. Wandering from place to place he came to Benares. There the Blessed One dwelt near Benares, in the deer-park Isipatana.

At that time there were at Benares a devout layman Suppiya and a devout laywoman Suppiyā who showed their faith in both ways: they were givers and doers, and devoted themselves to the service of the fraternity. And Suppiyā, the lay-devotee, went to the Ārāma, and going around from Vihāra to Vihāra, and from cell to cell, she asked

¹ *Vatthikamma*. See Wise, 'Hindu Medicine,' pp. 143 and following.

² Surgical operations are allowed in 14. 5 and below.

the Bhikkhus: 'Who is sick, venerable Sirs? For whom, and what shall I procure?'

2. At that time a certain Bhikkhu had taken a purgative. And that Bhikkhu said to Suppiyâ, the lay-devotee: 'I have taken a purgative, sister, and I want some broth¹.'

(She replied): 'Well, reverend Sir, it shall be procured for you,'—and went to her house and gave order to a pupil²: 'Go, my good Sir, and see if there is any meat to be had³.'

That man accepted this order of Suppiyâ, the lay-devotee (by saying), 'Yes, Madam,' and searched through the whole of Benares, but did not find any meat on hand³. Then that man went to Suppiyâ, the lay-devotee; having approached her he said to Suppiyâ, the lay-devotee: 'There is no meat to be had, Madam; the killing of cattle is interdicted to-day.'

3. Then Suppiyâ, the lay-devotee, thought: 'If that sick Bhikkhu does not get the broth his sickness will increase, or he will die. It would be unbecoming indeed for me to promise something, and not to procure it;'—(thinking thus) she took a knife, cut a piece of flesh from her thigh, and gave it to her maid-servant (saying), 'Go, my girl,

¹ *Paṭikkhādaniya*. See *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, verse 468, and above, chap. 14. 7, at the end.

² Of her husband's?

³ *Pavattamamsa*, which Buddhaghosa explains, 'matassa *mam-sam*.' *Pavatta* means 'already existing,' opposed to what is brought into existence for a special purpose, and *pavattamamsa* is said here, therefore, in order to exclude *uddissa-kata-mamsa* (meat of animals killed especially for them), which Bhikkhus were not allowed to partake of (see chap. 31. 14). Compare also *pavattaphala-bhogana* at *Gātaka* I, p. 6.

and get the strength out of this meat. In such and such a Vihāra is a sick Bhikkhu; give it to that (Bhikkhu). And should anybody call for me, tell him that I am sick;’—(speaking thus), she veiled her thigh with her upper garment, went into her inner room, and lay down on her bed.

4. And Suppiya, the lay-devotee, came to his house and asked the maid-servant: ‘Where is Suppiyā?’

‘She lies in the inner room, Sir.’ Then Suppiya, the lay-devotee, went to the place where Suppiyā, the lay-devotee, was; having approached her he said to Suppiyā, the lay-devotee: ‘Why are you lying down?’

‘I am sick.’

‘What is the matter with you?’

Then Suppiyā, the lay-devotee, told the whole matter to Suppiya, the lay-devotee. And Suppiya, the lay-devotee, said: ‘Oh wonderful! oh astonishing! How believing and how pious is this Suppiyā who gives even her own flesh (to the indigent). What else can there be which she would not give?’ (Speaking thus), joyful and elated he went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him.

5. Sitting near him, Suppiya, the lay-devotee, said to the Blessed One: ‘Might the Blessed One, Lord, consent to take his meal with me to-morrow, together with the fraternity of Bhikkhus.’

The Blessed One expressed his consent by remaining silent. Then Suppiya, the lay-devotee, when he understood that the Blessed One had accepted his invitation, rose from his seat, respectfully saluted

the Blessed One, and passing round him with his right side towards him, went away.

And when the night had elapsed, Suppiya, the lay-devotee, ordered excellent food, both hard and soft, to be prepared, and had the meal-time announced to the Blessed One in the words: 'It is time, Lord, the meal is ready.' And in the forenoon the Blessed One, having put on his under-robcs, took his alms-bowl, and, with his *Āvara* on, went to the house of Suppiya, the lay-devotee. When he had arrived there, he sat down with the Bhikkhus who followed him, on seats laid out for them.

6. And Suppiya, the lay-devotee, went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he stationed himself near him. When he was standing near him, the Blessed One said to Suppiya, the lay-devotee: 'Where is Suppiyā?'

'She is sick, Lord.'

'Well, let her come here.'

'She is not able to do so, Lord.'

'Well then you must take her and carry her (to me).'

Then Suppiya, the lay-devotee, took Suppiyā, the lay-devotee, and carried her (to the Buddha). And in the moment the Blessed One saw her, that great wound was healed; and there was good skin there, with the tiny hairs thereon.

7. And Suppiya, the lay-devotee, and Suppiyā, the lay-devotee (thought): 'Oh wonderful! oh astonishing! What high power and great faculties the Tathāgata possesses, in that in the moment the Blessed One has seen (Suppiyā), that great wound has been healed; and there is good skin there,

with the tiny hairs thereon ;'—(thinking thus), joyful and elated they served and offered with their own hands excellent food, both hard and soft, to the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head. And when the Blessed One had finished his meal, and cleansed his bowl and his hands, they sat down near him. And the Blessed One, after having taught, incited, animated, and gladdened Suppiya, the lay-devotee, and Suppiyā, the lay-devotee, by religious discourse, rose from his seat and went away.

8. In consequence of that, and on this occasion, the Blessed One, having ordered the fraternity of Bhikkhus to assemble, questioned the Bhikkhus : ' Who was it, O Bhikkhus, who asked Suppiyā, the lay-devotee, for meat ?'

When he had spoken thus, that Bhikkhu said to the Blessed One : ' It is I, Lord, who asked Suppiyā, the lay-devotee, for meat.'

' Has it been brought to you, O Bhikkhu?'

' It has been brought, Lord.'

' Have you eaten it, O Bhikkhu?'

' I have eaten it, Lord.'

' And did you enquire, O Bhikkhus, (what) meat it was ?'

' Lord! I did not enquire about that.'

9. Then the blessed Buddha rebuked him : ' How can you, O foolish one, eat meat without having enquired (what it is)? It is man's flesh, O foolish one, which you have eaten. This will not do, O foolish one, for converting the unconverted,' (&c.)

Having rebuked him and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus : ' There are, O Bhikkhus, believing, pious people who give

up even their own flesh. Let no one, O Bhikkhus, eat man's flesh. He who does, commits a *thullaḥaya* (or, grave) offence. And let no one, O Bhikkhus, eat meat without having enquired (what it is). He who does, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.'

10. At that time the king's elephants died. During a famine the people ate that elephants' flesh, and when the Bhikkhus came and asked for alms, they gave them elephants' flesh. The Bhikkhus ate that elephants' flesh. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas eat elephants' flesh? Elephants are an attribute of royalty. If the king knew that, they would not be in his favour.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, eat elephants' flesh. He who does, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.'

11. At that time the king's horses died. During a famine (&c., as in § 10, down to:)

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, eat horse-flesh. He who does, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.'

12. At that time the people, during a famine, ate dogs' flesh, and when the Bhikkhus came and asked for alms, they gave them dogs' flesh. The Bhikkhus ate that dogs' flesh. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas eat dogs' flesh? Dogs are disgusting and loathsome animals.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, eat dogs' flesh. He who does, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.'

13. At that time the people, during a famine, ate serpents' flesh (&c., as in § 12, down to:) 'How can

the Sakyaputtiya Samanas eat serpents' flesh? Serpents are disgusting and loathsome animals.'

And the serpent king Supassa went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he stationed himself near him. Standing near him the serpent king Supassa said to the Blessed One: 'There are, Lord, unbelieving serpents who are disinclined (to the faith); these might do harm to the Bhikkhus even on trifling occasions. Pray, Lord, let their reverences not eat serpents' flesh. Then the Blessed One taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the serpent king Supassa by religious discourse (&c., down to:), and passing round him with his right side towards him, went away.'

In consequence of that the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, eat serpents' flesh. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

14. At that time hunters had killed a lion and eaten his flesh, and when the Bhikkhus came and asked for alms, they gave them lions' flesh. The Bhikkhus, having eaten that lions' flesh, sojourned in the forest. Then the lions, (attracted) by the smell of lions' flesh, fell upon the Bhikkhus.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, eat lions' flesh. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

15. At that time hunters had killed a tiger, &c., a panther, &c., a bear, &c., a hyena (&c., as in § 14, down to:)

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, eat a hyena's flesh. He who does, commits a dukkaṭa offence.'

24.

1. And the Blessed One, after having dwelt at Benares as long as he thought fit, went forth to Andhakavinda, accompanied by a great number of Bhikkhus, by twelve hundred and fifty Bhikkhus. At that time the people in the country, after having loaded their carts with much salt and oil and rice and hard food, followed from behind the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head (thinking), 'When our turn comes, we will make a meal for them;' and five hundred people who ate the remains of (the Bhikkhus') food (followed on their way). And the Blessed One, wandering from place to place, came to Andhakavinda.

2. Now a certain Brāhmaṇa, whose turn did not come, thought: 'Two months have elapsed while I have been following the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head, in order to make a meal for them when my turn comes, but my turn does not come. I am alone here, and many household affairs of mine are going to ruin. What if I were to look into the provision-room, and what I should not see in the provision-room, to prepare that (for the Bhikkhus)!' Then that Brāhmaṇa looked into the provision-room and did not see there two (sorts of food), rice-milk and honey-lumps.

3. And that Brāhmaṇa went to the place where the venerable Ānanda was; having approached him, he said to the venerable Ānanda: 'As my turn did not come, my dear Ānanda, I thought: "Two months have elapsed (&c., down to:). What if I were to look into the provision-room, and what I should not

see in the provision-room, to prepare that!" Thus, my dear Ānanda, I looked into the provision-room and did not see there two (sorts of food), rice-milk and honey-lumps. If I were to prepare, my dear Ānanda, rice-milk and honey-lumps (for the Bhikkhus), would the reverend Gotama accept it from me?'

'Well, my good Brāhmaṇa, I will ask the Blessed One.'

4. And the venerable Ānanda told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Well, Ānanda, let him prepare (those dishes).'

'Well, my good Brāhmaṇa, you may prepare (those dishes).'

And when the night had elapsed, that Brāhmaṇa had abundant rice-milk and honey-lumps prepared, and offered them to the Blessed One (in the words): 'May the reverend Gotama accept from me this rice-milk and honey-lumps.'

'Well, my good Brāhmaṇa, give it to the Bhikkhus.'

The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, did not accept it.

'Accept it, O Bhikkhus, and eat it.'

Then that Brāhmaṇa with his own hands served and offered abundant rice-milk and honey-lumps to the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head; and when the Blessed One had washen his hands, when he had cleansed his bowl and his hands, he sat down near him.

5. When he was seated near him, the Blessed One said to that Brāhmaṇa: 'Tenfold, O Brāhmaṇa, is the merit attached to rice-milk. In what way is it tenfold? He who gives rice-milk, gives life; he gives colour; he gives joy; he gives strength; he gives readiness of mind; rice-milk when it is drunk removes hunger; dispels thirst;

sets right the humors of the body; purifies the bladder; and promotes the digestion. This ten-fold merit, O Brāhmaṇa, is attached to rice-milk.

6. 'He who attentively at the right time gives rice-milk to the self-possessed, who live on what others give to them, will benefit them in ten ways: life and colour, joy and strength (he gives to them);—

'Readiness of mind arises from it; it dispels hunger and thirst, and sets the humors right; it purifies the bladder, and brings the food to digestion. As medicine the Perfect One has praised it.

'Therefore should rice-milk be continually given by a man who is longing for joy, who is desirous of heavenly joy, or who aspires to human prosperity.'

7. And the Blessed One, having gladdened that Brāhmaṇa by these stanzas, rose from his seat and went away.

And in consequence of this event the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse, thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, (to partake of) rice-milk and honey-lumps.'

25.

1. Now the people heard: 'The Blessed One has allowed (to the Bhikkhus to partake of) rice-milk and honey-lumps.' They prepared early in the morning solid rice-milk¹ and honey-lumps. The Bhikkhus, having satiated themselves in the

¹ *Bhogga-yāgu*, literally, eatable rice-milk, which seems opposed to the ordinary rice-milk which was drunk. *Yāgu* is the Pāli word for what is called in Anglo-Indian terminology 'congey.' *Bhogga-yāgu* is 'rice pudding made with milk.'

morning with solid rice-milk and with honey-lumps, (afterwards) did not dine in the dining-hall with good appetite. At that time a certain minister, who was but newly converted, had invited the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head for the next day. Now this newly converted minister thought: 'What if I were to prepare for these twelve hundred and fifty Bhikkhus twelve hundred and fifty dishes of meat, and offer to each Bhikkhu one dish of meat!'

2. And when that night had elapsed, that newly converted minister ordered excellent food, both hard and soft, and twelve hundred and fifty dishes of meat to be prepared, and had meal-time announced to the Blessed One in the words: 'It is time, Lord, the meal is ready.' And in the forenoon the Blessed One, having put on his under-robcs, took his alms-bowl, and, with his *ĕlvara* on, went to the house of that newly converted minister. When he had arrived there, he sat down with the Bhikkhus who followed him, on seats laid out for them.

3. Then that newly converted minister in his dining-hall waited on the Bhikkhus. The Bhikkhus said to him: 'Give us little, friend; give us little, friend.'

'Do not take little, reverend Sirs, because you think: "This minister is but newly converted." Much food, both hard and soft, has been prepared by me, and twelve hundred and fifty dishes of meat; I will offer to each Bhikkhu one dish of meat. Take, reverend Sirs, as much as you want.'

'This is not the reason, friend, for which we take little. But we have satiated ourselves in the morning with solid rice-milk and with honey-lumps; therefore we take little.'

4. And that newly converted minister was annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can their reverences, when I have invited them, partake of solid rice-milk with other people, as if I were unable to give them as much as they want.' (Thinking thus), he went around angry, displeased, and in an offensive temper, filling the bowls of the Bhikkhus (and saying), 'Eat or take it away!' And that newly converted minister served and offered with his own hands excellent food, both hard and soft, to the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head; and when the Blessed One had finished his meal and cleansed his bowl and his hands, he sat down near him. And the Blessed One, after having taught, incited, animated, and gladdened that newly converted minister, who was sitting near him, by religious discourse, rose from his seat and went away.

5. And soon after the Blessed One was gone, scruples and remorse befell that newly converted minister: 'Alas, it is evil to me, it is not good to me! Alas, it is loss to me, it is not gain to me that I went around (among the Bhikkhus) angry, displeased, and in an offensive temper, filling their bowls (and saying), "Eat or take it away!" What have I produced thereby, more merit or more demerit?'

And that newly converted minister went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him, that newly converted minister said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, soon after the Blessed One was gone, scruples and remorse have befallen me: "Alas, it is evil to me

(&c., down to:) more merit or more demerit?" Lord, what have I produced thereby, more merit or more demerit?"

6. 'The moment, friend, in which you invited the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head for the next day, that moment you acquired much merit. And the moment in which each Bhikkhu received one lump of rice from you, that moment you acquired much merit. You gained the inheritance of heaven.'

Then that newly converted minister thought: 'Oh, it is good to me! Oh, it is gain to me! I have acquired much merit! I have gained the inheritance of heaven!'—and glad and joyful he rose from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and passing round him with his right side towards him, went away.

7. In consequence of that, and on this occasion, the Blessed One, having ordered the fraternity of Bhikkhus to assemble, questioned the Bhikkhus: 'Is it true, O Bhikkhus; that the Bhikkhus, having been invited to one place, partake of solid rice-milk with other persons?'

'It is true, Lord.'

Then the blessed Buddha rebuked those Bhikkhus: 'How can these foolish persons, O Bhikkhus, having been invited to one place, partake of solid rice-milk with other persons? This will not do, O Bhikkhus, for converting the unconverted,' &c. Having rebuked them and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, when he is invited to one place, partake of solid rice-milk with other persons. He who does, is to be treated according to the law.'

26¹.

1. And the Blessed One, after having dwelt at Andhakavinda as long as he thought fit, went forth to Râgagaha, accompanied by a great number of Bhikkhus, by twelve hundred and fifty Bhikkhus. At that time *Belattha Kakkâna* was travelling on the road from Râgagaha to Andhakavinda with five hundred carts all full of pots of sugar. And the Blessed One saw *Belattha Kakkâna* coming from afar; when he saw him, he left the road, and sat down at the foot of a tree.

2. And *Belattha Kakkâna* went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he stationed himself near him. Standing near him, *Belattha Kakkâna* said to the Blessed One: 'I wish, Lord, to give to each Bhikkhu one pot of sugar.'

'Well, *Kakkâna*, bring here one pot of sugar.'

Belattha Kakkâna accepted this order of the Blessed One (by saying), 'Yes, Lord,' took one pot of sugar and went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, he said to the Blessed One: 'I have brought here, Lord, the pot of sugar; what shall I do with it, Lord?'

'Well, *Kakkâna*, give the sugar to the Bhikkhus.'

3. *Belattha Kakkâna* accepted this order of the Blessed One (by saying), 'Yes, Lord,' gave the

¹ See the 33rd Pâṭittiya Rule about parampara-bhogana (taking food in turn).

sugar to the Bhikkhus, and said to the Blessed One: 'I have given the sugar to the Bhikkhus, Lord, but there is much sugar left over; what shall I do with it, Lord?'

'Well, *Kakkāna*, give the Bhikkhus as much sugar as they want.'

Belattha Kakkāna accepted this order of the Blessed One (by saying), 'Yes, Lord,' gave the Bhikkhus as much sugar as they wanted, and said to the Blessed One: 'I have given, Lord, the Bhikkhus as much sugar as they want, but there is much sugar left over; what shall I do with it, Lord?'

'Well, *Kakkāna*, let the Bhikkhus eat their fill with sugar.'

Belattha Kakkāna accepted this order of the Blessed One (by saying), 'Yes, Lord,' and let the Bhikkhus eat their fill with sugar; some Bhikkhus filled their bowls and filled their water strainers and bags with it.

4. And *Belattha Kakkāna*, having let the Bhikkhus eat their fill with sugar, said to the Blessed One: 'The Bhikkhus, Lord, have eaten their fill with sugar, but there is much sugar left over; what shall I do with it, Lord?'

'Well, *Kakkāna*, give the sugar to the people who eat the remains of (the Bhikkhus') food,' &c.

'Well, *Kakkāna*, give the people who eat the remains of (the Bhikkhus') food as much sugar as they want,' &c.

5. 'Well, *Kakkāna*, let the people who eat the remains of (the Bhikkhus') food, eat their fill with sugar' (&c., down to:); some of the people who ate the remains of (the Bhikkhus') food, filled their

pots and jars, and filled their baskets and the folds of their dress with it.

6. And *Belattha Kakkāna*, having let the people who ate the remains of (the *Bhikkhus*′) food, eat their fill with sugar, said to the Blessed One: ‘The people, Lord, who eat the remains of (the *Bhikkhus*′) food, have eaten their fill with sugar, but there is much sugar left over; what shall I do with it, Lord?’

‘I see no one, *Kakkāna*, in the world of men and gods, in *Māra*’s and *Brahma*’s world, among all beings, *Samaras* and *Brāhmanas*, gods and men, by whom that sugar, when he has eaten it, can be fully assimilated, save by the *Tathāgata* or by a disciple of the *Tathāgata*. Therefore, *Kakkāna*, throw that sugar away at a place free from grass, or sink it into water in which there are no living things.’

Belattha Kakkāna accepted this order of the Blessed One (by saying), ‘Yes, Lord,’ and sunk that sugar into water in which there were no living things.

7. And that sugar, when thrown into the water, hissed and bubbled, and steamed, and sent forth smoke. As a ploughshare, which has been heated through the whole day and is thrown into water, hisses and bubbles, and steams, and sends forth smoke, so that sugar, when thrown into the water, hissed and bubbled, steamed, and sent forth smoke. And *Belattha Kakkāna*, terrified and having his hair erect with fear, went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him.

8. When *Belattha Kakkāna* was sitting near him,

the Blessed One preached to him in due course; that is to say, he talked about the merits obtained by alms-giving, about the duties of morality, about heaven, about the evils, the vanity, and the defilement of lusts, and about the blessings of the abandonment of lusts. When the Blessed One saw that the mind of *Belattha Kakkāna* was prepared, impressible, free from obstacles (to understanding the Truth), elated, and believing, then he preached what is the principal doctrine of the Buddhas, namely, Suffering, the Cause of suffering, the Cessation of suffering, the Path. Just as a clean cloth free from black specks properly takes the dye, thus *Belattha Kakkāna*, even while sitting there, obtained the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth (that is, the knowledge): 'Whatsoever is subject to the condition of origination is subject also to the condition of cessation.'

9. And *Belattha Kakkāna*, having seen the Truth, having mastered the Truth, having understood the Truth, having penetrated the Truth, having overcome uncertainty, having dispelled all doubts, having gained full knowledge, dependent on nobody else for the knowledge of the doctrine of the Teacher, said to the Blessed One: 'Glorious, Lord! glorious, Lord! Just as if one should set up, Lord, what had been overturned, or should reveal what had been hidden, or should point out the way to one who had lost his way, or should bring a lamp into the darkness, in order that those who had eyes might see visible things, thus has the Blessed One preached the doctrine in many ways. I take my refuge, Lord, in the Blessed One, and in the Dhamma, and in the fraternity of Bhikkhus; may

the Blessed One receive me from this day forth while my life lasts as a disciple who has taken his refuge in him.'

27.

And the Blessed One, wandering from place to place, came to Râgagaha. There the Blessed One dwelt near Râgagaha, in the Veḷuvana, at Kalanda-kaniṇvâpa. At that time the Bhikkhus at Râgagaha had plenty of sugar. The Bhikkhus feared to offend (and thought): 'The Blessed One has allowed the eating of sugar only to the sick and not to the healthy,' and therefore they did not eat sugar.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, to the sick the eating of sugar, and to the healthy the drinking of sugar-water.'

28¹.

1. And the Blessed One, after having dwelt at Râgagaha as long as he thought fit, went forth to Pâṭaligâma, accompanied by a great number of Bhikkhus, by twelve hundred and fifty Bhikkhus. Wandering from place to place the Blessed One came to Pâṭaligâma.

¹ Chaps. 28-30 are, with a few unimportant variations, word for word the same as Mahâparinibbâna Sutta I, 19-II, 3; II, 16-24. See Rh. D.'s Introduction to his translation of the Mahâparinibbâna Sutta, pp. xxxiv seq., and his note there at II, 16.

Now the lay-devotees at Pāṭaligāma heard : 'The Blessed One has arrived at Pāṭaligāma.' And the Pāṭaligāma lay-devotees went to the place where the Blessed One was ; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, they sat down near him. When they were seated near him, the Blessed One taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the Pāṭaligāma lay-devotees by religious discourse.

2. And the Pāṭaligāma lay-devotees, having been taught, incited, animated, and gladdened by the Blessed One by religious discourse, said to the Blessed One : 'Might the Blessed One, Lord, consent to come to our rest house together with the fraternity of Bhikkhus.' The Blessed One expressed his consent by remaining silent. Then the Pāṭaligāma lay-devotees, when they understood that the Blessed One had accepted their invitation, rose from their seats, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and passing round him with their right side towards him, went away to the rest house. When they had arrived there, they strewed the whole floor of the rest house¹, placed seats in it, set up a water-pot, and fixed an oil lamp. Then they went to the place where the Blessed One was ; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, they stationed themselves near him.

3. Standing near him the Pāṭaliputta lay-devotees said to the Blessed One : 'We have strewn the whole floor of the rest house, Lord, (with sand), we have placed seats in it, set up a water-pot, and

¹ Perhaps we are to supply 'with sand.' Comp. *Dīpavamsa* VI, 64 ; XII, 71, &c.

fixed an oil lamp. May the Blessed One, Lord, do now what he thinks fit.'

And in the forenoon the Blessed One, having put on his under-robcs, took his alms-bowl, and, with his *Āvara* on, went to the rest house together with the Bhikkhus who followed him. When he had arrived there, he washed his feet, entered the rest house, and took his seat against the centre pillar, with his face towards the east. And the Bhikkhus also washed their feet, entered the rest house, and took their seats against the western wall, with their faces towards the east, having the Blessed One before their eyes. And the *Pāṭaligāma* lay-devotees also washed their feet, entered the rest house, and took their seats against the eastern wall, with their faces towards the west, having the Blessed One before their eyes.

4. Then the Blessed One thus addressed the *Pāṭaligāma* lay-devotees: 'Fivefold, O householders, is the loss of the wrong-doer through his want of rectitude. And which is this fivefold loss? In the first place, O householders, the wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude, falls into great poverty through sloth; this is the first loss of the wrong-doer through his want of rectitude. And again, O householders, of the wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude, evil repute gets noised abroad; this is the second &c. And again, O householders, whatever society the wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude, enters—whether of noblemen, *Brāhmanas*, heads of houses, or *Samanas*—he enters shyly and confused; this is the third &c. And again, O householders, the wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude, is full of anxiety when he dies; this is the fourth &c. And again, O householders, the

wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude, on the dissolution of his body, after death, is reborn into some state of distress and punishment, a state of woe, and hell ; this is the fifth &c. This is the fivefold loss, O householders, of the wrong-doer through his want of rectitude.

5. 'Fivefold, O householders, is the gain of the well-doer through his practice of rectitude. And which is this fivefold gain? In the first place, O householders, the well-doer, strong in rectitude, acquires great wealth through his industry ; this is the first gain of the well-doer through his practice of rectitude. And again, O householders, of the well-doer, strong in rectitude, good reports are spread abroad ; this is the second &c. And again, O householders, whatever society the well-doer, strong in rectitude, enters—whether of noblemen, Brāhmaṇas, heads of houses, or Samānas—he enters confident and self-possessed ; this is the third &c. And again, O householders, the well-doer, strong in rectitude, dies without anxiety ; this is the fourth &c. And again, O householders, the well-doer, strong in rectitude, on the dissolution of his body, after death, is reborn into some happy state in heaven ; this is the fifth &c. This is the fivefold gain, O householders, of the well-doer through his practice of rectitude.'

6. When the Blessed One had thus taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the Pāṭaligāma lay-devotees far into the night with religious discourse, he dismissed them, saying, 'The night is far spent, O householders. May you do now what you think fit.' The Pāṭaligāma lay-devotees accepted the Blessed One's word by saying, 'Yes, Lord,' rose from their

seats, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and passing round him with their right side towards him, went away.

7. And the Blessed One, not long after the Pātali-gāma lay-devotees had departed thence, went to an empty place¹ (in order to give himself to meditation).

At that time Sunḍha and Vassakāra, two ministers of Magadha, were building a (fortified) town at Pātali-gāma in order to repel the Vaggis. And the Blessed One, rising up early in the morning, at dawn's time, saw with his divine and clear vision, surpassing that of ordinary men, great numbers of fairies who haunted the ground there at Pātali-gāma. Now, wherever ground is occupied by powerful fairies, they bend the hearts of powerful kings and ministers to build dwelling-places there. Wherever ground is occupied by fairies of middling power, &c.; of inferior power, they bend the hearts of middling kings and ministers, &c., of inferior kings and ministers to build dwelling-places there.

8. And the Blessed One said to the venerable Ānanda: 'Who are they, Ānanda, who are building a town at Pātali-gāma?'

'Sunḍha and Vassakāra, Lord, the two ministers of Magadha, are building a town at Pātali-gāma in order to repel the Vaggis.'

'As if they had consulted, Ānanda, with the Tāvātimsa gods, so (at the right place), Ānanda, the Magadha ministers Sunḍha and Vassakāra build this town at Pātali-gāma in order to repel the Vaggis. When I had risen up early in the morning, Ānanda, at dawn's time, I saw with my divine

¹ *Suññāgāra*. Comp. I, 78, 5; *Suttavibhaṅga*, Pārāg. IV, 4, 1.

and clear vision (&c., as in § 7, down to:) they bend the hearts of inferior kings and ministers to build dwelling-places there. As far, Ānanda, as Aryan people dwell, as far as merchants travel, this will become the chief town, the city of Pāṭaliputta. But danger of destruction, Ānanda, will hang over Pāṭaliputta in three ways, by fire, or by water, or by internal discord¹.

9. And the Magadha ministers Sunṭdha and Vassakāra went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, they exchanged greeting with the Blessed One; having exchanged with him greeting and complaisant words, they stationed themselves near him; then standing near him the Magadha ministers Sunṭdha and Vassakāra said to the Blessed One: 'Might the reverend Gotama consent to take his meal with us to-day together with the fraternity of Bhikkhus.'

The Blessed One expressed his consent by remaining silent. Then the Magadha ministers Sunṭdha and Vassakāra, when they understood that the Blessed One had accepted their invitation, went away.

¹ The event prophesied here, Pāṭaliputta's becoming the capital of the Magadha empire, is placed by the various authorities under different kings. Hwen Thsang and the Burmese writer quoted by Bishop Bigandet ('Legend of the Burmese Buddha,' third edition, vol. ii, p. 183) say that it was Kālāsoka who removed the seat of the empire to Pāṭaliputta. The Gains, on the other hand, state that it was Udāyi, the son of Agātasattu. Most probably the latter tradition is the correct one, as even king Munda is mentioned in the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* as having resided at Pāṭaliputta. Comp. Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Suttas,' Introd. pp. xv seq.; H. O.'s Introduction to the *Mahāvagga*, p. xxxvii; and the remarks of Professor Jacobi and of H. O. in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 185, 751, 752, note 2.

10. And the Magadha ministers Suntdha and Vassakâra ordered excellent food, both hard and soft, to be prepared, and had meal-time announced (&c.¹, down to :) on seats laid out for them. And the Magadha ministers Suntdha and Vassakâra with their own hands served and offered excellent food, both hard and soft, to the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head; and when the Blessed One had finished his meal and cleansed his bowl and his hands, they sat down near him. When they were sitting near him, the Blessed One gladdened the Magadha ministers Suntdha and Vassakâra by these stanzas :

11. 'Wheresoe'er the prudent man shall take up his abode, let him support there good and upright men of self-control.

'Let him make offerings to all such deities as may be there. Revered, they will revere him; honoured, they honour him again;

'Are gracious to him as a mother to the son of her womb. And a man who has the grace of the gods, good fortune he beholds.'

And the Blessed One, having gladdened the Magadha ministers Suntdha and Vassakâra by these stanzas, rose from his seat and went away.

12. And the Magadha ministers Suntdha and Vassakâra followed the Blessed One from behind, saying, 'The gate the Samaza Gotama goes out by to-day shall be called Gotama's gate, and the ferry at which he crosses the river Ganges shall be called Gotama's ferry.' And the gate the Blessed One went out by

¹ See chap. 23. 5, &c. Instead of 'Lord,' read here, 'Reverend Gotama.'

was called Gotama's gate. And the Blessed One went on to the river. At that time the river Ganges was brimful and overflowing¹; and wishing to cross to the opposite bank, some began to seek for boats, some for rafts of wood, while some made rafts of basket-work.

13. And the Blessed One saw those people who wished to cross to the opposite bank, some seeking for boats, some for rafts of wood, and some making rafts of basket-work. When he saw them, he vanished as quickly as a strong man might stretch his bent arm out, or draw back his outstretched arm, from this side of the river Ganges, and stood on the further bank with the company of the Bhikkhus.

And the Blessed One, perceiving all this, on this occasion, pronounced this solemn utterance :

‘They who cross the ocean's floods making a solid path across the pools—

‘Whilst the vain world ties its basket rafts : these are the wise, these are the saved indeed.’

29.

1. And the Blessed One went to Koṭigāma. There at Koṭigāma the Blessed One resided. And the Blessed One thus addressed the Bhikkhus :

‘It is through not understanding and grasping four Noble Truths, O Bhikkhus, that we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration, both you and I. And what are

¹ Samatitthikā. This word is replaced by samatīrthikā at Lal. Vist. pp. 501, 528. Compare, however, Rh. D.'s note on Teviggā Sutta I, 24 (‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 178).

these four? By not understanding and grasping the Noble Truth of Suffering, O Bhikkhus; by not understanding and grasping the Noble Truth of the Cause of suffering; by not understanding and grasping the Noble Truth of the Cessation of suffering; by not understanding and grasping the Noble Truth of the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering: thereby we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration, both you and I.

2. 'But now, O Bhikkhus, the Noble Truth of Suffering is understood and grasped; the Noble Truth of the Cause of suffering, &c., of the Cessation of suffering, &c., of the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering is understood and grasped. The craving for existence is rooted out; that which leads to renewed existence is destroyed; and there is no more birth!

'By not seeing the four Noble Truths as they really are, long is the path that is traversed through many a birth.

'Now these are grasped; the cause of birth is removed, the root of sorrow rooted out, and there is no more birth.'

30.

1. Now the courtesan Ambapālī heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Koṭigāma. And the courtesan Ambapālī ordered a number of magnificent vehicles to be made ready, mounted one of these vehicles, and left Vesālī with her magnificent vehicles in order to visit the Blessed One. She

went in the carriage as far as the ground was passable for carriages; there she alighted; and she proceeded on foot to the place where the Blessed One was. Having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, she sat down near him.

2. When she was sitting near him, the Blessed One taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the courtesan Ambapāli by religious discourse. And the courtesan Ambapāli, having been taught, &c., by the Blessed One by religious discourse, said to the Blessed One: 'Might the Blessed One, Lord, consent to take his meal with me to-morrow together with the fraternity of Bhikkhus.'

The Blessed One expressed his consent by remaining silent.

Then the courtesan Ambapāli, when she understood that the Blessed One had accepted her invitation, rose from her seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and, passing round him with her right side towards him, went away.

3. Now the *Likkhavis* of Vesāli heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Kotigāma. And the *Likkhavis* of Vesāli ordered a number of magnificent vehicles to be made ready, mounted these vehicles, and left Vesāli with their magnificent vehicles in order to visit the Blessed One. Some of the *Likkhavis* were dark, dark in colour, and wearing dark clothes and ornaments; some of them were fair, fair in colour, and wearing light clothes and ornaments; some of them were red, ruddy in colour, and wearing red clothes and ornaments; some of them were white, pale in colour, and wearing white colours and ornaments. And the courtesan Ambapāli drove up against the young

Likkhavis, pole to pole, yoke to yoke, wheel to wheel, axle to axle. [4.] And those *Likkhavis* said to the courtesan *Ambapālī*: 'How is it, *Ambapālī*, that you drive up against the young *Likkhavis*, pole to pole, &c.?'

'My Lords, I have just invited the Blessed One with the fraternity of *Bhikkhus* for their morrow's meal.'

'*Ambapālī*! give up this meal to us for a hundred thousand.'

'My Lords, were you to offer all *Vesālī* with its subject territory, I would not give up this meal.'

Then the *Likkhavis* snapped their fingers (exclaiming), 'We are outdone by this woman¹! we are out-reached by this woman¹!'

4. Then the *Likkhavis* went to the place where the Blessed One was. And the Blessed One saw the *Likkhavis* coming from afar; when he saw them, he addressed the *Bhikkhus* and said: 'O *Bhikkhus*, let those of the *Bhikkhus* who have never seen the *Tāvatisa* gods, gaze upon this company of the *Likkhavis*, behold this company of the *Likkhavis*, compare this company of the *Likkhavis*, even as a company of *Tāvatisa* gods!'

And the *Likkhavis* went in the carriages as far as the ground was passable for carriages (&c., as in §§ 1, 2, down to :) 'Might the Blessed One, Lord, consent to take his meal with us to-morrow together with the fraternity of *Bhikkhus*.'

¹ *Ambakāya*, which *Buddhaghosa* explains by *itthikāya*, comp. the well-known Mantra, *Vāgasaneyi Saṃhitā* 23. 18: *Ambe ambike 'mbālike*, &c. Probably the word *ambakā* is a contemptuous form intended here at the same time to convey an allusion to the mango-(*amba*-) gardens which *Ambapālī* possessed, and from which she was named. Comp. Rh. D.'s note at *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* II, 19.

‘I have promised, O *Likkhavis*, to dine to-morrow with Ambapālī the courtesan.’

5. And the Blessed One, after having dwelt at *Koṭigāma* as long as he thought fit, went to *Ātīkā*. There the Blessed One dwelt at *Ātīkā*, in the Brick Hall (*Giṇṇakāvasatha*). And when the night had elapsed, the courtesan Ambapālī ordered in her park excellent food (&c., as in chap. 28. 10¹, down to :) she sat down near him. Sitting near him the courtesan Ambapālī said to the Blessed One: ‘I give up this Ambapālī grove, Lord, to the fraternity of *Bhikkhus* with the Buddha at its head.’ The Blessed One accepted the *Ārāma*. Then the Blessed One, after having taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the courtesan Ambapālī by religious discourse, rose from his seat and went to the Mahāvana. There the Blessed One dwelt at Vesālī, in the Mahāvana, in the *Kūṭāgāra-sālā*.

End of the *Likkhavi Bhānavāra*.

31.

1. At that time many distinguished *Likkhavis* were sitting together assembled in the town-hall and spoke in many ways in praise of the Buddha, of the Dhamma, and of the *Samgha*. At that time *Sīha*, the general-in-chief (of the *Likkhavis*), a disciple of the *Nigantha* sect, was sitting in that assembly. And *Sīha*, the general, thought: ‘Truly

¹ Replace ‘the Magadha ministers *Sunīdha* and *Vassakāra*’ by ‘the courtesan Ambapālī,’ and instead of ‘Reverend Gotama,’ read ‘Lord.’

he, the Blessed One, must be the Arahāt Buddha, since these many distinguished *Likkhavis*, who are sitting here together assembled in the town-hall, speak in so many ways in praise of the Buddha, of the Dhamma, and of the *Samgha*. What if I were to go and visit him, the Arahāt Buddha.'

2. And *Sīha*, the general, went to the place where the *Nigantha Nātaputta*¹ was; having approached him, he said to the *Nigantha Nātaputta*: 'I wish, Lord, to go and visit the *Samana Gotama*.'

'Why should you, *Sīha*, who believe in the result of actions² (according to their moral merit), go to visit the *Samana Gotama*, who denies the result of actions? For the *Samana Gotama*, *Sīha*, denies the result of actions; he teaches the doctrine of non-action; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples.'

Then the desire to go and to visit the Blessed One, which had arisen in *Sīha*, the general, abated in him.

3. And a second time many distinguished *Likkhavis* were sitting together (&c., as in §§ 1, 2, down to the end).

And a third time many distinguished *Likkhavis* were sitting together, &c. And a third time *Sīha*, the general, thought: 'Truly he, the Blessed One, must be the Arahāt Buddha, since these many distinguished *Likkhavis*, who are sitting here together assembled in the town-hall, speak in so many ways

¹ The founder of the *Nigantha* sect, who is, according to the important discovery of Professors Bühler and Jacobi, identical with the Mahāvīra of the *Gāin* legends. See Jacobi's Preface to the *Kalpasūtra*, pp. 1 seq.

² *Kiriya-vāda*.

in praise of the Buddha, of the Dhamma, and of the *Samgha*. What are the *Niganthas* to me, whether they give their consent or not? What if I were to go without asking the *Niganthas* for their consent, to visit him, the Blessed One, the Arahāt Buddha.'

4. And Sīha, the general, went out of Vesālī with five hundred vehicles at broad daylight in order to visit the Blessed One. He went in the carriage as far as the ground was passable for carriages; there he alighted; and he proceeded on foot to the place where the Blessed One was. Having approached him, and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. When he was sitting near him, Sīha, the general, said to the Blessed One: 'I have heard, Lord, that the *Samāna* Gotama denies the result of actions; he teaches the doctrine of non-action, and in this doctrine he trains his disciples. Now, Lord, those who speak thus: "The *Samāna* Gotama denies the result of actions," &c.—do they say the truth of the Blessed One, and do they not bear false witness against the Blessed One and pass off a spurious Dhamma as your Dhamma? And there is nothing blameworthy in a discourse and dispute like this regarding matters of the Dhamma; for it is our intention, Lord, to avoid bringing false accusations against the Blessed One.'

5¹. 'There is a way, Sīha, in which one speaking truly could say of me: "The *Samāna* Gotama denies action²; he teaches the doctrine of non-action; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples."

¹ A part of the following discourse is the same as *Suttavibhaṅga*, *Pārāg.* I, 1, 3.

² 'The doctrine of non-action,' and 'the doctrine of action,'

‘And again, Sīha, there is a way in which one speaking truly could say of me : “The Samana Gotama maintains action¹; he teaches the doctrine of action; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples.”

‘And again, Sīha, there is a way in which one speaking truly could say of me : “The Samana Gotama maintains annihilation²; he teaches the doctrine of annihilation; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples.”

‘And again, Sīha, there is a way in which one speaking truly could say of me : “The Samana Gotama proclaims contemptibleness³; he teaches the doctrine of contemptibleness; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples.”

‘And again, &c. : “The Samana Gotama proclaims Vinaya⁴; he teaches the doctrine of Vinaya; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples.”

‘And again, &c. : “The Samana Gotama proclaims Tapas⁵, &c.”

‘And again, &c. : “The Samana Gotama is a pagabbha⁶; he teaches the doctrine of apagabbhatā, &c.”

taken in the ordinary sense of the words, are the doctrines that the actions of sentient beings receive not, or receive, their reward according to the law of moral retribution. In this discourse, however, a peculiar meaning is attached to these two terms; see § 6.

¹ See note 2, p. 110.

² *Ukkhedavāda* (‘the doctrine of annihilation’) is the doctrine that death is the annihilation of existence (‘*ukkhedavādā sato sattassa ukkhedam vināsam vibhavam paññāpenti.*’ *Brahmagālasutta*). But in this discourse the word is taken in a peculiar sense; comp. § 7.

³ *Gegukkhita*. See § 7.

⁴ ‘Right conduct.’ But in this discourse it is also taken in the sense of ‘putting away’ (scil. evil); see § 8.

⁵ ‘Self-mortification,’ literally, ‘burning,’ in which sense the word is taken in § 8.

⁶ *Apagabbha* (*apragabbha*) and *apagabbhatā* ordinarily mean

‘And again, &c. : “The Samana Gotama is confident¹; he teaches the doctrine of confidence, &c.”

6. ‘And in which way is it, Stha, that one speaking truly could say of me : “The Samana Gotama denies action ; he teaches the doctrine of non-action ; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples ?” I teach, Stha, the not-doing of such actions as are unrighteous, either by deed, or by word, or by thought ; I teach the not bringing about of the manifold conditions (of heart) which are evil and not good. In this way, Stha, one speaking truly could say of me : “The Samana Gotama, &c.”

‘And in which way is it, Stha, that one speaking truly could say of me : “The Samana Gotama maintains action ; he teaches the doctrine of action ; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples ?” I teach, Stha, the doing of such actions as are righteous, by deed, by word, and by thought ; I teach the bringing about of the manifold conditions (of heart) which are good and not evil. In this way, &c.”

7. ‘And in which way is it, Stha, that one speaking truly could say of me : “The Samana Gotama maintains annihilation ; he teaches the doctrine of annihilation ; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples ?” I proclaim, Stha, the annihilation of lust, of ill-will, of delusion ; I proclaim the annihilation of the manifold conditions (of heart) which are evil and not good. In this way, &c.”

‘And in which way is it, Stha, that one speaking truly could say of me : “The Samana Gotama

‘irresolute’ and ‘irresolution.’ But here the words are taken in quite another sense, with a pun that cannot be rendered in English ; see § 9.

¹ See § 9.

proclaims contemptibleness, &c.?" I deem, Siha, unrighteous actions contemptible, whether they be performed by deed, or by word, or by thought; I proclaim the doctrine of the contemptibleness of falling into the manifold conditions (of heart) which are evil and not good. In this way, &c.

8. 'And in which way is it, Siha, that one speaking truly could say of me: "The Samāṇa Gotama proclaims Vinaya, &c.?" I teach, Siha, the doing away¹ with lust, with ill-will, with delusion; I teach the doing away with the manifold conditions (of heart) which are evil and not good. In this way, &c.

'And in which way is it, Siha, that one speaking truly could say of me: "The Samāṇa Gotama proclaims Tapas, &c.?" I teach, Siha, that all the conditions (of heart) which are evil and not good, unrighteous actions by deed, by word, and by thought must be burnt away². He who has freed himself, Siha, from all conditions (of heart) which are evil and not good, which ought to be burnt away, who has rooted them out, and has done away with them as a palm tree is rooted out³, so that they are destroyed⁴ and cannot grow up again — such a

¹ Vinayāya.

² Tapanīya, connected with tapas.

³ Tālā vatthukatā. See Buddhaghosa's explanation of this phrase in Vinaya Piṭaka, vol. iii, p. 267.

⁴ Anabhāvaṃ gatā (see the correction, Vinaya Piṭaka, vol. ii, p. 363), literally, 'They are gone to non-existence.' Buddhaghosa takes great pains in explaining anabhāva; and he quotes also a various reading anubhāva; see Vinaya Piṭaka, vol. iii, p. 267. But anabhāva is correct, and must be understood as a synonym of abhāva. As to ana-, equal to a-, compare S. Goldschmidt, Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morg. Ges. vol. xxxii, pp. 100 seq.; Weber, Hāla, p. 16; Pischel's note on Hematandra II, 190; Curtius, Griechische

person do I call accomplished in Tapas. Now the Tathâgata, Sîha, has freed himself from all conditions, &c. In this way, &c.

9. 'And in which way is it, Sîha, that one speaking truly could say of me: "The Samaza Gotama is apagabbha (irresolute¹), &c.?" He who has freed himself, Sîha, from the necessity of returning in future into a mother's womb², and of being reborn into new existences, who has rooted out (his being subject to) rebirth, and has done away with it as a palm tree is rooted out, so that it is destroyed and cannot grow up again—such a person do I call apagabbha. Now the Tathâgata, Sîha, has freed himself, &c. In this way, &c.

'And in which way is it, Sîha, that one speaking truly could say of me: "The Samaza Gotama is confident, &c.?" I am confident, Sîha, by the highest confidence; and thus I teach the doctrine of confidence and train my disciples in it. In this way, &c.'

10. When he had spoken thus, Sîha, the general, said to the Blessed One: 'Glorious, Lord! glorious, Lord! (&c., as in chap. 26. 9, down to:) may the Blessed One receive me from this day forth while my life lasts as a disciple who has taken his refuge in him.'

'Consider first, Sîha, what you are doing. It is becoming that well-known persons like you should do nothing without due consideration.'

Etymologie, 5th edition, p. 306 (*ānāśvos*, &c.). Another Pāli word containing this prefix ana- is *anamata, anamatagga*; see, for instance, *Gâtaka II*, p. 56.

¹ See § 5 with our note.

² Into a 'gabbha.' 'Apagabbha' is taken here as 'not subject to returning to a gabbha.'

‘By this, Lord, my joy and my faith in the Blessed One has still increased, in that the Blessed One says to me: “Consider first, &c.” Had the other Tithiya teachers, Lord, got me as their disciple, they would carry around their banners through the whole of Vesâli (and cry): “Sîha, the general, has become our disciple!” But the Blessed One says to me: “Consider first, &c.” For the second time, Lord, I take my refuge in the Blessed One, and in the Dhamma, and in the Bhikkhu-saṃgha: may the Blessed One receive me from this day forth while my life lasts as a disciple who has taken his refuge in him.’

11. ‘For a long time, Sîha, drink has been offered to the Niganthas in your house¹. You should therefore deem it right (also in the future) to give them food when they come (to you on their alms-pilgrimage).’

‘By this, Lord, my joy and my faith in the Blessed One has still increased, in that the Blessed One says to me: “For a long time, &c.” I have been told, Lord: “The Samana Gotama says: ‘To me alone gifts should be given; to nobody else gifts should be given. To my pupils alone gifts should be given; to no one else’s pupils gifts should be given. Only what is given to me has great reward; what is given to others has not great reward. Only what is given to my pupils has great reward; what is given to the pupils of others has not great reward.’” But the Blessed One exhorts me to give also to the Niganthas. Well, Lord, we will see what will be season-

¹ Literally, ‘your house has been an opâna to the Niganthas.’ Opâna may be either avapâna or, as Buddhaghosa seems to understand it, udapâna (compare oka = udaka).

able. For the third time, Lord, I take my refuge in the Blessed One, &c.’

12. And the Blessed One preached to Siha, the general, in due course; that is to say, he talked about the merits obtained by almsgiving, about the duties of morality (&c., in the usual way; see, for instance, I, 8, 2, 3, down to :) dependent on nobody else for knowledge of the doctrine of the Teacher, he said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, may the Blessed One consent to take his meal with me to-morrow, together with the fraternity of Bhikkhus.’

The Blessed One expressed his consent by remaining silent. Then Siha, the general, when he understood that the Blessed One had accepted his invitation, rose from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and, passing round him with his right side towards him, went away.

And Siha, the general, gave order to a certain man (among his subalterns, saying), ‘Go, my friend, and see if there is any meat to be had¹.’ And when that night had elapsed, Siha, the general, ordered excellent food (&c., as in chap. 23. 5, down to the end).

13. At that time a great number of *Niganthas* (running) through Vesâli, from road to road and from cross-way to cross-way², with outstretched arms, cried: ‘To-day Siha, the general, has killed a great ox and has made a meal for the Samana Gotama; the Samana Gotama knowingly eats this meat of an animal killed for this very purpose, and has thus become virtually the author of that deed (of killing the animal)!’

Then a certain man went to the place where Siha,

¹ About pavattamansa, see the note at chap. 23. 2.

² See X, 1, 9.

the general, was. Having approached him he said to Siha, the general, into his ear: 'Please, Lord, have you noticed that a great number of *Niganthas* (running) through Vesâli, &c.?'

'Do not mind it, my good Sir. Long since those venerable brethren are trying to discredit the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the *Samgha*; and those venerable brethren do not become tired of telling false, idle, vain lies of the Blessed One. Not for our life would we ever intentionally kill a living being.'

14. And Siha, the general, served and offered with his own hands excellent food, both hard and soft, to the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head; and when the Blessed One (&c., as in chap. 23. 7, down to the end).

In consequence of that the Blessed One, having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus and said:

'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, knowingly eat meat (of an animal) killed for that purpose. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a *dukkaṭa* offence.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that fish is pure to you in three cases: if you do not see, if you have not heard, if you do not suspect (that it has been caught specially to be given to you).'

32.

1. Now at that time Vesâli was well provided with food, the harvest was good, alms were easy to obtain, one could very well get a living¹ by gleaning, or through favour.

¹ Literally, 'keep oneself going.' Compare the use of *yâpetum* at *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta* II, 32.

And when the Blessed One had retired into solitude this consideration presented itself to his mind : 'The things which I have prescribed for the Bhikkhus in a time of scarcity, when the harvest is bad, and alms are difficult to obtain—keeping food indoors, cooking it indoors, cooking it of one's own accord, taking what they can pick up, eating food brought from within, or received before meal-time, eating things found in woods or in pools¹, those things the Bhikkhus enjoy also now.'

And the Blessed One, in the evening, when he had left his solitude, said to the venerable Ānanda : 'The things which (&c., as above, down to :) or in pools—do the Bhikkhus enjoy those things now also ?'

'They enjoy them, Lord.'

2. Then the Blessed One, in that connection, and on that account, after having delivered a religious discourse, said to the Bhikkhus :

'The things which I have prescribed (&c., as in § 1, down to :) or in pools—those I do not allow from this day forth. You are not, O Bhikkhus, to eat food kept indoors, or cooked indoors, or cooked of your own accord ; nor to take things (to eat) which you have picked up. Whosoever shall do so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. And you are not, O Bhikkhus—after you have once finished eating, and have refused food still offered—to eat food brought from within, or received before meal-time, or found in the woods or pools, even if it be food which is not the leavings of the meal of one who has eaten on invitation. Whosoever shall so eat, shall be dealt with according to law².'

¹ For these rules, see above, VI, 17-19.

² See the 35th Pāṭittiya Rule, and our note upon it.

33.

1. Now at that time the country people loaded much salt, and oil, and rice, and hard food on their carts, and making a laager in the outer enclosure of the Ârâma, they waited there, saying, 'When it comes to our turn, we will provide a meal.' And a great storm-cloud arose.

Then those people went to the place where the venerable Ânanda was; and when they had come there they said to the venerable Ânanda: 'We loaded a quantity of salt, and oil, and rice, and hard food on to our carts; and they stand there. Now a great storm-cloud has arisen. What are we now, Ânanda, Sir, to do with them?'

Then the venerable Ânanda told this thing to the Blessed One.

2. 'In that case, Ânanda, let the *Samgha* decide upon some outside building as a *kappiya-bhûmi* (that is to say, a site, outside the actual dwelling, in which provisions can be kept or cooked without breaking the rule laid down in the last chapter) and keep the stores there (in a building) of any shape the *Samgha* chooses, such as *vihâra*, *addhayoga*, *pâsâda*, *hammiya*, *guhâ*¹.

'And thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be resolved upon. A discreet and able Bhikkhu should proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* appoint the *Vihâra* called N. N. to be our *kappiya-bhûmi*. This is the *ñatti*. Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me.

¹ On these five kinds of buildings, see above, I, 30, 4; II, 8, 1.

The *Samgha* appoints the *Vihāra* called N. N. to be our *kappiya-bhūmi*. Let any one of the venerable brethren who is in favour of appointing the *Vihāra* (&c., down to :) thus I understand.”’

3. Now at that time men in that place—the *kappiya-bhūmi* duly chosen by resolution (of the *Samgha*)—boiled congey, and boiled rice, and mixed curries, and cut up meat, and split fire-wood. And when the Blessed One, as the night was passing away, rose up, he heard a great and loud noise, as of the cawing of crows. On hearing this he asked the venerable Ānanda: ‘What now, Ānanda, may be this great and loud noise, as of the cawing of crows?’

4. ‘In that place, Lord,—the *kappiya-bhūmi* duly chosen by resolution (of the *Samgha*),—men are now boiling congey, and boiling rice, and mixing curries, and cutting up meat, and splitting fire-wood. Thence, Lord, comes that great and loud noise, as of the cawing of crows.’

Then the Blessed One, in that connection, and on that account, after he had delivered a religious discourse, said to the *Bhikkhus* :

‘A *kappiya-bhūmi*, O *Bhikkhus*, duly chosen, is not to be made use of. Whosoever shall so use it, is guilty of a *dukkata* offence. I allow you, O *Bhikkhus*, a *kappiya-bhūmi* of three kinds, one that has become so by means of a proclamation¹,

¹ Buddhaghosa says on this word: ‘When a *Vihāra* is to be erected on piles, or the foundations of its walls are to be dug out, and the stones on which it is to rest are already laid, then when the first pile or the first stone of the walls is put upon them, the men standing round in a body proclaim, “Let us make a *kappiya-kuṣi*.”’ The proclamation cannot be made after the building has got further than the actual stage here described. *Ussāvanā* is

an ox-stall¹, and a building belonging to laymen².'

5. Now at that time the venerable Yasoga was sick, and drugs were brought for his use, and these the Bhikkhus put out of doors. Vermin ate them, and thieves carried them away³.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use a duly chosen kappiya-bhûmi (to keep drugs in). I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a kappiya-bhûmi of four kinds, one that has become so by means of a proclamation, an ox-stall, a building belonging to laymen, and a duly chosen one.'

End of the twenty-fourth Bhāṇavāra.

34.

1. Now at that time in Bhaddiya-nagara there dwelt a householder named *Mendaka* (the Goat), who was possessed of this miraculous power: When he had bathed his head, and had had his granary swept out, he could sit outside and fill the granary

therefore from *ussāveti*, 'to proclaim;' and *antika* is used here, as below in VII, 1, 7.

¹ *Gonisādika*. Compare Buddhaghosa's explanation of *gonisādi-nivīḥo gāmo* at *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, Pār. II, 3, as given by Minayeff, 'Prātimoksha,' p. 66, lines 7, 8. Here Buddhaghosa says simply, 'There are two kinds of ox-stalls; *ârâma* ox-stalls and *vi-hâra* ox-stalls. Of these, when neither the *ârâma* nor the dwellings are fenced in (*parikkhittâni honti*), that is an *ârâma* ox-stall; when all or some of the dwellings are fenced in, and not the *ârâma*, that is a *vi-hâra* ox-stall. So both kinds depend upon the fencing in of the *ârâma*.'

² This seems to mean that stores could be kept for the *Samgha* on laymen's premises.

³ Compare above, VI, 17, 7.

by making showers of grain fall down from the sky. His wife was possessed of this miraculous power: When she sat down beside a pint¹ pot and vessel for curry and sauce she could serve the serving men with food; and so long as she did not get up, it was not exhausted. Their son was possessed of this miraculous power: He could take a bag containing a thousand², and give to each serving man six months' wages; and so long as he held it in his hand, it was not exhausted.

2. Their daughter-in-law was possessed of this miraculous power: When she sat down beside a four-bushel³ basket she could give six months' rice to the serving men; and so long as she did not get up, it was not exhausted. Their slave was possessed of this miraculous power: When he ploughed with one plough-share seven furrows were formed.

3, 4. Now the Māgadha king Seniya' Bimbisāra heard: 'In Bhaddiya-nagara in our kingdom there dwells, they say, a householder named Mendāka, who is possessed (&c., as in §§ 1, 2, down to the end).'

5. Then the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra said to a certain minister who had charge of general affairs: 'They say, good Sir, that in Bhaddiya-nagara (&c., as above). Go, good Sir, and find out about this. When you have seen it, it shall be the same as if I myself had seen it.'

'Even so, Lord,' said that minister, in assent, to the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra, and he set out for Bhaddiya-nagara with his fourfold host.

6. And proceeding straight on he came to Bhaddiya-nagara, and to the place where the householder

¹ *Aṭṭaka*. See Rh. D., 'Ancient Coins and Measures,' p. 18.

² *Ibid.* p. 9 and note 4.

³ *Doṇa*. *Ibid.* p. 18.

Mendaka was; and when he had come there, he said to the householder *Mendaka*: 'I have received command from the king, "They say, good Sir (&c., as above, § 5)." Let us behold, O householder, your miraculous power.'

Then *Mendaka* the householder bathed his head, and had his granary swept out, and sat down outside it. And showers of grain fell down from the sky and filled the granary.

'I have seen, O householder, your miraculous power. Let us see that of your wife.'

7. Then *Mendaka* the householder gave command to his wife, 'Serve then the fourfold host with food.'

And the wife of *Mendaka* the householder took her seat beside a pint pot and a vessel of sauces and curry, and served the fourfold host with food; and until she rose up it was not exhausted.

'I have seen, O householder, the miraculous power of your wife. Let us see that of your son.'

8. Then *Mendaka* the householder gave command to his son, 'Pay then, my dear boy, six months' wages to the fourfold host.'

And the son of *Mendaka* the householder took one bag containing a thousand, and paid the fourfold army six months' wages. And so long as he held it in his hand, it was not exhausted.

'I have seen, O householder, the miraculous power of your son. Let us see that of your daughter-in-law.'

9. Then *Mendaka* the householder gave command to his daughter-in-law, 'Give, then, six months' rice to the fourfold host.'

And the daughter-in-law of *Mendaka* the house-

holder sat down beside one four-bushel basket, and provided the fourfold host with six months' rice. And so long as she did not get up, it was not exhausted.

'I have seen, O householder, the miraculous power of your daughter-in-law. Let us see that of your slave.'

'The miraculous power of my slave, Sir, must be seen in the field.'

'It is enough, O householder. I have seen the miraculous power of your slave.'

Then that minister returned again to Râgagaha with his fourfold host, and went to the place where the Mâgadha king Seniya Bimbisâra was, and when he had come there he told the matter to the Mâgadha king Seniya Bimbisâra.

10. Now the Blessed One, when he had remained at Vesâli as long as he thought fit, went on his way to Bhaddiya with a great company of Bhikkhus, with one thousand two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus. And the Blessed One wandering straight on arrived at Bhaddiya. And there the Blessed One stayed in the Gâtiyâvana.

11. And Mendaka the householder heard: 'Behold, that Samana Gotama, of the Sakya clan, who left the Sakya tribe to adopt the religious life, is now arrived at Bhaddiya and is staying in the Gâtiyâvana. Now regarding that venerable Gotama, such is the high reputation that has been noised abroad that he is said to be a fully-enlightened one, blessed, and worthy, abounding in wisdom and goodness, happy, with knowledge of the worlds, unsurpassed, who guides men as a driver curbs a bullock, a teacher of gods and men, a blessed Buddha. He by himself thoroughly understands, and sees, as it

were face to face, this universe, the world with its Devas, and with its Brahmas, and with its Mâras, and all creatures, Samanas and Brâhmanas, gods and men: and he then makes that knowledge known to others. The truth doth he make known, both in the spirit and in the letter: lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation. The higher life doth he proclaim, in all its purity and all its perfectness. Blessed is the sight of Arahats like that.'

12. Then *Mendaka* the householder had a number of splendid carriages made ready, and mounting one of them he set out from Bhaddiya with the train of splendid carriages to visit the Blessed One.

And many Titthiyas saw *Mendaka* the householder as he was coming from afar; and when they had seen him, they said to *Mendaka* the householder:

'Whither, O householder, are you going?'

'I am going, Sirs, to visit the Blessed One, the Samana Gotama.'

'But why, O householder, do you, being a Kiriya-vâda, go out to visit the Blessed One who is an Akiriya-vâda? For, O householder, the Samana Gotama, who is an Akiriya-vâda, teaches Dhamma without the doctrine of action¹, and in this Dhamma he instructs his hearers.'

13. Then thought *Mendaka* the householder: 'For a certainty that Blessed One must be an Arahata Buddha: since these Titthiyas are so jealous of him.' And he went on to the place where the Blessed One was, proceeding in the carriage as far

¹ See above, VI, 31, 5.

as the ground was passable for carriages, and then dismounting from the carriage, and going on foot. And when he had come there, he bowed down before the Blessed One, and took his seat on one side.

And when he was so seated the Blessed One preached (&c., as usual, for instance, I, 8, 2, 3, down to :) 'taken his refuge in him.'

'May the Blessed One consent to take his meal, together with the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, at my house to-morrow.'

The Blessed One consented by remaining silent.

14. Then *Mendaka* the householder when he saw that the Blessed One had consented (&c., as usual, see VI, 18, 1, 2, down to :) sat down on the seat prepared for him.

15. Then the wife, and the son, and the daughter-in-law, and the slave of *Mendaka* the householder went to the place where the Blessed One was: and when they had come there they bowed down before the Blessed One and took their seats on one side.

And the Blessed One preached to them (&c., as in § 13, down to :) 'taken their refuge in him.'

16. Then *Mendaka* the householder served the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head (&c., as usual, down to :) sat down on one side.

And when he was so seated *Mendaka* the householder said to the Blessed One: 'So long as the Blessed One shall stay at Bhaddiya, so long will I provide the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head with food every day.'

Then the Blessed One gladdened (&c., as usual, down to :) the Blessed One rose from his seat, and went away.

17. Now when the Blessed One had remained

at Bhaddiya as long as he thought fit, he went on, without informing Mendaka the householder, to Aṅguttarâpa with a great company of Bhikkhus, with one thousand two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus.

And Mendaka the householder heard: 'The Blessed One, they say, has gone on to Aṅguttarâpa with (&c., down to :) Bhikkhus.' And Mendaka the householder gave command to his slaves and servants: 'Load then, my men, a quantity of salt and oil, and rice, and hard food, and come: and let one thousand two hundred and fifty cow-keepers come with one thousand two hundred and fifty cows. Wherever we find the Blessed One there will we supply him with fresh milk.'

18. And Mendaka the householder came up with the Blessed One in a desert place on the way. And Mendaka the householder went up to the place where the Blessed One was: and when he had come he stood on one side. And so standing, Mendaka the householder said to the Blessed One: 'May the Blessed One consent to take his meal (&c., as usual, down to :) 'The time has come, and the meal is ready.'

19. And the Blessed One early in the morning (&c., down to :) sat down on the seat prepared for him.

Then Mendaka the householder gave command to those thousand two hundred and fifty cow-keepers: 'Take then, my men, each of you a cow, and wait each of you upon a Bhikkhu, and provide him with fresh milk.'

And Mendaka the householder waited upon the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head with his own hand, and satisfied them with sweet food, hard and soft, and with fresh milk.

The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not take the milk :

‘Take it, Bhikkhus, and drink it.’

20. And *Mendaka* the householder, when he had waited with his own hand upon the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head, and had satisfied them with sweet food, hard and soft, and with fresh milk; and when the Blessed One had finished his meal, and had washed his hands and his bowl, took his seat on one side.

And, so sitting, *Mendaka* the householder said to the Blessed One: ‘There are desert ways, Lord, waterless and foodless, where it is not easy to travel without supplies for the journey. It would be well if the Blessed One were to allow the Bhikkhus to take supplies with them.’

Then the Blessed One gladdened (&c., as usual, down to :) rose from his seat, and went away.

21. And the Blessed One, in that connection, and on that account, after having delivered a religious discourse, said to the Bhikkhus :

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the five products of the cow ;—milk, curds, ghee, buttermilk, and butter. There are, O Bhikkhus, desert ways, waterless and foodless, where it is not easy to travel without supplies for the journey. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to provide yourselves with supplies for a journey ;—rice for him who wants rice, beans for him who wants beans¹, salt for him who wants salt, molasses for him who wants molasses, oil for him who wants oil, ghee for him who wants ghee. There are, O Bhikkhus, faithful and converted men who deposit

¹ Two kinds of beans are mentioned, *mugga* and *mâsa*.

gold with a kappiya-kâraka¹, saying, "Provide whatever is allowable for this Bhikkhu." I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to accept whatever is allowable. But I do not say by that, O Bhikkhus, that you may, on any pretext whatsoever, accept or seek for gold.'

35.

1. Now the Blessed One proceeded straight on, on his alms-pilgrimage, to *Āpāna*. And Keniya the ascetic² heard the saying, 'Behold! the Samana Gotama, who was born in the Sākya clan, and who went forth from the Sākya clan (to adopt the religious life), has arrived at *Āpāna*, and is staying at *Āpāna*. Now regarding that venerable Gotama, such is the high reputation that has been noised abroad that he is said to be a fully-enlightened one, blessed and worthy, abounding in wisdom and goodness, happy, with knowledge of the worlds, unsurpassed, who guides men as a driver curbs a bullock, a teacher of gods and men, a blessed Buddha. He by himself thoroughly understands, and sees, as it were face to face, this universe, the world with its Devas, and with its¹ Brahmas, and with its Māras, and all creatures, Samanas and Brāhmanas, gods and men: and he then makes his knowledge known to others. The truth doth he make known, both in the spirit and in the letter:

¹ See above, chap. 17. 8.

² In Pāli *Gaṇṭha*; that is, 'one with long matted hair.' See our note on *Mahāvagga* I, 15, 1; and compare also *Dīpavamsa* I, 38; *Gāṭaka* I, 15, 84; *Dhammapada*, v. 141, and the passages quoted by Professor Oldenberg in his edition of the *Kullavagga*, p. 350, and by Dr. Rhys Davids in his 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 185.

lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation. The higher life doth he proclaim, in all its purity and all its perfectness. Blessed is the sight of Arahats like that¹! And Keniya the ascetic thought: 'What now should I have taken² to the Samāna Gotama.'

2. And Keniya the ascetic thought: 'They who are the ancient *Rishis* of the Brāhmins, the authors of the sacred verses, the utterers of the sacred verses, whose ancient form of words, so uttered chaunted or composed, the Brāhmins of to-day chaunt over again and repeat, intoning or reciting exactly as had been intoned or recited—to wit, *Atthaka*, *Vāmaka*, *Vāmadeva*, *Vessāmitta*, *Yamagga*, *Āṅgīrasa*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Vāsettha*, and *Bhagu*³—they were abstainers from food at night, and abstainers from food at the wrong time, yet they used to receive such things as drinks. (3.) Now the Samāna Gotama is also an abstainer from food

¹ This is a stock phrase. Compare above VI, 34, 11, and the *Tevigga Sutta* I, 7, 46, and the passages quoted on the last by Rh. D., 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 287.

² That is, as a present, the usual tribute of respect.

³ The names of these *Rishis*, and the above phrases from 'They who' &c. downwards, recur several times in the *Tevigga Sutta*. See Rh. D., 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 172, &c. Most of these names are easily to be identified, being in Sanskrit *Vāmadeva*, *Viśvāmitra*, *Gamadagni* (who is only mentioned in this list in reference to *Rig-veda* III, 62, quoted from below. See also Oldenberg's note to *Sāṅkhāyana's Gṛhya-sūtra* IV, 10 in *Indische Studien* XV, 153), *Āṅgīrasa*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Vasishtha*, *Kasyapa*, and *Bṛigu*. The only doubtful names are *Vāmaka* and *Atthaka*. The latter must be *Ashaka*, mentioned as the author of *Rig-veda* X, 104, unless it be supposed to be a corrupt reading under which some representation of *Atri* may lurk. *Vāmaka* is the only unintelligible form, for it would be difficult to see how that word could come to stand for the *Vamra* to whom *Rig-veda* X, 99 is ascribed.

at night, an abstainer from food at the wrong time¹. It will be worthy of him too to receive such things as drinks. And when he had had a quantity of drinkables made ready he had them carried on pin-goes and went up to the place where the Blessed One was. And when he had come there, he greeted him; and after exchanging with him the greetings of friendship and civility, he stood by on one side. And so standing Keniya the ascetic spake thus to the Blessed One:

‘May the Blessed One accept at my hands these drinkables.’

‘Very good then, Keniya; give them to the Bhikkhus.’

The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not receive them.

‘Receive them, O Bhikkhus, and make use of them.’

4. Then Keniya the ascetic having, with his own hand, satisfied the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head with many drinkables until they refused any more, took his seat, when the Blessed One had washed his hands, and had laid aside the bowl, on one side. And when he was so seated the Blessed One taught and incited and aroused and gladdened Keniya the ascetic with religious discourse: and Keniya the ascetic, when he had been taught and incited and aroused and gladdened by the Blessed One with religious discourse, spake thus to the Blessed One:

‘May the venerable Gotama grant to me the privilege of providing the to-morrow’s meal for him, together with the company of the Bhikkhus.’

¹ See the eighth section of the *Kūḷa-sīla*.

grape-juice, and syrup made from the edible root of the water-lily¹, and phârusaka²-syrup. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the juice of all fruits, except the juice prepared from corn³. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, drinks prepared from all leaves, except drinks prepared from potherbs⁴. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, drinks prepared from all flowers, except liquorice-juice⁵. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of the juice of the sugar cane.'

7. And Keniya the ascetic, at the end of the night, had sweet food, both hard and soft, made ready at his hermitage: and he had the time announced to the Blessed One, saying, 'It is time, O Gotama, and the meal is ready.'

And the Blessed One, having put on his under robes early in the morning, went, duly bowled and robed, to the place where the hermitage of Keniya the ascetic was. And when he had arrived there, he sat down on the seat spread out for him, and with him the company of the Bhikkhus. Then

cannot be, as usual, seed; for there is no such thing as a palmyra fruit with one seed. See Rh. D.'s note on p. 94 of the 'Buddhist Birth Stories.'

¹ In the text read sâlûka.

² This is the *Grewia Asiatica* of Linnaeus. See Böhlingk-Roth under parûsaka.

³ Toddy and arrack are so prepared. The use of toddy was one of the famous Ten Points of the heretics at the Council of Vesâli. See below, *Kullavagga* XII, 1, 11. Buddhaghosa explains this as 'drink made from any one of the seven kinds of corn;' where the seven kinds referred to must be those mentioned in the *Abhidhâna-ppadîpikâ*, verses 450, 451.

⁴ *Dâka* = *sâka*. Compare our note below on VI, 36, 8, and *Gâtaka*, ed. Fausböll, I, 308.

⁵ *Madhuka-puppha-rasam*; *Madhuka* is the *Bassia Latifolia* of Linnaeus.

Keniya the ascetic, with his own hand, offered to the company of the Bhikkhus with the Buddha at their head, and satisfied them with the sweet food, both hard and soft. And when the Blessed One had finished his meal and had washed his hands and his bowl, he (Keniya) took his seat on one side.

8. And when he was so seated the Blessed One pronounced the benediction on Keniya the ascetic in these verses :

‘Of the offerings¹ the fire sacrifice is the chief, of sacred verses the chief is the Sâvitthi²;

‘Among men the king is chief, and of waters the ocean,

‘Of constellations the moon is chief, and of heat-givers the sun,

‘But of them, the conquering ones, who long after good, the Samgha, verily, is chief.’

And when the Blessed One had, in these verses, pronounced the benediction³ on Keniya the ascetic, he rose from his seat, and departed thence⁴.

36.

1. Now when the Blessed One had stayed at Âpâra as long as he thought fit, he went on, on his pilgrimage, to Kusinârâ, with a great company

¹ Yaññâ. Compare above, I, 22, 4, and our note there (p. 138).

² This is of course the well-known verse Rig-veda III, 62, 10. The argumentum ad hominem here is a fresh confirmation of the view already expressed above in our note on I, 15, 1, that by the Gatilas are to be understood the orthodox Brâhman ascetics.

³ Compare the Book of the Great Decease I, 31, and Gâtaka I, 119.

⁴ §§ 7, 8 recur in the Sela Sutta (Sutta Nipâta, III, 7, 21, 22), where they stand in a much more appropriate context.

of Bhikkhus, with two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus. And the Mallas of Kusinârâ heard, saying, 'The Blessed One, they say, is coming to Kusinârâ with a great company of Bhikkhus, with two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus.' And they established a compact to the effect that whosoever went not forth to welcome the Blessed One, should pay a fine of five hundred (pieces¹).

Now at that time there was a certain Malla, by name Roga, who was a friend of the venerable Ânanda's. And the Blessed One, continuing in due course his pilgrimage, arrived at Kusinârâ.

2. Then the Mallas of Kusinârâ went forth to welcome the Blessed One. And Roga the Malla, having gone forth to welcome the Blessed One, went on to the place where the venerable Ânanda was: and when he had come there, he saluted the venerable Ânanda, and stood by on one side. And to him, so standing, the venerable Ânanda spake thus:

'This is most excellent of thee, friend Roga, that thou hast come forth to welcome the Blessed One!'

'It is not I, O Ânanda, who am much moved² by the Buddha, or the Dhamma, or the Saṃgha. But by the clansmen a compact was made to the effect that whosoever went not forth to welcome the Blessed One should pay a fine of five hundred (pieces). So that it was through fear of being fined

¹ That is, the square kahâpâṇas of copper or bronze, figured in the Bârhut bas-reliefs, and mentioned in the Dhammapada. See Rh. D.'s 'Ancient Coins and Measures,' p. 4, § 5.

² Bahukato; only found in this passage. Buddhaghosa says, Nâham bhante Ânanda bahukato ti nâham Buddhâdi-gatapâsâda-bahumâṇena idhâgato ti dassetî ti. Here Buddhâdi means the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṃgha.

by my clansmen that even I went forth to welcome the Blessed One.'

Then the venerable Ānanda was filled with sorrow, thinking, 'How can Roga the Malla speak thus?'

3. And the venerable Ānanda went up to the place where the Blessed One was: and when he had come there, he saluted the Blessed One, and took his seat on one side, and so sitting the venerable Ānanda spake to the Blessed One thus:

'This Roga the Malla, Lord, is a very distinguished and well-known person. Great would be the efficacy¹ of the adherence given by well-known persons like him to this doctrine and discipline. May the Blessed One be pleased so to act, that Roga the Malla shall become devoted to this doctrine and discipline.'

'Now that, Ānanda, is not a hard thing for the Tathāgata—so to act that Roga the Malla should become devoted to this doctrine and discipline.'

4. Then the Blessed One suffused Roga the Malla with the feeling of his love², and rising from his seat he entered into his dwelling-place. And Roga the Malla, overcome by the Blessed One by the sense of his love, just as a young calf follows the kine, so did he go on from dwelling-place to dwelling-place, and from apartment to apartment, asking the Bhikkhus:

'Where then, Sirs, is that Blessed One dwelling now, the Arahāt Buddha? For we desire to visit that Blessed One, the Arahāt Buddha.'

¹ Mahiddhiyo, where, as so often elsewhere, Iddhi has no supernatural connotation. Compare the passages quoted above in our note on I, 15, 2.

² Compare Rh. D., 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 112.

‘This, friend, is his dwelling-place, the door of which is shut. Go up therefore quietly, and without crossing the threshold, enter into the verandah, and knock at the cross-bar. The Blessed One will open the door to thee.’

5. So Roga the Malla did so, and the Blessed One opened the door. And Roga the Malla entered into the dwelling-place, and saluted the Blessed One and took his seat on one side. And to Roga the Malla sitting there the Blessed One preached in due course: that is to say, he talked to him of giving; of moral conduct; of heaven; of the danger of vanity, of the corruption of lusts; and of the advantages of renunciation. When the Blessed One saw that the mind of Roga the Malla was prepared, impressible, free from obstacles to understanding the truth, elated, and believing, then he preached that which is the principal doctrine of the Buddhas, namely, Suffering, the Cause of suffering, the Cessation of suffering, and the Path. And just as a clean cloth, free from black specks, properly takes the dye, thus did Roga the Malla, even while sitting there, obtain the pure and spotless eye of the truth (that is, the knowledge that), ‘Whatsoever is subject to the condition of beginning, that is subject also to the condition of cessation.’ And Roga the Malla, having seen the truth, having mastered the truth, having understood the truth, having penetrated the truth, having overcome uncertainty, having dispelled all doubts, having gained full knowledge, dependent on no one else for knowledge of the doctrine of the Teacher, thus spake to the Blessed One:

‘May the venerable one be pleased, Lord, to

receive from me alone, and not from others, the requisites of the Order: that is to say, robes, and food, and dwelling-places, and medicine for the use of the sick.'

'Whosoever, Roga, with the knowledge of a disciple, and with the insight of a disciple¹, has perceived the Truth, even as thou hast, they also will think, "Oh! that the venerable ones would be pleased to receive from me alone, and not from others, the requisites of the order." Therefore, Roga, they shall receive them from you, indeed, but also from others.'

6. Now at that time a certain succession had been fixed, in which the inhabitants of Kusinârâ should each in succession provide food for the Samgha. And it occurred to Roga the Malla, who had not received a place in the succession, thus: 'What if I were to inspect the Samgha's storehouse, and provide whatever I found wanting in the storehouse?' And on inspecting the storehouse, he found there no potherbs, and no meal².

Then Roga the Malla went up to the place where the venerable Ânanda was, and when he had come there, he spake to the venerable Ânanda thus:

'It occurred to me (&c., as before, down to :) and no meal. If, Ânanda, I were to provide potherbs and meal, would the Blessed One accept them at my hands?'

7. The venerable Ânanda told this thing to the Blessed One.

¹ Sekhena, as opposed to asekhena. That is, with the knowledge of one who is not himself an Arahât. See our note on Mahâvagga I, 7, 13.

² See the note at the end of § 8.

‘Very good, then, Ānanda. Let him provide them.’

‘Very good, then, Roga. Provide them accordingly.’

Then Roga the Malla at the end of the night, after he had had a quantity of potherbs and meal made ready, offered them to the Blessed One, saying, ‘May the Blessed One accept at my hands the potherbs and the meal.’

‘Very good, then, Roga. Present them to the Bhikkhus.’

The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, did not accept them.

‘Accept them, O Bhikkhus, and make use of them.’

8. Then Roga the Malla, with his own hand, offered to the company of the Bhikkhus with the Buddha at their head, and satisfied them with the potherbs and the meal. And when the Blessed One had finished his meal, and had cleansed his hands and the bowl, he (Roga) took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated the Blessed One taught, and incited, and conversed, and gladdened Roga the Malla with religious discourse. And Roga the Malla, when he had been taught, &c., rose from his seat and departed thence.

And the Blessed One, on that occasion, and in that connection, when he had delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, all kinds of potherbs¹, and all kinds of meal².’

¹ *Sabbāṇ ka ṭākan* (sic) *ti sappi-ādīhi pakkam vā apakkam vā yam kiṇṇi ṭākam* (B.)

² *Piṭṭha-khādaniyan ti piṭṭhamayam khādaniyam* (B.)

37.

1. Now the Blessed One, when he had stayed at Kusinârâ as long as he thought fit, went on, on his pilgrimage to Âtumâ, with a great company of the Bhikkhus, with two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus. And at that time there was dwelling at Âtumâ a certain man, who had entered the Order in his old age, and who had previously been a barber¹. He had two sons, handsome², skilled in discourse³, able, fully educated in all the arts which belonged to the barbers' craft handed down to them by their teachers⁴.

2. Now this dotard⁵ heard the news: 'The Blessed One, they say, is coming to Âtumâ with

¹ This man is identified by the tradition with the Subhadda mentioned in the accounts of the Great Decease, and of the First Council. See Rh. D.'s note on Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta VI, 40.

² Buddhaghosa understands this word, which he reads differently, as meaning 'sweet-voiced.' Maññukâ (sic) ti madhura-vañanâ. We follow the ordinary meaning of maññu.

³ Here again Buddhaghosa gives a technical meaning to the word, unsupported by the derivation. He says, Pañibhâneyyakâ ti sake sippe pañibhâna-sampannâ. This agrees with Childers's rendering (sub voce) of Gâtaka I, 60; but compare Sigâlovâda Sutta, ed. Grimblot, p. 309.

⁴ On the idiomatic phrase sakam âkariyakam, compare Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta III, 7, 8 (text ed. Childers, pp. 24 and following).

⁵ Literally, 'this man who had gone forth (from the household state into the homeless life of the Order) in his old age.' But it is impossible to repeat this long phrase throughout the narrative as is done in the Pâli, where the meaning of the phrase is expressed by one compound. As the Pâli word vuddha-pabbagito connotes contempt, and even censure (men entering the Order in their old age being often represented as incapable of appreciating even the simplest principles of the 'doctrine and discipline'), the use of the word 'dotard' in our translation seems to retain the spirit of the Pâli epithet, while avoiding the inconvenient length of a literal version.

a great company of the Bhikkhus, with two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus.' Then that dotard spake thus to his sons: 'They say the Blessed One is coming, my children¹, to Âtumâ with a great company of Bhikkhus, with two hundred and fifty Bhikkhus. Go, therefore, my children, and taking your barbers' lad² with you, collect in quart pots from house to house, salt, and oil, and rice, and meal. And we will prepare congey for the Blessed One when he has arrived.'

3. Very good, Father, said they, and (did so). And when people saw those young men, of pleasing appearance, and skilful in discourse, so acting, then even those who were not willing to be led into joining in the act were led to join in it; and being so led, they gave abundantly. So the young men collected a great quantity of salt, and oil, and rice, and meal.

4. And the Blessed One in due course arrived in his journey at Âtumâ; and there at Âtumâ the Blessed One stayed at the Threshing-floor. And that dotard, when the night was far spent, had much congey made ready, and offered it to the Blessed One, saying, 'May the Blessed One accept the congey at my hands.'

Now the Tathâgatas sometimes ask about what they know; sometimes they do not ask about what they know. They understand the right time when to ask, and they understand the right time when not to ask. The Tathâgatas put questions full of

¹ Tâta, not tâtâ. It will be seen that Childers is wrong in supposing that the plural form is always used when more than one person is addressed.

² Khura-bhaṇḍam; not 'shaving materials;' compare hatthi-bhaṇḍo and assa-bhaṇḍo at Mahāvagga I, 61, and below, § 5.

sense, not void of sense : to what is void of sense, the bridge is pulled down for the Tathāgatas. For two purposes the blessed Buddhas put questions to the Bhikkhus—when they intend to preach the Truth, and when they intend to institute a rule of conduct to their disciples¹. And the Blessed One spake thus to that dotard, ‘Whence, O Bhikkhu, is this congey?’

Then that dotard informed the Blessed One of the whole matter.

5. The Blessed Buddha rebuked him, saying, ‘This is improper, O foolish one, not according to rule, unsuitable, unworthy of a Samana, unbecoming, and ought not to be done. How can you, O foolish one, having gone forth (from the world into the Order), instigate others to do what is unlawful. This will not conduce, O foolish one, to the conversion of the unconverted.’

And when he had rebuked him, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said : ‘One who has gone forth ought not, O Bhikkhus, to instigate others to an unlawful act². Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa. And one, O Bhikkhus, who has formerly been a barber is not to keep a barber’s boy. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

38.

1. And when the Blessed One had tarried at Ātumā as long as he thought fit, he went on his

¹ See Mahāvagga I, 31, 5.

² Unlawful, because one Bhikkhu may not beg for others, and it is unlawful for those others to accept things thus procured.

journey towards Sâvatthi. And in due course, journeying straight on, he arrived at Sâvatthi, and there, at Sâvatthi, the Blessed One stayed in the Ārama of Anâtha-pindika.

Now at that time there was in Sâvatthi great abundance of solid food in the shape of fruits. And the question arose among the Bhikkhus, 'Has, now, the Blessed One permitted the use of fruits as solid food, or has he not?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, all solid food in the shape of fruits.'

39.

1. Now at that time, seedlings belonging to the Samgha grew upon private ground, and seedlings belonging to private persons grew upon ground which was the property of the Samgha.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Of seedlings belonging to the Samgha, grown upon private ground, half the produce, O Bhikkhus, you may have, when you have given a part to the private owner. Of seedlings belonging to a private person, grown upon ground the property of the Samgha, you may have the use, when you have given a part to the private owner¹.'

40.

1. Now at that time there used to arise among the Bhikkhus a fear lest they should offend in

¹ Buddhaghosa explains the 'part' (bhâgam) as the twelfth part, which, he says, is in accordance with the ancient custom of India. Used absolutely, as in this passage, bhâga usually means 'half.'

some particular or other, they thinking, 'Has this been permitted by the Blessed One, or has it not?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Whatsoever, O Bhikkhus, has not been disallowed by me in the words, "This beseems you not," then, if that thing is in accord with what is unlawful, and is contrary to what is lawful, that is not lawful. Whatsoever has not been disallowed by me with the words, "This beseems you not," then, if that thing is in accord with what is lawful, and is contrary to what is unlawful, that is lawful.'

'And whatsoever, O Bhikkhus, has not been allowed by me with the words, "This beseems you," then, if that thing is in accord with what is lawful, and is contrary to what is unlawful, that is not lawful. Whatsoever has not been allowed by me with the words, "This beseems you," then, if that thing is in accord with what is lawful, and is contrary to what is unlawful, that is lawful¹.'

2. Then the Bhikkhus thought: 'Is food that may be eaten till the first watch of the night² lawful, or not, when mixed with food that ought to be eaten before noon on the same day? Is food that may be eaten at any time within seven days³ lawful, or not, when mixed with food that ought to be eaten before noon on the same day? Is food that may be eaten at any time during life⁴ lawful, or not, when mixed with food that ought to be eaten

¹ The formal expressions referred to in these two paragraphs are precisely the expressions to which, in the Book of the Great Decease VI, 40, and in the *Kullavagga* XI, 1, 1, Subhadda is stated to have taken such serious objection.

² This refers to certain medicines; see *Mahāvagga* VI, 1, 5.

³ This also refers to certain medicines; see the 23rd *Nissaggiya*.

⁴ What this refers to is unknown to us.

before noon on the same day? Is food that may be eaten at any time within seven days lawful, or not, when mixed with food that may be eaten at any time during life? Is food that may be eaten at any time during life lawful, or not, when mixed with food that may be eaten at any time within seven days?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

3. ‘Food that may be eaten up to the first watch of the night, or food that may be eaten at any time within seven days, or food that may be eaten at any time during life, is lawful, O Bhikkhus, when mixed with food that ought to be eaten before noon on the same day, up till noon-time, and it is not lawful after noon-time. Food that may be eaten at any time within seven days, or food that may be eaten at any time during life, is lawful, O Bhikkhus,—when it has been mixed with food that may be eaten up to the first watch of the night,—up till the first watch of the night, and is not lawful after the first watch of the night. Food that may be eaten at any time during life, is lawful, O Bhikkhus,—when it has been mixed with food that may be eaten at any time within seven days,—at any time within seven days, and is not lawful beyond seven days¹.’

Here ends the sixth Khandhaka on Medicaments.

¹ Buddhaghosa says that this holds good if the two are so mixed that the taste (*rasu*) has become one (*sambhinna*). If the two are not so mixed, then they may be divided, and the part allowable during the longer period may be enjoyed up to the end of that period. See I, 20, 9; V, 2, 1; VI, 16, 3; VIII, 1, 24, and the notes there.

SEVENTH KHANDHAKA.

(THE KATHINA CEREMONIES.)

1.

1. Now at that time the Blessed One was staying at Sāvattthi, in the *Getavana*, Anāthapindika's Grove. And at that time about thirty Pātheyyaka Bhikkhus¹,

¹ Buddhaghosa says, 'Pātheyya (the Berlin MS. reads Pāveyya) is the name of a kingdom situated to the west of the Kosala country. This passage refers to Bhikkhus who dwelt there. The Bhattavaggiya Theras (so the Berlin MS.; query Satta-vaggiya), who were brothers of the Kosala king, sons of the same father, are here alluded to.'

But with which of the many kingdoms 'to the west of the Kosala country' are we to identify Pātheyya? The word does not occur in the stock list, found in different parts of the Pāli Piṭakas, of the sixteen Mahā-ganapadā; that is to say, Aṅga, Magadha, Kāśi, Kosala, Vaggi, Malla, Ketiya, Vamsa, Kuru, Pañṭāla, Maṭṭha, Sūrasena, Assaka, Avanti, Gandhāra, Kamboga. The account of the Council at Vesālī gives us a hint as to the right answer to the above question; for the Thera Sambhūta, who took part in that Council, is called a Pātheyyaka in *Kullavagga* XII, 2, 7, and is also said at *Kullavagga* XII, 1, 8 to have lived Ahogaṅge Pabbate. The position of this hill is further described in the *Mahāvamsa* as being on the upper Ganges—uddhagaṅgāya . . . Ahogaṅgami pabbate (p. 39, ed. Turnour). Then again in *Kullavagga* XII, 1, 7 the Thera Yasa, when wishing to put himself in communication with the Bhikkhus in Pātheyya and in other places, goes to Kosambī as the most convenient meeting-place for Bhikkhus coming from the East. The other places mentioned in that passage in juxta-position with Pātheyya would seem to show that Pātheyya, with Pāṭṭina, Avanti, and Dakkhināpatha, is one of the principal divisions into which India, as then known, was divided; and that it includes most, if not all, of the great westerly kingdoms of

who were all dwellers in the forest, all living on alms, all dressed in rags from the dust heap, all having only three robes each, when they were on the way to Sāvatti to visit the Blessed One, at the time when the period for entering upon Vassa was at hand, were unable to reach Sāvatti in time to spend the Vassa there, and stayed at Sāketa on the way for the Vassa. And they spent the period of Vassa in discomfort, thinking, 'Our Blessed One is staying near us, six leagues from here, and we are not able to visit the Blessed One.'

And when, after three months, those Bhikkhus had completed their Vassa residence, and had held their Pavāraṇā, they went on to the place where the Blessed One was, at Sāvatti, in the Getavana, Anāthapiṇḍika's Grove, while the rain was falling, and the waters were gathering¹, and the swamps were forming, and their robes were all drenched, and they were weary. And when they had arrived, they saluted the Blessed One, and took their seats on one side.

2. Now it is the custom of the blessed Buddhas to greet kindly Bhikkhus who have just arrived. And the Blessed One said to those Bhikkhus²:

'Do things go well with you, O Bhikkhus? Do

Kuru, Pañkāla, &c., which are the last eight of the sixteen kingdoms in the stock list above referred to. Probably the literal meaning of Pāṭheyya is 'western' (Sans. *pratyāñk*). In the Suttavibhaṅga (Pāṭittiya 34) merchants are mentioned who are travelling from Rāgagaha to the Paṭiyāloka, which must mean 'the western country,' just as Paṭiyārāma (Dīpav. 17, 11) means 'the western Ārāma.'

¹ Udaka-saṃgahe 'ti udakena saṃgaḥite ghaṭite samsaṭṭhe thale ka minne ka ekodakibhūte 'ti attho (B.).

² Compare IV, 1, 8, and foll.

you get enough to support yourselves with? Have you kept Vassa well, in unity, and in concord, and without quarrel, and have you not suffered from want of food?’

‘Things go well with us, Lord; we get enough to support ourselves with, Lord; we have kept Vassa, Lord, in unity, and in concord, and without quarrel, and have not suffered from want of food. When we were on our way, Lord, about thirty *Pātheyyaka* Bhikkhus, to Sāvatti to visit the Blessed One, we were unable to reach Sāvatti in time (&c., as in § 1, down to:). And when, after three months, Lord, we had completed our Vassa residence, and had held our Pavāraṇā, we have made our way, while the rain was falling, and the waters were gathering, and the swamps were forming; and our robes were all drenched; and we have become weary.’

3. Then the Blessed One in that connection, having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said¹:

¹ As has been remarked in a previous note (to the first Nissaggiya Pāṭittiya Rule) some of the details of these *Kaṭhina* ordinances are at present difficult to understand. But the general meaning of them is already clear. Immediately after the Pavāraṇā, the ceremony by which the Vassa residence is closed, there follows a distribution of the robes belonging to the local *Samgha*, (that is, the portion of the Order dwelling within one boundary,) to the particular Bhikkhus composing the *Samgha*. This distribution commences with the *kaṭhin-atthāra*, *atthāra*, ‘spreading out,’ not being used here literally for spreading out on the ground or otherwise, but in a secondary, juristic sense. And the act performed receives the technical name *atthāra* by a process of putting a part for the whole, the spreading out in the sun (see our note, p. 18) for the whole ceremony. We translate the term according to the context, sometimes by ‘spreading out,’ sometimes by ‘ceremony,’ sometimes by ‘dedication.’

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the Kathina ceremony shall be performed by Bhikkhus when

The Kathina, literally ‘hard,’ is the stock of cotton cloth provided by the faithful to be made up into robes for the use of the Samgha during the ensuing year. The whole of this cotton cloth must be dyed, sewn together, and made into robes, and then formally declared to be (not only common property, Samghika, but) available for immediate distribution—all on one and the same day. The object of this was that the Samgha, or at least a quorum of the Samgha, being able to be present throughout, there would be less chance of any mistake by which what was intended equally for all might come to be unequally divided among a few. All the Brethren who have kept their Vassa within the limits of the district within which the particular Samgha lives (and therefore technically called an *āvāsa*, ‘residence’), and who have taken part in the Pavāraṇā, are entitled to share in the distribution.

(Buddhaghosa says, ‘*Ettha kathinatthāram ke labhanti ke na labhanti. Gaṇavasena tāva paṭṭhima-koṣyā pañka ganā* (for at least five must be present to make a Pavāraṇā legal, Mahāvagga IX, 4, 1) . . . *vutthavassavasena purimikāya vassam upagantivā paṭhama-pavāraṇāya pavāritā labhanti.*’)

There can of course be no kaṭṭhin-atthāra if there is no kaṭṭhina; and, under certain restrictions laid down in the Nissaggiya Pāṭittiya Rules, laymen were allowed to give robes for the special use of a particular Bhikkhu. If, however, a layman was desirous of giving the much more meritorious gift of a Kathina to the whole community, then he is to present the cloth in the early morning to a properly constituted meeting of the Samgha, and the Kathina ceremony has to be gone through. All the Brethren living within the boundary have to be present, and to take part in the work of making the cotton cloth up into robes; and if there is any danger of the work not being concluded before the day is over, even the most senior Bhikkhus, or the most revered for their learning or insight, must lend a hand. Then follows the distribution so far only as is set forth in the next section (§ 4) and in the note to it.

Now it would often happen that, at the end of the rainy season of Vassa, the last year’s robes of some of the Bhikkhus would be worn out. And yet no laymen would come forward to give a Kathina until some time after the Vassa residence had closed. But

they have completed their Vassa. And five things are allowable to you, O Bhikkhus, after the *Kaṭhina* ceremony has been held—going for alms to the houses of people who have not invited you¹, going

if any one did offer a *Kaṭhina*, and the ceremony was duly performed, then each Bhikkhu had a right to supply his actual needs from the robes made out of the *Kaṭhina*. He need not do so at once. His want might not be pressing, or might not even arise till afterwards. During such an interval the five privileges (*Ānisaṃsā*) mentioned in this section (§ 3) are accorded to the Bhikkhus, though they would be against the rules in force during the rest of the year.

But if the Bhikkhu kept on postponing his choice would the privileges accorded by this section hold good even during the whole year? Could the Bhikkhu, by his mere abstention, thus bring about a practical abrogation of the general rules? Not so, for the five privileges are in their turn suspended by any one of the eight things mentioned below in § 7.

We may add that at the present time in Burma and Ceylon, the robes for the Bhikkhus are usually provided in accordance with the rules regulating gifts to particular Bhikkhus. But the gift of a *Kaṭhina* is still by no means uncommon. See Spence Hardy's 'Eastern Monachism,' pp. 121 and foll. There is probably, however, very seldom any necessity for the Bhikkhus to avail themselves of any of the five privileges, except the last.

¹ This privilege is one of the exceptions allowed, in the *Pāṭimokkha*, to the 46th *Pāṭittiya*. Bhikkhus were allowed, as a general rule, to pass through a village, with their alms-bowls in their hands, in order to give any disciple who wished to do so the opportunity of giving them food. (To describe this procedure by our word 'begging,' as is so often done, is, to say the least, misleading.) The 46th *Pāṭittiya* lays down, in certain circumstances, a restriction on this general rule. The present section removes that restriction during the period of *Kaṭhin-atthāra*; in order, according to Buddhaghosa (see the note on *Pāṭ.* 46), to prevent the stock of robes falling short. That is, apparently, with the hope that a freer intercourse than usual between Bhikkhus and laity might lead to a gift of a *Kaṭhina* when it was urgently required.

Here Buddhaghosa says simply, '*Anāmanta-kāro 'ti yāva kaṭhinam na uddharyati tāva anāmantetvā.*' *Āmanteti* must be equal to *āpuṭṭhati*. Compare Böhtlingk-Roth under *āmantrana*.

for alms without wearing the usual set of three robes¹, going for alms in a body of four or more², possessing as many robes as are wanted³, and whatever number of robes shall have come to hand, that shall belong to them (that is, to the Bhikkhus entitled, by residence and otherwise, to share in the distribution⁴).

‘And thus, O Bhikkhus, is the Kathina to be dedicated.

4. ‘Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim

¹ This privilege is granted as a relaxation of the 2nd Nissaggiya. Buddhaghosa says, ‘Asamâdâna-kâro ‘ti ti-kivaram asamâdâya karanam kivaravippavâso kappissattti attho.’ Compare Mahâvagga VIII, 23, 3. It will be seen that the wording of the Pâtimokkha Rule is not inconsistent with the rule laid down here.

² This is a relaxation of the 3rd Pâkittiya, and is mentioned in that rule.

³ This would seem to be a relaxation of the 1st Pâkittiya. Though it is not referred to there in terms, it is implied in the clause by which the operation of the rule is postponed till after the Kathina has been ‘taken up,’ i. e. till each Bhikkhu has actually received his share, or otherwise lost his claim to it. Till that has taken place, a Bhikkhu may use (temporarily, and without actually appropriating them) as many robes as he likes. B. says, ‘Yâvadattha-kivaran ti yâvatâ kivarena attho tâvatakam anadhihitam avikkappitam (compare Sutta-vibhaṅga Niss. I, 3, 1) kappissattti attho.’

⁴ That is, according to Buddhaghosa, either those belonging to a Bhikkhu who has died, or those belonging to the Saṅgha in any way. This shows that at the division not only the robes made out of the gift of a Kathina were to be included, but whatever robes had not been given as intended specially for some one Bhikkhu. As to the actual practice now in Ceylon, compare Spence Hardy, loc. cit. Buddhaghosa says here: ‘Yo ka tattha kivar-uppâdo tattha kathinatthata-simâya mataka-kivaram vâ hotu samgham uddissa dinnam vâ samghikena tat’ uppâdena âbhatam vâ yena kenâti âkârena yam samghikam kivaravippavâso kappissattti attho.’ The use of the pronoun *nesam* at the end of the rule is awkward, following after *vo*; but the meaning as translated is not open to doubt.

the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: "This *Kathina*-cloth has become the property of the *Samgha*. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* hand over the *Kathina*-cloth to such and such a *Bhikkhu* to spread out the *Kathina*. This is the *ñatti*. Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. This *Kathina*-cloth has become the property of the *Samgha*. The *Samgha* hands it over to such and such a *Bhikkhu* to spread out the *Kathina*. If the *Samgha* approves of the handing over of the *Kathina* to such and such a *Bhikkhu* for spreading it out, let it remain silent. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore does it remain silent. Thus I understand¹."

5. 'Now thus, O *Bhikkhus*, has the *Kathina* ceremony been duly held; and thus has it not been duly held².

¹ This formula is one of those included in the collection entitled *Kammavâkam*. It appears from Minayeff (*Prâtimoksha*, pp. 75, 76) that the *Bhikkhu* so appointed superintends the processes of dyeing, sewing, &c. When the new robes are ready for wear, he lays aside one of his old robes which has been worn out (*paṭṭakuddharitvâ*), and chooses for himself one of the new ones (*navam adhiṭṭhahitvâ*), saying as he does so, 'imâya samghâṇiyâ (or, as the case may be, *uttarâsaṅgena, antaravâsakena*) *kaṭṭhinam attharâmi*.' This speech shows the technical application of the verb *attharati* in this connection. He then points out the remaining robes to the *Bhikkhus* there present, specifying which he thinks fit for the elder, and which for the younger members of the Order (*Theras* and *Navakas*); but not assigning further any particular robes to particular *Bhikkhus*. Finally he calls upon the *Samgha* for their formal approval of his procedure (compare the closing words of §§ 5, 6). But when they have given it, the distribution is not at an end. The time has only come when each of the *Bhikkhus* can transmute his claim to an undivided share into the actual possession of a divided share. Until he does so, the *Kathina* privileges set out in § 3 are allowed to him.

² The formal permission to each *Bhikkhu* to take his share is

‘When, O Bhikkhus, has it not been duly held?’

‘The *Kathina* ceremony has not been duly held when the stuff has only been marked (for the purposes of measurement)¹: when it has only been washed: when it has only been calculated (to see how many robes it will make): when it has only been cut out: when it has only been pieced together²: when it has only been sewn in lengths³: when it has only been marked⁴: when it has only been made strong (in the seams)⁵: when it has only

not completed by any one of the following acts having been performed. The technical terms of the tailor’s craft are, as will be seen, by no means easy to follow.

¹ Ullikhita-mattenâ ‘ti dighato *ka* puthulato *ka* pamâna-gahana-mattena. Pamânam hi ganhanto tassa tassa padesassa saṅgānanattham nakhâdhi vâ parikkhedam dassento ullikhati, nalâ-âdisu vâ ghamasati. Tasmâ tam pamâna-gahanam ullikhita-mattan ti vuṭṭati (B.).

² Bandhana-mattenâ ‘ti mogha-suttak-âropana-mattena (B.). Mogha-suttakâni, ‘false threads,’ are threads put in the cloth to show where it is to be cut or sewn. See Buddhaghosa on *Kullavagga* V, 11, 3 (p. 317 of H. O.’s edition). Our clause therefore means temporarily pieced together as the commencement of the tailoring work.

³ Ovaṭṭiya (sic) -karana-mattenâ ‘ti mogha-suttakânusârena digha-sibbita-mattena (B.). Sewn in lengths along the lines of the false threads mentioned in the last note. The word occurs also in *Mahāvagga* VIII, 14, 2; and in *Kullavagga* V, 1, 2 we are told that the *Kṛhbaggiya* Bhikkhus ovaṭṭikam dhārenti. Buddhaghosa says there *vigghita-karanam ovaṭṭikā*.

⁴ By joining on a little piece of cloth. *Kandusa-karana-mattenâ ‘ti muddiya-paṭṭa-bandhana-mattena*, says Buddhaghosa.

⁵ Daḥhi-karana-mattenâ ‘ti dve kimilikāyo (MS. *kimilikāyo*) ekato katvâ sibbita-mattena: athavâ paḥama-kimilikā ghaṭṭetvâ ṭhapitâ hoti, *kathina-sātakam* tassâ kukkhi-kimilikam katvâ sappita- (read sibbita-) mattenâ ‘ti pi attho. *Mahâ-pakkariyam* pakati-kivarassa upassaya-dānenâ ‘ti vuttam. *Kurundiyam* pakati-paḥa-kivaram dupaṭṭam kâtuṃ kukkhi-kimilikam alliyâpana-mattenâ ‘ti vuttam (B.). On *kimilikā* compare Minayeff’s ‘Prātimoksha,’ p. 87.

been strengthened by a braid¹ or by a binding² along the back, or by being doubled in parts³: when it has only been put into the dye⁴: when the decision (by the presiding Bhikkhu, as to which robes he will take for himself) has been made (but not been carried out⁵): when there has been talk (about the merit acquired by presenting the *Samgha* with cloth, and the donor has been induced thereby to show his liberality⁶): when the gift is only a temporary one⁷: when the ceremony has been postponed⁸:

¹ Anuvāta-karāṇa-mattenā 'ti piṭṭhi-anuvāta-āropana-mattena (B.). Compare VIII, 21, 1.

² Paribhanda-karāṇa-mattenā 'ti kukkhi-anuvāta-āropana-mattena (B.). Compare VIII, 21, 1.

³ Ovattḥeyya (sic) -karāṇa-mattenā 'ti āgantuka-paṭṭi-āropana-mattena: kaṭhina-kīvarato vā paṭṭam gahetvā aññasim akāṭhina-kīvare paṭṭi-āropana-mattena (B.).

⁴ Kambala-maddana-mattenā 'ti ekavāram yeva ragane pakkhittena danta-vannena pandu-palāsa-vannena vā: saṭe pana sakim vā dvikkhattum vā rattam (MS. rattum) pi saruppaṃ hoti vattati (B.).

⁵ Or perhaps, according to some commentators, when it has been decided to accept the gift as a *Kaṭhina*, that is, when it has been decided that the cloth is of a suitable kind to make robes out of. Buddhaghosa says: Nimitta-katenā 'ti iminā dussena kaṭhinam attharissāmiti evaṃ nimittakatenā. Ettakam eva Parivāre vuttam. Attakathāsu pana ayam sātako sundaro, sakkā iminā kaṭhinam attharittuṃ ti evaṃ nimittakatam katvā laddhenā 'ti attho. Compare below, § 6, for this and the two following words, the meaning of which is very doubtful.

⁶ Buddhaghosa: Parikathā-katenā 'ti kaṭhinam nāma dātum vaṭṭati, kaṭhina-dāyako bahu-puññaṃ pasavatīti evaṃ parikathāya uppaditena. Kaṭhinam nāma ati-ukkatham vaṭṭati: mātaram pi na viññāpetum vaṭṭati: ākāśato oṭṭina-sadisam eva vaṭṭati.

⁷ Buddhaghosa simply says: kukku-katenā 'ti tāvakālikena. The last word means 'only for a time, temporary, on loan'; see *Gāṭaka* I, 121, 393, and *Kullavagga* X, 16, 1; but the explanation is not clear. According to the *Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā* kukku is a measure of length.

⁸ Sannidhi-katenā 'ti ettha duvidho sannidhi; karāṇa-sannidhi

when the ceremony has had to be abandoned (because it has lasted through the night)¹: when the ceremony has fallen through (from other causes)²: when (in the formal choice by the presiding Bhikkhu) the upper robes have been left out, or the under robes, or the waist-cloths: when any one of the five parts of the robe have been omitted in the cutting out³: when the ceremony has been presided over by more than one Bhikkhu⁴. And even when the Kathina ceremony has (otherwise) been normally performed, if (the Samgha) ratifying the distribution, be other than the (whole Samgha) dwelling within the boundary, then also the Kathina ceremony has not been duly held⁵.

'In these cases, O Bhikkhus, the Kathina ceremony has not been duly held.

6. 'And when, O Bhikkhus, has the Kathina ceremony been duly held?'

'When the robes have been made out of new

ka nīṭaya-sannidhi ka. Tattha tadah' eva akatvā ṭhapetvā karanam karana-sannidhi; samgho agga kathina-dussam labhitvā puna-divase deti ayam nīṭaya-sannidhi (B.).

¹ Nissaggiyenā 'ti ratti-nissaggiyena. Parivāre pi, vuttam nissaggiyam nāma kayiramāne arunam udriyatṭi (B.).

² Akappa-katenā 'ti anādinna-kappa-bindhunā (B.), which we do not understand. Perhaps we should read bindunā.

³ Aññatra paññakena vā atireka-paññakena vā 'ti pañña vā atirekāni vā khandāni katvā mahā-maṇḍala-addha-maṇḍalāni das-setvā katen' eva vattati. Evam hi samandali-katam hoti. Tam ṭhapetvā aññena akkhinnakena vā dvi-tti-katu-khandena vā na vattati (B.). On these five parts of the robe compare below, Mahāvagga VIII, 12, 2.

⁴ Aññatra puggalassa atthārā 'ti puggalassa atthāram ṭhapetvā na aññena samghassa vā ganassa vā atthārena atthatam hoti (B.). The official 'distributor' (atthāraka) must be a single person, not a gana, or the Samgha.

⁵ See the note on § 4, and below, VIII, 23.

cotton-cloth, or as good as new, or out of cloth¹, or out of (rags) taken from the dust-heap², or out of odd bits picked up in the bazaar³: when the decision (by the presiding Bhikkhu as to which robes he will take for himself) has not (merely) been made (but carried out): when there has been no talk about (the merit acquired by offering a *Kaṭhina*): when the gift is not merely a temporary one: when the ceremony has not been postponed: when it has not been necessary to abandon the ceremony: when the ceremony has not fallen through: when (in the choice made by the presiding Bhikkhu) the upper robes have not been left out, nor the under robes, nor the waist-cloths: when not one of the five parts of the robe have been omitted in the cutting out: when (the ceremony has been presided over) by one Bhikkhu. And also when, after the *Kaṭhina* ceremony has been (otherwise) normally performed, the ratification has been given by the (whole *Samgha*) dwelling within the boundary.

‘In these cases, O Bhikkhus, the *Kaṭhina* ceremony has been duly held.’

2⁴.

1. 7. ‘Now when, O Bhikkhus, is the *Kaṭhina* (that is to say, the privileges allowed after the *Kaṭhina* ceremony) suspended?’

¹ *Piloṣikāyā* ‘ti hata-vatthaka-sāḥakena (B.).

² *Pamsukulenā* ‘ti te-visatīyā khettesu uppanna-pamsukulena.

³ *Pāpānikenā* ‘ti āpana-dvāre patita-piloṣikam gahetvā *kaṭhin*-athāya deti, tenāpi vaṭṭatīti attho (B.). Compare VIII, 14, 2.

⁴ The new chapter should have begun here, and not with the next section as printed in the text.

‘ There are, O Bhikkhus, these eight grounds¹ for the suspension of the *Kathina* (privileges)²—the ground depending on (the Bhikkhus) having gone away, on (his robe being ready) finished, on his resolve (not to have it finished), on (his robe) having been destroyed, on his having heard (of the general suspension of the privileges of the whole *Samgha*), on the lapse of expectation (that a special gift of a robe would be made to him), on his having gone beyond the boundary (of the *Samgha* to whom the *Kathina* was given), on the common suspension (of the *Kathina* privileges of the whole *Samgha*).

¹ *Mâtikâ* ‘ti *mâtaro ganettiyo* ‘ti *attho* (B.). So also in VIII, 14.

² The discussion of these eight grounds of the suspension of the five *Kathina* privileges is closely connected with the description in the 13th chapter of the two so-called *Palibodhas*. *Palibodha* seems to mean the continued existence of a claim on the Bhikkhu’s side to a share in the distribution of the *Kathina*. Two conditions are necessary to the validity of this claim; the first touching the Bhikkhu’s domicile (*âvâsa*), the second the state of his wardrobe (*âvara*). He must remain within the boundary (*simâ*) of the *Samgha* to whom the *Kathina* has been given; or if he has left it, then he must have the intention of returning, the *animus reverendi*. And secondly, he must be in actual want of robes. If either of these conditions fail, then the Bhikkhu is *apalibodha* in respect of the *âvâsa* or the *âvara* respectively. If he is *apalibodha* in both respects, then there follows the suspension of the *Kathina* privileges, the *kañhin-uddhâra*, or *kañhin-ubbhâra*, so far as he is concerned.

So the eight grounds of the suspension of the privileges referred to in our present section (chap. 1. 7) either refer to the Bhikkhu’s domicile or to the state of his robes, or to ways in which his case falls within the general suspension of privileges of the whole *Samgha*. Each of the eight cases is explained in detail in the following sections, except the sixth ground, which is specially treated of afterwards in chapters 8 and 9. See the note on the title at the end of this chapter, and compare further our note on the first *Nissaggiya Pâkittiya*.

2. 1. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kaṭṭhina* ceremony has been held¹, takes a robe ready for wear, and goes away, thinking, "I will come back."

'That Bhikkhu's *Kaṭṭhina* privileges are suspended on the ground of his having gone away.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kaṭṭhina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe and goes away. And when he had got beyond the boundary he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will never go back." And he gets the robe made up.

'That Bhikkhu's *Kaṭṭhina* privileges are suspended on the ground of his having a robe ready for wear.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kaṭṭhina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe and goes away. And when he has got beyond the boundary he thinks, "I will neither have the robe made up, nor will I go back."

'That Bhikkhu's *Kaṭṭhina* privileges are suspended on the ground of his having so decided.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kaṭṭhina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe and goes away. And when he has got beyond the boundary he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will never go back." And he has the robe made up. And as the robe is being made up for him, it is spoilt.

'That Bhikkhu's *Kaṭṭhina* privileges are suspended on the ground of the robe being so spoilt.

2. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kaṭṭhina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe and goes away, thinking, "I will come back." When he has got beyond the boundary he has that robe made up. When his robe has thus been made up he bears the news, "The *Kaṭṭhina*, they say, has been suspended in that district¹."

¹ Literally, 'whose *Kaṭṭhina* has been spread out.'

'That Bhikkhu's *Kathina* privileges are suspended on the ground of his having heard that news.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe and goes away, thinking, "I will come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary he has that robe made up. And then, after it has been made up, he postpones his return until the (general) suspension of privileges has taken place.

'That Bhikkhu's *Kathina* privileges are suspended on the ground of his being beyond the boundary.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe and goes away, thinking, "I will come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary he has that robe made up. And then, when it has been made up, he postpones his return until the very moment when the (general) suspension of privileges takes place¹.

'That Bhikkhu's *Kathina* privileges are suspended on the ground of the common suspension (of the privileges of the whole *Samgha*).'

End of the section entitled *Ādāya-sattaka*².

3.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been

¹ In the table of contents (p. 266) *sambhuzāti* is replaced by *sambhoti*. *Abhisambhuzeyyam* occurs in Burnouf's 'Lotus,' &c., p. 313.

² That is, 'the seven cases in which he takes a robe away.' The eighth case is explained below in chapters 8, 9.

held, takes with him a robe ready for wear, and goes away, &c.¹

End of the section entitled Samâdâya-sattaka².

4.

'A Bhikkhu, after the Kathina ceremony has been held, takes a robe not ready, and goes away. And when he has got beyond the boundary he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will never go back;" and he gets the robe made up, &c.³

End of the section entitled Âdâya-khakka⁴.

5.

'A Bhikkhu, after the Kathina ceremony has been held, takes with him a robe not ready, and goes away, &c.⁵

End of the section entitled Samâdâya-khakka⁶.

¹ This chapter is word for word identical with chap. 2: only instead of 'takes' (âdâya) read 'takes with him' (samâdâya). We cannot say what different meaning these two words are intended to convey.

² That is, 'the seven cases in which he takes a robe with him.'

³ Six of the seven cases specified in chap. 2 (with the exception of the first of the seven) are repeated here in the same words, with the only difference that instead of 'takes a robe' it is said here 'takes a robe not ready.' The first case is necessarily omitted, because it is essential to that case, that the Bhikkhu going away takes with him a robe ready for wear.

⁴ 'The six cases in which he takes a robe away.'

⁵ As in chap. 4. For 'takes' read 'takes with him.' See the note at chap. 3.

⁶ 'The six cases in which he takes a robe with him.'

6.

1. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe, and goes away. And when he has got beyond the boundary he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will never go back." And he gets the robe made up.

'That Bhikkhu's *Kathina* privileges are suspended on the ground of his having a robe ready for wear, &c.¹

2. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe and goes away, thinking, "I will never come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here." And he gets the robe made up, &c.²

3. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe and goes away, without taking a resolution; he neither thinks "I will come back," nor does he think "I will not come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary, &c.³

4. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, takes a robe and goes away, thinking,

¹ This case is word for word identical with the second case in chap. 2. 1. After it follow the third and fourth case of chap. 2. 1, which it is unnecessary to print here again in full extent. The triad of these cases is repeated here in order to serve as a basis for the variations which are to follow in §§ 2, 3.

² The triad of § 1 is repeated here, with the difference, as is seen from the opening clauses which we have fully printed, that the Bhikkhu, before he has got beyond the boundary, and not afterwards as in § 1, resolves upon not returning to the *āvāsa*.

³ The whole triad as in § 1. The only difference between § 3 and § 1 consists in the following words being added in § 3 in each of the three cases, 'without taking a resolution; he neither thinks "I will come back," nor does he think "I will not come back."'

"I will come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary, &c.¹

7.

'A Bhikkhu, after the Kāṭhina ceremony has been held, takes a robe with him and goes away, &c.²

End of the Ādāya-('Taking away') Bhānavāra.

8.

1. 'A Bhikkhu, after the Kāṭhina ceremony has been held, goes away with the expectation of getting a robe (presented). And when he has got beyond the boundary, &c. And he adopts such a course of action as may lead to his expectation being realised. But he obtains a robe where he had not expected it, and does not obtain it where he had expected it. And he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will never go back." And he gets the robe made up.

'That Bhikkhu's Kāṭhina privileges are suspended on the ground of his having a robe ready for wear.

'A Bhikkhu, after the Kāṭhina ceremony has been

¹ Supply here the whole triad as in § 1, the words 'thinking "I will come back"' being constantly added. After this triad follow three other cases which are exactly identical with the three contained in chap. 2. 2.

² The whole chapter 6 is repeated here three times, the first time replacing the words 'takes a robe' by 'takes a robe with him' (comp. chap. 3); the second time replacing 'takes a robe' by 'takes a robe not ready' (comp. chap. 4); and the third time with these two modifications combined (comp. chap. 5).

held (&c., as in the preceding case). And he thinks, "I will neither have the robe made up, nor will I go back."

'That Bhikkhu's *Kathina* privileges are suspended on the ground of his having so decided.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, &c. And he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will never go back." And he has the robe made up. And as the robe is being made up for him, it is spoilt.

'That Bhikkhu's *Kathina* privileges are suspended on the ground of the robe being so spoilt.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, goes away with the expectation of getting a robe (presented). And when he has got beyond the boundary, he thinks, "I will adopt here such a course of action as may lead to my expectation being realised, and will never go back." And he devotes himself to obtaining that expected gift, but his expectation comes to nothing.

'That Bhikkhu's *Kathina* privileges are suspended on the ground of the lapse of that expectation.'

2, 3¹.

End of the section entitled *Anâsâ-do/asaka* ².

9.

1. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, goes away with the expectation of getting

¹ §§ 2, 3 stand exactly in the same relation to § 1 in which chap. 6. 2, 3 stand to chap. 6. 1.

² 'The twelve cases (in which the robe is received) against expectation.'

a robe (presented), thinking, "I will come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary, he devotes himself to the realisation of his expectation, and he obtains a robe where he had expected it, and does not obtain one where he had not expected it. And he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will never go back," &c.¹

2. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Katthina* ceremony has been held, goes away with the expectation of getting a robe (presented), thinking, "I will come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary, he hears the news: "The *Katthina*, they say, has been suspended in that district." And he thinks, "Since the *Katthina* has been suspended in that district, I will devote myself here to obtaining the gift I am expecting." And he adopts such action as may lead to the realisation of his expectation, and he obtains a robe where he had expected it, and does not obtain one where he had not expected it. And he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will never go back," &c.²

3. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Katthina* ceremony has been held, goes away with the expectation of getting a robe (presented), thinking, "I will come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary, he adopts such action as may lead to the realisation of his expectation, and he obtains a robe where he had expected it, and does not obtain one where he had not expected it, and he has that robe made up.

¹ Here follows the same development into the four cases of *ni//hānantika*, *sanni//hānantika*, *nāsanantika*, and *āsavaṭṭhedika ka//hinuddhāra*, as in chap. 8. 1.

² Supply here the same four cases as in the preceding paragraph or in chap. 8. 1.

When that robe has thus been made up he hears the news, "The *Kaṭhina*, they say, has been suspended in that district."

'That Bhikkhu's *Kaṭhina* privileges are suspended on the ground of his having heard that news.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kaṭhina* ceremony has been held, goes away with the expectation of getting a robe, thinking, "I will come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary, he thinks, "I will devote myself to obtaining that expected gift, and will never go back." And he cares for that expected gift, but his expectation collapses.

'That Bhikkhu's *Kaṭhina* privileges are suspended on the ground of the lapse of that expectation.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kaṭhina* ceremony has been held, goes away with the expectation of getting a robe, thinking, "I will come back." And when he has got beyond the boundary, he devotes himself to the realisation of his expectation, and he obtains a robe where he had expected it, and does not obtain one where he had not expected it, and he has that robe made up. And then, after it has been made up, he postpones his return until the (general) suspension of privileges has taken place.

'That Bhikkhu's *Kaṭhina* privileges are suspended on the ground of his being beyond the boundary.

'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kaṭhina* ceremony has been held (&c., as in the preceding case, down to :) And then, after it has been made up, he postpones his return until the very moment when the (general) suspension of privileges takes place.

‘That Bhikkhu’s *Katthina* privileges are suspended on the ground of the common suspension.’

End of the section entitled *Āsā-do/asaka* ¹.

10.

‘A Bhikkhu, after the *Katthina* ceremony has been held, goes away on some business. And when he has got beyond the boundary, he conceives the expectation of getting a robe (presented). And he devotes himself to the realisation of his expectation, and he obtains, &c.’²

End of the *Karāṇīya-do/asaka* ³.

11.

1. ‘A Bhikkhu, after the *Katthina* ceremony has been held, goes away travelling to the (four) quarters (of the world ⁴), guarding⁵ his claim to a share in the robes. When he is so travelling, the Bhikkhus ask him: “Where have you kept Vassa, friend, and where have you your share in the robes?”

‘He replies: “I have kept Vassa in such and such

¹ ‘The twelve cases (in which the robe is received) as expected.’

² See chap. 8. 1. The same three times four cases are specified here as in chap. 8; only the opening clauses of each case, which we have printed above, are different from those in chap. 8.

³ ‘The twelve cases of (the Bhikkhu’s going away on) business.’

⁴ Comp. II, 21, 1.

⁵ *Apākinayamāna*, comp. *apāṭiti*, *apāṭita*.

a residence, and there I have my share in the robes."

'They say to him: "Go, friend, and bring your robe hither; we will make it up for you here."

'And he goes to that residence and asks the Bhikkhus: "Where is the portion of robes due to me, friends?"

'They reply: "Here it is, friend; where are you going?"

'He says: "I will go to such and such a residence; there the Bhikkhus will make up the robe for me."

'They answer: "Nay, friend, do not go; we will make up the robe for you here."

'And he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will not go back (to that other place)," &c.¹

2. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, goes away travelling (&c., as in § 1, down to:) "Here it is, friend." And he takes that robe and sets out for that residence. On the way some Bhikkhus ask him: "Friend, where are you going?"

'He says: "I intend to go to such and such a residence; there the Bhikkhus will make up the robe for me."

'They answer: "Nay, friend, do not go; we will make up the robe for you here."

'And he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will not go back (to that other place)," &c.²

3. 'A Bhikkhu, after the *Kathina* ceremony has been held, goes away travelling (&c., as in § 1, down to:) "Here it is, friend." And he takes that robe, and sets out for that residence. And when going

¹ Here follow the three cases as given in chap. 6. 1, in the usual way.

² The usual three cases; see the preceding note.

to that residence, he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will not go back (to that place)," &c.¹

End of the Apaḥinana-navaka ².

12.

'A Bhikkhu intent on finding a comfortable place (to live in), after the Kaḥina ceremony has been held, takes a robe, and goes away, thinking, "I will go to such and such a residence; if it is comfortable there, I will remain there; if it is not, I will go to such and such a residence; if it is comfortable there, I will remain there; if it is not, I will go to such and such a residence; if it is comfortable there, I will remain there; if it is not, I will go back."

'When he has got beyond the boundary, he thinks, "I will have the robe made up here, and will never go back," &c.³

End of the five cases of the Bhikkhu intent on comfort.

13.

1. 'On two conditions, O Bhikkhus, the claim (of a Bhikkhu to a share in the distribution) of the

¹ The same three cases as before.

² 'The nine cases in which he guards (his claim).'

³ The usual three cases as before, and then the two cases of the sîmâtikkantika kaḥinuddhâra and the saha bhikkhûhi kaḥinuddhâra, which run as may be seen from chap. 2. 2 (the two last cases there) or from chap. 9. 3.

Kathina continues to exist, and on the failing of these two conditions it is lost¹.

‘And which are the two conditions, O Bhikkhus, for the continued existence of that claim? The condition regarding the residence, and the condition regarding the robe.

‘And which, O Bhikkhus, is the condition regarding the residence? A Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, goes away (for a time), when it is raining or storming, with the intention of returning to that residence. In this case, O Bhikkhus, the condition regarding the residence is fulfilled. And which, O Bhikkhus, is the condition that regards the robe? A Bhikkhu’s robe, O Bhikkhus, is not made up, or not ready, or his expectation of getting a robe has ceased. In this case, O Bhikkhus, the condition regarding the robe is fulfilled. These, O Bhikkhus, are the two conditions for the continued existence of the claim.

2. ‘And which, O Bhikkhus, is the failing of the two conditions by which the claim is lost? The failing of the condition regarding the residence, and the failing of the condition regarding the robe.

‘And in which case, O Bhikkhus, does the condition regarding the residence fail?

‘A Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, goes away from the residence, giving it up, turning away from it with contempt, abandoning it, with the intention of not returning. In this case, O Bhikkhus, the condition regarding the residence fails. And in which case, O Bhikkhus, does the condition regarding the robe

¹ Literally, there are two Palibodhas of the *Kathina* and two Apalibodhas. On the subject discussed in this chapter—the Palibodhas—see the note on chap. I. 7.

fail? A Bhikkhu's robe, O Bhikkhus, has been made up, or spoilt, or lost, or burnt, or his expectation of getting a robe has ceased. In these cases, O Bhikkhus, the condition regarding the robe fails. This is the failing of the two conditions, O Bhikkhus, by which the claim is lost.'

End of the seventh Khandhaka, the *Katthina*-
khandhaka.

EIGHTH KHANDHAKA.

(THE DRESS OF THE BHIKKHUS.)

1.

1. At that time the blessed Buddha dwelt at Rāgagaha, in the Veḷuvana, in the Kalandaka-nivāpa. At that time Vesālī was an opulent, prosperous town, populous, crowded with people, abundant with food¹; there were seven thousand seven hundred and seven storeyed buildings, and seven thousand seven hundred and seven pinnacled buildings, and seven thousand seven hundred and seven pleasure grounds (Ārāmas), and seven thousand seven hundred and seven lotus-ponds. There was also the courtesan Ambapālīkā², who was beautiful, graceful, pleasant, gifted with the highest beauty of complexion, well versed in dancing, singing, and lute-playing, much visited by desirous people. She asked fifty (kahā-paṇas) for one night. Through that person Vesālī became more and more flourishing.

2. Now a merchant from Rāgagaha went to Vesālī on a certain business. That Rāgagaha merchant saw what an opulent, prosperous town Vesālī was, how populous, crowded with people, and abundant with food, and the seven thousand seven

¹ Compare Mahā-sudassana Sutta I, 3, and Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta V, 42.

² See above, VI, 30, 6; Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta II, 16 seq.

hundred and seven storeyed buildings and the courtesan Ambapālī, who was beautiful and through whom Vesālī became more and more flourishing. And the Rāgagaha merchant, after having done his business in Vesālī, returned to Rāgagaha and went to the place where the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra was. Having approached him, he said to the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra : 'Vesālī, Your Majesty, is an opulent, prosperous town (&c., as in § 1, down to :) Through that person Vesālī becomes more and more flourishing. May it please Your Majesty, let us also install a courtesan.'

(The king replied), 'Well, my good Sir, look for such a girl whom you can install as courtesan.'

3. Now at that time there was at Rāgagaha a girl Sālavatī by name, who was beautiful, graceful, pleasant, and gifted with the highest beauty of complexion. That girl Sālavatī the Rāgagaha merchant installed as courtesan. And before long the courtesan Sālavatī was well versed in dancing, singing, and lute-playing, and much visited by desirous people, and she asked one hundred (*kaḥāpanas*) for one night. And before long the courtesan Sālavatī became pregnant. Now the courtesan Sālavatī thought : 'Men do not like a pregnant woman. If anybody should find out regarding me that "The courtesan Sālavatī is pregnant," my whole position will be lost. What if I were to have the people told that I am sick.'

And the courtesan Sālavatī gave orders to the door-keeper (saying), 'Let no man enter here, my good door-keeper, and if a man calls for me, tell him that I am sick.' The door-keeper accepted

this order of the courtesan Sâlavatî (by saying), 'Yes, Madam.'

4. And the courtesan Sâlavatî, when the child in her womb had reached maturity, gave birth to a boy. And the courtesan Sâlavatî gave orders to her maid-servant (saying), 'Go, my girl, put this boy into an old winnowing basket, take him away, and throw him away on a dust-heap.' The servant accepted this order of the courtesan Sâlavatî (by saying), 'Yes, Madam,' put that boy into an old winnowing basket, took him away, and threw him away on a dust-heap.

At that time a royal prince, Abhaya by name¹, went betimes to attend upon the king, and saw that boy, around whom crows were gathering. When he saw that, he asked the people: 'What is that, my good Sirs, around which the crows are gathering?'

'It is a boy, Your Highness².'

'Is he alive, Sirs?'

'He is alive, Your Highness.'

'Well, my good Sirs, bring that boy to our palace and give him to the nurses to nourish him.'

And those people accepted that order of the royal prince Abhaya (by saying), 'Yes, Your Highness,' brought that boy to the palace of the royal prince Abhaya, and gave him to the nurses (saying), 'Nourish (this boy).'

¹ This 'royal prince Abhaya' (Abhaya kumâra) is mentioned by the Gainas under the name of Abhayakumâra as the son of Seniya, i.e. Bimbisâra. See Jacobi, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxxiv, p. 187.

² The word which we have translated 'Your Highness' (deva, lit. 'God') is the same which is used by all persons except by Samanas in addressing a king.

Because (the people had said about this boy to Abhaya), 'He is alive' (*gīvati*), they gave him the name of *Gīvaka*; because he had been caused to be nourished by the royal prince (*kumārena posāpito*), they gave him the name of *Komārabhakkā*¹.

5. And ere long *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* came to the years of discretion. And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* went to the place where the royal prince Abhaya was; having approached him he said to the royal prince Abhaya: 'Who is my mother, Your Highness, and who is my father?'

'I do not know your mother, my good *Gīvaka*, but I am your father, for I have had you nourished.'

Now *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* thought: 'In these royal families it is not easy to find one's livelihood without knowing an art. What if I were to learn an art.'

6. At that time there lived at Takkasilā (*Τάξιλα*) a world-renowned physician. And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* without asking leave of the royal prince Abhaya set out for Takkasilā. Wandering from place to place he came to Takkasilā and to the place where

¹ Evidently the redactors of this passage referred the first part of the compound *Komārabhakkā* to the royal prince (*kumāra*) Abhaya, and intended *Komārabhakkā* to be understood as 'a person whose life is supported by a royal prince.' So also the name *Kumāra-Kassapa* is explained in the *Gāṭaka* commentary (Rh. D., 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 204). The true meaning of the name, however, appears to have been different, for in Sanskrit *kumārabhṛtyā* and *kaumārabhṛtya* are technical terms for the part of the medical science which comprises the treatment of infants (see Wise, 'Commentary on the Hindu System of Medicine,' p. 3). We believe, therefore, that this surname *Komārabhakkā* really means, 'Master of the *kaumārabhṛtya* science.'

that physician was. Having approached him he said to that physician, 'I wish to learn your art, doctor.'

'Well, friend *Gīvaka*, learn it.'

And *Gīvaka Komârabhaṅga* learnt much, and learnt easily, and understood well, and did not forget what he had learnt. And when seven years had elapsed, *Gīvaka Komârabhaṅga* thought: 'I learn much, and learn easily, and I understand well, and I do not forget what I have learnt. I have studied now seven years, and I do not see the end of this art. When shall I see the end of this art?'

7. And *Gīvaka Komârabhaṅga* went to the place where that physician was; having approached him he said to that physician: 'I learn much, doctor, and I learn easily; I understand well, and do not forget what I have learnt. I have studied now seven years, and I do not see the end of this art. When shall I see the end of this art?'

'Very well, my dear *Gīvaka*, take this spade, and seek round about *Takkasilâ* a *yogana* on every side, and whatever (plant) you see which is not medicinal, bring it to me.'

Gīvaka Komârabhaṅga accepted this order of that physician (saying), 'Yes, doctor,' took a spade, and went around about *Takkasilâ* a *yogana* on every side, but he did not see anything that was not medicinal. Then *Gīvaka Komârabhaṅga* went to the place where that physician was; having approached him he said to that physician: 'I have been seeking, doctor, all around *Takkasilâ* a *yogana* on every side, but I have not seen anything that is not medicinal.'

(The physician replied), 'You have done your learning, my good *Gīvaka*; this will do for acquiring your livelihood.' Speaking thus he gave to *Gīvaka*

Komārabhaṅka a little (money) for his journey (home).

8. And Gṭvaka Komārabhaṅka took that little money, given to him for his journey, and set out for Rāgagaha. And on the way at Sāketa that little money of Gṭvaka Komārabhaṅka was spent. Now Gṭvaka Komārabhaṅka thought: 'These ways are wild, and there is but little water and little food; it is difficult to travel here without money for the journey. What if I were to try to get some money for my journey.'

At that time the *setthi*'s¹ wife at Sāketa had been suffering for seven years from disease in the head; many very great and world-renowned physicians came, but they could not restore her to health; they received much gold, and went away.

And Gṭvaka Komārabhaṅka, when he had entered Sāketa, asked the people: 'Who is sick here, my good Sirs? Whom shall I cure?'

'That *setthi*'s wife, doctor, has been suffering for seven years from a disease in the head; go, doctor, and cure that *setthi*'s wife.'

9. Then Gṭvaka Komārabhaṅka went to the house of that householder, the *setthi*; and when he had reached it, he gave orders to the door-keeper (saying), 'Go, my good door-keeper, and tell the *setthi*'s wife: "A physician has come in, Madam, who wants to see you."'

That door-keeper accepted this order of Gṭvaka Komārabhaṅka (saying), 'Yes, doctor,' went to the place where the *setthi*'s wife was, and having approached her, he said to the *setthi*'s wife: 'A physician has come in, Madam, who wants to see you.'

¹ See the note at I, 7, 1.

‘What sort of man is that physician, my good door-keeper?’

‘He is a young man, Madam.’

‘Nay, my good door-keeper, what can a young physician help me? Many very great and world-renowned physicians have come and have not been able to restore me to health; they have received much gold, and have gone away.’

10. Thus that door-keeper went to *Gīvaka Komārabhaṅga*; having approached him he said to *Gīvaka Komārabhaṅga*: ‘The *setthi*’s wife has said, doctor: “Nay, my good door-keeper (&c., as in § 9).”’

(*Gīvaka* replied), ‘Go, my good door-keeper, and tell the *setthi*’s wife: “The physician, Madam, says: ‘Do not give me anything beforehand, Madam; when you shall have been restored to health, then you may give me what you like.’”’

The door-keeper accepted this order of *Gīvaka Komārabhaṅga* (saying), ‘Yes, doctor,’ went to the place where the *setthi*’s wife was, and having approached her he said to the *setthi*’s wife: ‘The physician, Madam, says (&c., as above).’

‘Well, my good door-keeper, let the physician enter.’

The door-keeper accepted this order of the *setthi*’s wife (saying), ‘Yes, Madam,’ went to the place where *Gīvaka Komārabhaṅga* was, and having approached him he said to *Gīvaka Komārabhaṅga*: ‘The *setthi*’s wife calls you, doctor.’

11. Then *Gīvaka Komārabhaṅga* went to the place where the *setthi*’s wife was; having approached her, and having carefully observed the change in the appearance of the *setthi*’s wife, he said to the

setthi's wife: 'We want one *pasata*¹ of ghee, Madam.' Then the *setthi*'s wife ordered one *pasata* of ghee to be given to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā*. And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* boiled up that *pasata* of ghee with various drugs, ordered the *setthi*'s wife to lie down on her back in the bed, and gave it her through her nose. And the butter given through the nose came out through the mouth. And the *setthi*'s wife spat it out into the spittoon, and told the maid-servant: 'Come, my girl, take this ghee up with a piece of cotton.'

12. Then *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* thought: 'It is astonishing how niggardly this house-wife is, in that she has this ghee, which ought to be thrown away, taken up with a piece of cotton. I have given her many highly precious drugs. What sort of fee will she give me?'

And the *setthi*'s wife, when she observed the change of demeanour in *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā*, said to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā*: 'Why are you perplexed, doctor?'

'I thought: "It is astonishing, &c."'

'Householders like us, doctor, know why to economize thus; this ghee will do for the servants or workmen to anoint their feet with, or it can be poured into the lamp. Be not perplexed, doctor, you will not lose your fee.'

¹ One *prasrita* or *prasriti* ('handful') is said by the Sanskrit lexicographers to be equal to two *palas*. About the *pala*, which according to the ghee measure (*ghrita pramāṇa*) of Magadha was the thirty-second part of a *prastha*, see the *Atharva-pariśiṣṭa* 35, 3, ap. Weber, *Ueber den Vedakalender namens Jyotiṣham*, p. 82. Compare also Rh. D., 'Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon,' pp. 18, 19.

13. And *Gīvaka Komârabhaṭṭha* drove away the disease in the head which the *setṭhi*'s wife had had for seven years, by once giving her medicine through the nose. Then the *setṭhi*'s wife, who had been restored to health, gave four thousand (*kâhâpanas*) to *Gīvaka Komârabhaṭṭha*; her son (thinking), 'My mother stands there restored,' gave him four thousand; her daughter-in-law (thinking), 'My mother-in-law stands there restored,' gave him four thousand; the *setṭhi*, the householder, (thinking), 'My wife stands there restored,' gave him four thousand and a man-servant and a maid-servant and a coach with horses.

Then *Gīvaka Komârabhaṭṭha* took those sixteen thousand (*kâhâpanas*) and the man-servant, the maid-servant, and the coach with the horses, and set out for *Râgagaha*. In due course he came to *Râgagaha*, and to the place where the royal prince *Abhaya* was; having approached him he said to the royal prince *Abhaya*: 'This, Your Highness, (have I received for) the first work I have done, sixteen thousand and a man-servant and a maid-servant and a coach with horses; may Your Highness accept this as payment for my bringing up.'

'Nay, my dear *Gīvaka*, keep it, but do not get a dwelling for yourself elsewhere than in our residence.'

Gīvaka Komârabhaṭṭha accepted this order of the royal prince *Abhaya* (saying), 'Yes, Your Highness,' and got himself a dwelling in the residence of the royal prince *Abhaya*.

14. At that time the Magadha king *Seniya Bimbisâra* suffered from a fistula; his garments were stained with blood. When the queens saw that,

they ridiculed (the king, and said): 'His Majesty is having his courses. His Majesty will bring forth!' The king was annoyed at that. And the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra said to the royal prince Abhaya: 'I am suffering, my dear Abhaya, from such a disease that my garments are stained with blood; and the queens, when they see it, ridicule (me by saying), "His Majesty is, &c." Pray, my dear Abhaya, find a physician for me, able to cure me.'

'This excellent young physician of ours, Sire, *Gīvaka*, he will cure Your Majesty.'

'Then pray, my dear Abhaya, give orders to the physician *Gīvaka*, and he shall cure me.'

15. Then the royal prince Abhaya gave orders to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* (saying), 'Go, my dear *Gīvaka*, and cure the king.'

Gīvaka Komārabhakkā accepted this order of the royal prince Abhaya (by saying), 'Yes, Your Highness,' took some medicament in his nail, and went to the place where the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra was. Having approached him, he said to the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra: 'Let us see your disease, Your Majesty.' And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* healed the fistula of the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra by one anointing.

Then the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra, having been restored to health, ordered his five hundred wives to put on all their ornaments; then he ordered them to take their ornaments off and to make a heap of them, and he said to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā*: 'All these ornaments, my dear *Gīvaka*, of my five hundred wives shall be thine.'

'Nay, Sire, may Your Majesty remember my office.'

‘Very well, my dear *Gtvaka*, you can wait upon me and my seraglio and the fraternity of *Bhikkhus* with the Buddha at its head.’

Gtvaka Komārabhakkā accepted this order of the Magadha king *Seniya Bimbisāra* (by saying), ‘Yes, Your Majesty.’

16. At that time the *setthi* at *Rāḡagaha* had been suffering for seven years from a disease in the head. Many very great and world-renowned physicians came, and were not able to restore him to health; they received much gold and went away. And a prognostication had been made by the physicians to him, to wit: Some of the physicians said: ‘The *setthi*, the householder, will die on the fifth day;’ other physicians said: ‘The *setthi*, the householder, will die on the seventh day.’

Now (a certain) *Rāḡagaha* merchant thought: ‘This *setthi*, this householder, does good service both to the king and to the merchants’ guild. Now the physicians have made prognostication to him (&c., as above). There is *Gtvaka*, the royal physician, an excellent young doctor. What if we were to ask the king for his physician *Gtvaka* to cure the *setthi*, the householder?’

17. And the *Rāḡagaha* merchant went to the place where the Magadha king *Seniya Bimbisāra* was; having approached him, he said to the Magadha king *Seniya Bimbisāra*: ‘That *setthi*, Sire, that householder, does good service both to Your Majesty and to the merchants’ guild. Now the physicians have made prognostication to him, &c. May it please Your Majesty to order the physician *Gtvaka* to cure the *setthi*, the householder.’

Then the Magadha king *Seniya Bimbisāra* gave

orders to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* (saying), 'Go, my dear *Gīvaka*, and cure the *setthi*, the householder.'

Gīvaka Komārabhakkā accepted this order of the Magadha king *Seniya Bimbisāra* (by saying), 'Yes, Your Majesty,' went to the place where the *setthi*, the householder, was, and having approached him, and having carefully observed the change in his appearance, he said to the *setthi*, the householder: 'If I restore you to health, my good householder, what fee will you give me?'

'All that I possess shall be yours, doctor, and I will be your slave.'

18. 'Well, my good householder, will you be able to lie down on one side for seven months?'

'I shall be able, doctor, to lie down on one side for seven months.'

'And will you be able, my good householder, to lie down on the other side for seven months?'

'I shall be able, doctor, to lie down on the other side for seven months.'

'And will you be able, my good householder, to lie down on your back for seven months?'

'I shall be able, doctor, to lie down on my back for seven months.'

Then *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* ordered the *setthi*, the householder, to lie down on his bed, tied him fast to his bed, cut through the skin of the head, drew apart the flesh on each side of the incision, pulled two worms out (of the wound), and showed them to the people (saying), 'See, Sirs, these two worms, a small one and a big one. The doctors who said, "On the fifth day the *setthi*, the householder, will die," have seen this big worm, and how it would penetrate on the fifth day to the brain of

the *setthi*, the householder, and that when it had penetrated to the brain, the *setthi*, the householder, would die. Those doctors have seen it quite rightly. And the doctors who said, "On the seventh day the *setthi*, the householder, will die," have seen this small worm, and how it would penetrate on the seventh day to the brain of the *setthi*, the householder, and that when it had penetrated to the brain, the *setthi*, the householder, would die. Those doctors have seen it quite rightly.' (Speaking thus) he closed up the sides of the wound, stitched up the skin on the head, and anointed it with salve.

19. And when seven days had elapsed, the *setthi*, the householder, said to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* : 'I am not able, doctor, to lie down on one side for seven months.'

'Did you not tell me, my good householder : "I shall be able, doctor, to lie down on one side for seven months?"'

'It is true, doctor, I told you so indeed, but I shall die (if I do); I cannot lie down on one side for seven months.'

'Well, my good householder, then you must lie down on the other side for seven months.'

And when seven days had elapsed, the *setthi*, the householder, said to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* : 'I am not able, doctor, to lie down on the other side for seven months.'

'Did you not tell me, &c.'

'It is true, doctor, I told you so indeed, &c.'

'Well, my good householder, then you must lie down on your back for seven months.'

And when seven days had elapsed, the *setthi*, the householder, said to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* : 'I am

not able, doctor, to lie down on my back for seven months.'

'Did you not tell me, &c.?'

'It is true, doctor, I told you so indeed, &c.'

20. 'If I had not spoken thus to you, my good householder, you would not have lain down even so long a time. But I knew beforehand, "After three times seven days the *setthi*, the householder, will be restored to health." Arise, my good householder, you are restored; look to it what fee you give me.'

'All that I possess shall be yours, doctor, and I will be your slave.'

'Nay, my good householder, do not give me all that you possess, and do not be my slave; give one hundred thousand (*kāhāpanas*) to the king, and one hundred thousand to me.'

Then the *setthi*, the householder, having regained his health, gave a hundred thousand (*kāhāpanas*) to the king, and a hundred thousand to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā*.

21. At that time the son of the *setthi* at Benares, who used to amuse himself by tumbling (*mokkha-kikā*¹), brought upon himself an entanglement of his

¹ *Mokkha-kikā* is explained in a passage quoted by Childers sub voce and taken from the *Sumāṅgala Vilāsinī* on the 4th *Magghima Sīla*. (Compare Rh. D., 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,' p. 193.) The passage from Buddhaghosa is however not devoid of ambiguity. He says: '*Mokkha-kikā* is the feat of turning over and over. One gets hold of a staff in the air, and places his head on the ground; turning himself upside down. This is what is meant (by the word *mokkha-kikā*).' It is not clear whether the performer suspends himself by his feet from a horizontal bar fixed at a height above the ground; or whether he turns a somersault, holding at the same time a stick in his hands. The latter seems

intestines, in consequence of which he could digest neither the rice-milk which he drank, nor the food of which he partook, nor was he able to ease himself in the regular way. In consequence of that he grew lean, he looked disfigured and discoloured, (his complexion became) more and more yellow, and the veins stood out upon his skin.

Now the *settthi* of Benares thought : 'My son is suffering from such and such a disease : he neither can digest the rice-milk which he drinks (&c., as above, down to :) and the veins stand out upon his skin. What if I were to go to Râgagaha and to ask the king for his physician *Glvaka* to cure my son.'

And the *settthi* of Benares went to Râgagaha and repaired to the place where the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra was ; having approached him he said to the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra : 'My son, Your Majesty, is suffering from such and such a disease : he neither can digest the rice-milk which he drinks (&c., as above, down to :) and the veins stand out upon his skin. May it please Your Majesty to order the physician *Glvaka* to cure my son.'

22. Then the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra gave orders to *Glvaka Komârabhakkâ* (saying), 'Go, my dear *Glvaka*; go to Benares, and cure the *settthi*'s son at Benares.'

Glvaka Komârabhakkâ accepted this order of the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisâra (by saying), 'Yes, Your Majesty,' went to Benares, and repaired to the place where the son of the Benares *settthi* was ; having approached him, and having carefully

more in accordance with the phrase 'holding a stick in the air' (*âkâse dandam gahetvâ*) and with the phrase 'turning over and over' (*samparivattanam*).

observed the change in his appearance, he ordered the people to leave the room, drew the curtain, tied him fast to a pillar, placed his wife in front of him, cut through the skin of the belly, drew the twisted intestines out, and showed them to his wife (saying), 'Look here what the disease was, from which your husband was suffering. This is the reason why he neither can digest the rice-milk which he drinks, nor can digest the food of which he partakes, nor is able to ease himself in the regular way, and why he has grown lean, and looks disfigured and discoloured, and (why his complexion has become) more and more yellow, and the veins have stood out upon his skin.' (Speaking thus), he disentangled the twisted intestines, put the intestines back (into their right position), stitched the skin together, and anointed it with salve. And before long the Benares *setthi*'s son regained his health.

Then the *setthi* of Benares (saying to himself), 'My son stands here restored to health,' gave sixteen thousand (*kāhāpanas*) to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā*. And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* took those sixteen thousand (*kāhāpanas*), and went back again to *Rāgagaha*.

23. At that time king *Paggota* (of *Uggenti*) was suffering from jaundice. Many very great and world-renowned physicians came and were not able to restore him to health; they received much gold and went away. Then king *Paggota* sent a messenger to the Magadha king *Seniya Bimbisāra* (with the following message): 'I am suffering from such and such a disease; pray, Your Majesty¹, give

¹ This passage in which king *Paggota* is represented as addressing king *Bimbisāra* by the respectful expression '*deva*' may in our

orders to the physician *Gīvaka* ; he will cure me.' Then the Magadha king *Seniya Bimbisāra* gave orders to *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* (saying), 'Go, my dear *Gīvaka*; go to *Uggent*, and cure king *Paggota*.'

Gīvaka Komārabhakkā accepted this order of the Magadha king *Seniya Bimbisāra* (by saying), 'Yes, Your Majesty,' went to *Uggent* and to the place where king *Paggota* was, and having approached him, and having carefully observed the change in his appearance, he said to king *Paggota* :

24. 'I will boil up some ghee, Sire, which Your Majesty must drink.'

'Nay, my good *Gīvaka* ; do what you can for restoring me without giving me ghee ; I have an aversion and a distaste for ghee.'

Then *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* thought : 'The disease of this king is such a one that it cannot be cured without ghee. What if I were to boil up ghee so that it takes the colour, the smell, and the taste of an astringent decoction¹.'

Then *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* boiled some ghee with various drugs so as to give it the colour, the smell, and the taste of an astringent decoction. And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* thought : 'When this king shall have taken the butter and digested it, it will make him vomit. This king is cruel ; he might have me killed. What if I were to take leave before-

opinion be brought forward against Professor Jacobi's conjecture (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxxiv, p. 188) that *Bimbisāra* was merely a feudal chief under the supreme rule of king *Paggota*. The *Pitaka* texts are always very exact in the selection of the terms of respect in which the different persons address each other.

¹ See, about the decoctions used in medicine, VI, 4.

hand.' And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* went to the place where king *Paggota* was; having approached him he said to king *Paggota* :

25. 'We physicians, Sire, draw out roots and gather medical drugs at such an hour as this. May it please Your Majesty to send the following order to the (royal) stables, and to the gates (of the town): "Let *Gīvaka* ride out on what animal he likes; let him leave (the town) by what gate he likes; let him leave at what hour he likes; let him enter again at what hour he likes."'

And king *Paggota* sent the following order to the (royal) stables and to the gates (of the town): 'Let *Gīvaka* ride out on what animal he likes, &c.'

At that time king *Paggota* had a she-elephant, called *Bhaddavatikā*, which could travel fifty *yogas* (in one day). And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* gave the ghee to king *Paggota* (saying), 'May Your Majesty drink this decoction.' Then, having made king *Paggota* drink the ghee, *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* went to the elephant stable, and hasted away from the town on the she-elephant *Bhaddavatikā*.

26. And when king *Paggota* had drunk that ghee and was digesting it, it made him vomit. Then king *Paggota* said to his attendants: 'That wicked *Gīvaka*, my good Sirs, has given me ghee to drink. Go, my good Sirs, and seek the physician *Gīvaka*.'

(The attendants answered), 'He has run away from the town on the she-elephant *Bhaddavatikā*.'

At that time king *Paggota* had a slave, *Kāka* by name, who could travel sixty *yogas* (in one day), who had been begotten by a non-human being. To this slave *Kāka*, king *Paggota* gave the order: 'Go, my good *Kāka*, and call the physician *Gīvaka* back

(saying), "The king orders you to return, doctor." But those physicians, my good Kâka, are cunning people ; do not accept anything from him.'

27. And the slave Kâka overtook Gîvaka Komârabhaṭṭha on his way, at Kosambi, when he was taking his breakfast. And the slave Kâka said to Gîvaka Komârabhaṭṭha : 'The king orders you to return, doctor.'

(Gîvaka replied), 'Wait, my good Kâka, until we have taken our meal ; here, my good Kâka, eat.'

(Kâka said), 'Nay, doctor, the king has told me, "Those physicians, my good Kâka, are cunning people ; do not accept anything from him."' "

At that time Gîvaka Komârabhaṭṭha, who had cut off some drug with his nail, was eating an emblic myrobalan fruit and drinking water. And Gîvaka Komârabhaṭṭha said to the slave Kâka : 'Here, my good Kâka, eat of this myrobalan fruit and take some water.'

28. Then the slave Kâka thought : 'This physician eats the myrobalan and drinks the water ; there cannot be any harm in it ;' so he ate half of the myrobalan and drank some water. And that half myrobalan which (Gîvaka) had given him to eat, opened his bowels on the spot.

Then the slave Kâka said to Gîvaka Komârabhaṭṭha : 'Can my life be saved, doctor ?'

(Gîvaka replied), 'Be not afraid, my good Kâka, you will be quite well. But the king is cruel ; that king might have me killed ; therefore do I not return.'

Speaking thus he handed over to Kâka the she-elephant Bhaddavatikâ and set out for Râgagaha. Having reached Râgagaha in due course, he went to

the place where the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra was; having approached him he told the whole thing to the Magadha king Bimbisāra.

(Bimbisāra said), 'You have done right, my good Gṭvaka, that you have not returned; that king is cruel; he might have had you killed.'

29. And king Paggota, being restored to health, sent a messenger to Gṭvaka Komārabhaḷḷa (with this message), 'May Gṭvaka come to me; I will grant him a boon.'

(Gṭvaka replied), 'Nay, Sir, may His Majesty remember my office.'

At that time king Paggota had a suit of Siveyyaka cloth¹, which was the best, and the most excellent, and the first, and the most precious, and the noblest of many cloths, and of many suits of cloth, and of many hundred suits of cloth, and of many thousand suits of cloth, and of many hundred thousand suits of cloth. And king Paggota sent this suit of Siveyyaka cloth to Gṭvaka Komārabhaḷḷa. Then Gṭvaka Komārabhaḷḷa thought: 'This suit of Siveyyaka cloth which king Paggota has sent me, is the best and the most excellent (&c., down to :) and of many hundred thousand suits of cloth. Nobody else is worthy to receive it but He the blessed, perfect

¹ Buddhaghosa gives two explanations of Siveyyakam dussayugam. 'Either Siveyyaka cloth means the cloth used in the Uttarakuru country for veiling the dead bodies when they are brought to the burying-ground (sivathikā). (A certain kind of birds take the bodies to the Himavat mountains in order to eat them, and throw the cloths away. When eremites find them there, they bring them to the king.) Or Siveyyaka cloth means a cloth woven from yarn which skilful women in the Sivi country spin.' No doubt the latter explication is the right one.

Arahat-Buddha, or the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra.'

30. At that time a disturbance had befallen the humors of the Blessed One's body. And the Blessed One said to the venerable Ānanda: 'A disturbance, Ānanda, has befallen the humors of the Tathāgata's body; the Tathāgata wishes to take a purgative.' Then the venerable Ānanda went to the place where Gīvaka Komārabhakkā was; having approached him he said to Gīvaka Komārabhakkā:

'My good Gīvaka, a disturbance has befallen the humors of the Tathāgata's body; the Tathāgata wishes to take a purgative.'

(Gīvaka replied), 'Well, venerable Ānanda, you ought to rub the Blessed One's body with fat for a few days.'

And the venerable Ānanda, having rubbed the Blessed One's body with fat for some days, went to the place where Gīvaka Komārabhakkā was; having approached him he said to Gīvaka Komārabhakkā: 'I have rubbed, my good Gīvaka, the Tathāgata's body with fat; do you now what you think fit.'

31. Then Gīvaka Komārabhakkā thought: 'It is not becoming that I should give a strong purgative to the Blessed One.' (Thinking thus), he imbued three handfuls of blue lotuses with various drugs and went therewith to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him he offered one handful of lotuses to the Blessed One (saying), 'Lord, may the Blessed One smell this first handful of lotuses; that will purge the Blessed One ten times.' Thus he offered also the second handful of lotuses to the Blessed One (saying), 'Lord, may the Blessed One smell this second handful of lotuses;

that will purge the Blessed One ten times.' Thus he offered also the third handful of lotuses to the Blessed One (saying), 'Lord, may the Blessed One smell this third handful of lotuses; that will purge the Blessed One ten times. Thus the Blessed One will have purged full thirty times.' And *Ġivaka Komārabhakkā*, having given to the Blessed One a purgative for full thirty times, bowed down before the Blessed One, and passed round him with his right side towards him, and went away.

32. And *Ġivaka Komārabhakkā*, when he was out of doors, thought: 'I have given indeed to the Blessed One a purgative for full thirty times, but as the humors of the Tathāgatha's body are disturbed, it will not purge the Blessed One full thirty times; it will purge the Blessed One only twenty-nine times. But the Blessed One, having purged, will take a bath; the bath will purge the Blessed One once; thus the Blessed One will be purged full thirty times.'

And the Blessed One, who understood by the power of his mind this reflection of *Ġivaka Komārabhakkā*, said to the venerable *Ānanda*: '*Ġivaka Komārabhakkā*, *Ānanda*, when he was out of doors, has thought: "I have given indeed (&c., as above, down to:) thus the Blessed One will be purged full thirty times." Well, *Ānanda*, get warm water ready.'

The venerable *Ānanda* accepted this order of the Blessed One (saying), 'Yes, Lord,' and got warm water ready.

33. And *Ġivaka Komārabhakkā* went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him; sitting near him *Ġivaka Komārabhakkā* said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, has the

Blessed One purged?’ (Buddha replied), ‘I have purged, *Gīvaka*.’ (*Gīvaka* said), ‘When I was out of doors, Lord, I thought: “I have given indeed, &c.” Lord, may the Blessed One take a bath, may the Happy One take a bath.’ Then the Blessed One bathed in that warm water; the bath purged the Blessed One once; thus the Blessed One was purged full thirty times.

And *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, until the Blessed One’s body is completely restored, you had better abstain from liquid food.’ And ere long the Blessed One’s body was completely restored.

34. Then *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* took that suit of *Siveyyaka* cloth and went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him, *Gīvaka Komârabhakkā* said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, I ask one boon of the Blessed One.’ (Buddha replied), ‘The *Tathâgatas*, *Gīvaka*, are above granting boons (before they know what they are).’ (*Gīvaka* said), ‘Lord, it is a proper and unobjectionable demand.’—‘Speak, *Gīvaka*.’

‘Lord, the Blessed One wears only *paṃsukūla* robes (robes made of rags taken from a dust heap or a cemetery¹), and so does the fraternity of *Bhikkhus*. Now, Lord, this suit of *Siveyyaka* cloth has been sent to me by king *Paggota*, which is the best, and the most excellent, and the first, and the most precious, and the noblest of many cloths and of

¹ *Buddhaghosa*: ‘To the Blessed One during the twenty years from his *Sambodhi* till this story happened no one had presented a lay robe.’

many suits of cloth, and of many hundred suits of cloth, and of many thousand suits of cloth, and of many hundred thousand suits of cloth. Lord, may the Blessed One accept from me this suit of Siveyyaka cloth, and may he allow to the fraternity of Bhikkhus to wear lay robes¹.

The Blessed One accepted the suit of Siveyyaka cloth. And the Blessed One taught, incited, animated, and gladdened *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā* by religious discourse. And *Gīvaka Komārabhakkā*, having been taught, incited, animated, and gladdened by the Blessed One by religious discourse, rose from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, passed round him with his right side towards him, and went away.

35. And the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse in consequence of that, thus addressed the Bhikkhus:

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to wear lay robes. He who likes may wear *pamsukūla* robes; he who likes may accept lay robes. Whether you are pleased with the one or with the other sort² of robes, I approve it.’

Now the people at Rāgagaha heard, ‘The Blessed One has allowed the Bhikkhus to wear lay robes.’ Then those people became glad and delighted (because they thought), ‘Now we will bestow gifts (on the Bhikkhus) and acquire merit by good works,

¹ *Gahapatiṭṭhivara* may be translated also, as Buddhaghosa explains it, ‘a robe presented by lay people.’

² *Itarītara* (‘the one or the other’) clearly refers to the two sorts of robes mentioned before, not, as Childers (s.v. *itaritara*) understands it, to whether the robes are good or bad. Compare also chap. 3, § 2.

since the Blessed One has allowed the Bhikkhus to wear lay robes.' And in one day many thousands of robes were presented at Rāgagaha (to the Bhikkhus).

And the people in the country heard, 'The Blessed One has allowed the Bhikkhus to wear lay robes.' Then those people became glad (&c., as above, down to:) And in one day many thousands of robes were presented through the country also (to the Bhikkhus).

36. At that time the *Samgha* had received a mantle. They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to wear a mantle.'

They had got a silk mantle.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to wear a silk mantle.'

They had got a fleecy counterpane¹.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use a fleecy counterpane.'

End of the first Bhānavāra.

2.

At that time the king of Kāśi² sent to Gīvaka Komārabhaṭṭa a woollen garment made half of Benares cloth . . .³. Then Gīvaka Komārabhaṭṭa

¹ See Abhidhānapp. v. 312.

² Buddhaghosa: 'This king was Pasenadi's brother, the same father's son.' He appears to have been a sub-king of Pasenadi, for in the *Lohikā-sutta* it is stated that Pasenadi's rule extended both over Kāśi and Kosala ('Rāgā Pasenadi Kosalo Kāsikosalam agghāvasati').

³ Our translation of *addhakāsikam kambalam* is merely

took that woollen garment made half of Benares cloth and went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him, *Gīvaka Komārabhaḥka* said to the Blessed One : 'Lord, this woollen garment made half of Benares cloth. . . .¹ has been sent to me by the king of Kāsi. May the Blessed One, Lord, accept this woollen garment, which may be to me a long time for a good and a blessing.' The Blessed One accepted that woollen garment.

And the Blessed One taught (&c., as in chap. 1, § 34, down to :) and went away.

And the Blessed One, after having delivered a religious discourse in consequence of that, thus addressed the Bhikkhus :

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use woollen garments.'

3.

1. At that time the fraternity got robes of different kinds. Now the Bhikkhus thought : 'What robes are allowed to us by the Blessed One, and what robes are not allowed ?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, six kinds of robes, viz.

conjectural. Buddhaghosa has the following note : '*Addhakāsiyam*, here *kāsi* means one thousand; a thing that is worth one thousand, is called *kāsiya*. This garment was worth five hundred; therefore it is called *addhakāsiya*. And for the same reason it is said, *upaddhakāsinam khamamānam*.' Perhaps *vikāsikam* at VI, 15, 5 may have some connection with the word used here.

¹ See last note.

those made of linen, of cotton, of silk, of wool, of coarse cloth, and of hempen cloth.'

2. At that time the Bhikkhus accepted lay robes, but did not get paṃsukūla robes, because they had scruples (and thought): 'The Blessed One has allowed us either kind of robes only, not both kinds¹.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, that he who accepts lay robes, may get also paṃsukūla robes. If you are pleased with those both sorts of robes, I approve that also.'

4.

1. At that time a number of Bhikkhus were travelling on the road in the Kosala country. Some of these Bhikkhus went off (the road) to a cemetery in order to get themselves paṃsukūla robes; some (other) Bhikkhus did not wait. Those Bhikkhus who had gone to the cemetery for paṃsukūla robes, got themselves paṃsukūlas; those Bhikkhus who had not waited, said to them: 'Friends, give us also a part (of your paṃsukūlas).' They replied, 'We will not give you a part, friends; why have you not waited?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you are not obliged to give a part against your will to Bhikkhus who have not waited.'

2. At that time a number of Bhikkhus were travelling on the road in the Kosala country. Some

¹ See chap. 1, § 35.

of these Bhikkhus went off (the road) to a cemetery in order to get themselves paṃsukūla robes; some (other) Bhikkhus waited for them. Those Bhikkhus who had gone to the cemetery for paṃsukūla robes, got themselves paṃsukūlas; those Bhikkhus who had waited, said to them: 'Friends, give us also a part (of your paṃsukūlas).' They replied, 'We will not give you a part, friends; why did you not also go off (to the cemetery)?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you give a part (even) against your will to Bhikkhus who have waited.'

3. At that time a number of Bhikkhus were travelling on the road in the Kosala country. Some of these Bhikkhus went aside first from (the road) to a cemetery in order to get themselves paṃsukūla robes; some (other) Bhikkhus went aside later. Those Bhikkhus who had gone first to the cemetery for paṃsukūla robes, got themselves paṃsukūlas; those Bhikkhus who had got off later, did not get any, and said (to the other ones): 'Friends, give us also a part.' They replied, 'We will not give you a part, friends; why did you get off (to the cemetery) after us?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you are not obliged to give a part against your will to Bhikkhus who have gone (to the cemetery) later (than yourselves).'

4. At that time a number of Bhikkhus were travelling on the road in the Kosala country. They went altogether off (the road) to a cemetery in order to get themselves paṃsukūla robes; some of the Bhikkhus got paṃsukūlas, other Bhikkhus did not

get any. The Bhikkhus who had got nothing, said : 'Friends, give us also a part (of your *pamsukûlas*).' They replied, 'We will not give you a part, friends; why did you not get (them yourselves)?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you give a part (even) against your will to Bhikkhus who have gone (to the cemetery) together with yourselves.'

5. At that time a number of Bhikkhus were travelling on the road in the Kosala country. They went off (the road) to a cemetery in order to get themselves *pamsukûla* robes, after having made an agreement (about the distribution of what they were to find). Some of the Bhikkhus got themselves *pamsukûlas*, other Bhikkhus did not get any. The Bhikkhus who had got nothing, said : 'Friends, give us also a part (of the *pamsukûlas*).' They replied, 'We will not give you a part, friends; why did you not get (them yourselves)?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you give a part, (even) against your will, to Bhikkhus who have gone (with you to the cemetery) after having made with you an agreement (about the distribution of the *pamsukûlas*).'

5.

1. At that time people went to the Ârâma with robes¹ (which they intended to present to the

¹ It will be as well to remind the reader that here and in the following chapters *ñivara* can mean both 'a robe' and 'cloth for making robes.'

Bhikkhus). They found there no Bhikkhu who was to receive the robes; so they took them back again. (In consequence of that) few robes were given (to the Bhikkhus).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you appoint a Bhikkhu possessed of the following five qualities, to receive the robes (presented to the Bhikkhus): (a person) who does not go in the evil course of lust, in the evil course of hatred, in the evil course of delusion, in the evil course of fear, and who knows what has been received and what has not.

2. ‘And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to appoint (such a Bhikkhu) in this way: First, that Bhikkhu must be asked (to accept that commission). When he has been asked, let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: “Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* appoint the Bhikkhu N. N. to receive the robes (presented to the Bhikkhus). This is the *ñatti*. Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. The *Samgha* appoints the Bhikkhu N. N. to receive the robes (presented). Let any one of the venerable brethren who is in favour of our appointing the Bhikkhu N. N. to receive the robes (presented), be silent, and any one who is not in favour of it, speak. The Bhikkhu N. N. has been appointed by the *Samgha* to receive the robes (presented). The *Samgha* is in favour of it, therefore are you silent; thus I understand.”’

6.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus who had to receive the robes (presented), after having received them, left them there (in the Vihâras) and went away; the robes were spoilt.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you appoint a Bhikkhu possessed of the following five qualities, to lay by the robes (received): (a person) who does not go in the evil course of lust, in the evil course of hatred, in the evil course of delusion, in the evil course of fear, and who knows what is laid by and what is not.

2. 'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to appoint (&c., see chap. 5, § 2).'

7.

At that time the Bhikkhus appointed to lay the robes by, laid the robes by in an open hall, or at the foot of a tree, or in the hollow of a Nimba tree¹; thus they were eaten by rats and white ants.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you appoint what the *Samgha* chooses, a Vihâra, or an *Addhayoga*², or a storied building, or an attic, or a cave, to be the store-room³ (of the *Samgha*).

¹ Compare III, 12, 5.

² Compare I, 30, 4.

³ The word *bhandâgâra* does not imply any special reference to robes more than to any other articles belonging to the *Samgha*. A good many things which were usually kept in the *bhandâgâra* are mentioned at *Kullav.* VI, 21, 3.

‘And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to appoint it in this way: Let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the *Samgha*: “Let the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, hear me. If the *Samgha* is ready, let the *Samgha* appoint the *Vihāra* called N. N. to be the store-room (of the *Samgha*), (&c., the usual formula of a *ñattidutiya kamma*).”’

8.

1. At that time the cloth in the *Samgha*’s store-room was not protected (from rain, mice, &c.)

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you appoint a Bhikkhu possessed of the following five qualities, to take charge of the store-room: (a person) who does not go in the evil course of lust (&c., as in chap. 5, § 1), and who knows what is protected and what is not.

‘And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to appoint (&c., see chap. 5, § 2).’

2. At that time the *Kāḍḍaggiya* Bhikkhus expelled a Bhikkhu, who had charge of a store-room, from his place.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, expel a Bhikkhu, who has charge of a store-room, from his place. He who does so, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.’

9.

1. At that time the *Samgha*’s store-room was over-full of clothes.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that they should be distributed by the assembled *Samgha*.'

At that time the whole *Samgha*, when distributing the clothes, made a bustle.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you appoint a Bhikkhu possessed of the following five qualities, to distribute the clothes: (a person) who does not go in the evil course of lust . . . and who knows what is distributed and what is not.

'And you ought, O Bhikkhus, to appoint (&c., see chap. 5, § 2).'

2. Now the Bhikkhus appointed to distribute the clothes thought: 'In what way are we to distribute the clothes?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you first assort the clothes, estimate them, share them according to their higher or lower value¹, then count the Bhikkhus, divide them into troops², and divide the portions of cloth (accordingly).'

Now the Bhikkhus, who were to distribute the clothes, thought: 'What portion of cloth shall be given to the *Sāmañeras*?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you give to the *Sāmañeras* half a portion.'

¹ Buddhaghosa: 'If there are robes of the same quality, for instance, each worth ten (*kāhāpanas*), for all Bhikkhus, it is all right; if they are not, they must take together the robes which are worth nine or eight, with those which are worth one or two, and thus they must make equal portions.'

² 'In case the day should not suffice for distributing the robes to the Bhikkhus one by one' (Buddhaghosa).

3. At that time a certain Bhikkhu wished to go across (a river or a desert) with the portion that should come to him.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you give to a Bhikkhu who is going across (a river or a desert), the portion that should come to him.’

At that time a certain Bhikkhu wished to go across (a river or a desert) with a greater portion (of cloth than fell to his share).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you give more than the due portion (to a Bhikkhu who desires it), if he gives a compensation.’

4. Now the Bhikkhus, who were to distribute the clothes, thought: ‘How are we to assign the portions of cloth (to the single Bhikkhus), by turns as they arrive (and ask for cloth), or according to their age (i. e. the time elapsed since their ordination)?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you cast lots, made of grass-blades, after having made every defective portion even.’

10.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus dyed cloth with (cow-)dung or with yellow clay. The robes were badly coloured.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you use the following six kinds of dye, viz. dye made of roots, dye made of trunks of trees, dye made of bark, dye made of leaves, dye made of flowers, dye made of fruits.’

2. At that time the Bhikkhus dyed cloth with unboiled dye ; the cloth became ill-smelling.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you boil the dye (and use) little dye-pots.’

They spilt the dye.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you put basins (under the dye-pots) to catch the spilt (dye).’

At that time the Bhikkhus did not know whether the dye was boiled or not.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you let a drop of dye fall into water, or on to your nail (in order to try if the dye is duly boiled).’

3. At that time the Bhikkhus, when pouring the dye out (of the pot), upset the pot ; the pot was broken.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you use a dye-ladle or a scoop with a long handle.’

At that time the Bhikkhus did not possess vessels for keeping dye.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you get jars and bowls for keeping the dye.’

At that time the Bhikkhus rubbed the cloth against the vessels and the bowls (in which they dyed it); the cloth was rent.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you use a (large) trough for dying (cloth) in.’

11.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus spread the cloth on the floor (when they had dyed it); the cloth became dusty.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you spread grass (and put the cloth on it).’

The grass they had spread was eaten by white ants.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you get a bambû peg or rope to hang the cloth on.’

They hung it up in the middle; the dye dropped down on both sides.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you tie it fast at the corner.’

The corner wore out.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, the use of a clothes-line.’

The dye dropped down on one side.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you turn the cloth, when dyeing it, whenever required, and that you do not go away before the dye has ceased to drop.’

2. At that time the cloth had become stiff¹.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

¹ Buddhaghosa: Patthinan ti (this is the reading of the Berlin MS.) atiragitaṭṭā thaddham, i. e. ‘Patthinam means that it had become stiff from too much dye.’ Thīna or thinna is Sanskrit styâna.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you dip (the cloth) into water (in order to remove the excessive dye).’

At that time the cloth became rough.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, (that you smooth it by) beating it with your hands.’

At that time the Bhikkhus possessed *akkhin-naka*¹ robes of yellowish colour like ivory. The people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: ‘(The Bhikkhus dress) like those who still live in the pleasures of the world.’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘You ought not, O Bhikkhus, to possess *akkhin-naka* robes. He who does, commits a *dukkata* offence.’

12.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Râgagaha as long as he thought fit, he set forth on his journey towards Dakkhinâ-giri (the Southern Hills²). And the Blessed One beheld how the Magadha rice fields were divided into short pieces³,

¹ That is, made of untorn cloth. See VIII, 21, 2.

² These are always mentioned in connection with Râgagaha (Mahâvagga I, 53; Kullavagga XI, 1-10), and are probably the name of the mountainous district immediately south of Râgagaha.

³ *Akkibaddhan* (sic) *ti katurassakedâarakabaddham* (B.). I have never seen a field divided ‘ray-fashion,’ which would apparently be the literal translation of the term, and it is difficult to see how the necessary water could be conducted from strip to strip of a field so divided. Buddhaghosa also, though his explanation is insufficient, evidently does not take *akki* in the ordinary sense (Rh. D.).

and in rows¹, and by outside boundaries² (or ridges), and by cross boundaries³.

On seeing this the Blessed One spake thus to the venerable Ānanda: 'Dost thou perceive, Ānanda, how the Magadha rice fields are divided into short pieces, and in rows, and by outside boundaries, and by cross boundaries?'

'Even so, Lord.'

'Could you, Ānanda, provide⁴ robes of a like kind for the Bhikkhus?'

'I could, Lord.'

Now when the Blessed One had remained in the Southern Hills as long as he thought fit, he returned again to Rāgagaha.

Then Ānanda provided robes of a like kind for many Bhikkhus; and going up to the place where the Blessed One was, he spake thus to the Blessed One: 'May the Blessed One be pleased to look at the robes which I have provided.'

2. Then the Blessed One on that occasion addressed the Bhikkhus and said: 'An able man, O Bhikkhus, is Ānanda; of great understanding, O Bhikkhus, is Ānanda, inasmuch as what has been spoken by me in short that can he understand in full, and can make the cross seams⁵, and the

¹ *Paṭibaddhan* (sic) ti āyāmato ka vitthārato ka dighamariyāda-baddham (B.).

² *Mariyādabaddhan* (sic) ti antaranārāya mariyādāya mariyādabaddham (B.).

³ *Siṅghātakabaddhan* (sic) ti mariyādāyā (sic) mariyādam vini-vigghitvā gatattāne siṅghātakabaddham. *Katukkasamhānan* ti attho (B.).

⁴ *Samvidahitun* ti kātum (B.).

⁵ *Kusim* pi'ti āyāmato ka vitthārato ka anuvātādinam digha-paṭṭānam etam adhivaṇanam (B.).

intermediate cross seams¹, and the greater circles², and the lesser circles³, and the turning in⁴, and the lining of the turning in⁵, and the collar piece⁶, and the knee piece⁷, and the elbow piece⁸. And it shall be of torn pieces⁹, roughly sewn together¹⁰, suitable for a Samana, a thing which his enemies cannot covet¹¹. I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, the use of an under robe of torn pieces, and of an upper robe of torn pieces, and of a waist cloth of torn pieces¹².

¹ *Addhakusī ti antaranatā rassa-paṭṭānam nāman (B.)*.

² *Mandalan ti paṇṇa-khandika-kivarassa ekekasmim khande mahā-maṇḍalam (B.)*.

³ *Addhamandalan ti khuddaka-maṇḍalam (B.)*.

⁴ *Vivattan ti maṇḍalañ ka addha-maṇḍalañ ka ekato katvā sibbitam magghima-khaṇḍam (B.)*.

⁵ *Anuvivattan ti tassa ubhosu passesu dve khaṇḍāni. Athavā vivaṭṭassa ekekapassato dvinnam pi kattanum pi khaṇḍānam etam nāman (B.)*.

⁶ *Giveyyakan ti gīva-tthāne dalhi-karan-attham aññam suttaṃ sibbitam āgantuka-paṭṭam (B.)*.

⁷ *Gaṅgheyyakan ti gaṅgha-pāpuna-tthāne tatth' eva samsibbita-paṭṭam. Gīva-tthāne ka gaṅgha-tthāne ka paṭṭānam ev' etam nāman ti pi vadanti (B.)*.

⁸ *Bāhantan ti anuvivaṭṭānam bahi ekekakhaṇḍam. Athavā suppaṃānam kivarān pārupentena saṃharitā bāhāya upari ṭhapitā ubho anto-bahi-mukhā ti tthanti. Tesam etam nāman. Ayam eva hi nayo Mahā-atthakathāyaṃ vutto ti (B.)*. This latter explanation from bāhā seems evidently more correct than the other one from bahi; and we accordingly follow it.

⁹ See the end of the last chapter.

¹⁰ *Satta-lūkha*; in which compound the signification of *satta* is by no means clear. *Buddhaghosa* has no note upon it. Now it is curious that in chapter 21, below, it is laid down that the robe is to be *sutta-lūkha*, the meaning of which would fit this passage excellently. We have accordingly adopted that reading here.

¹¹ Compare the similar expressions at *Gātaka* I, 8 and 9.

¹² The general sense of this chapter is clear enough. As an Indian field, the common property of the village community, was

13.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Rāgagaha as long as he thought fit, he went forth on his journey towards Vesāli. And the Blessed One, when on the high road between Rāgagaha and Vesāli, saw a number of Bhikkhus smothered up in robes¹, they went along with robes made up into a roll² on their heads, or on their backs, or on their waist. And when the Blessed One saw them, he thought: 'With too great celerity have these foolish persons given themselves up to superfluity³ in the matter of dress. It would be well were I to confine the dress of the Bhikkhus within limits, and were to fix a bound thereto.'

2. And the Blessed One, proceeding in due course on his journey toward Vesāli, arrived at that place. And there, at Vesāli, the Blessed One stayed at the Gotamaka shrine⁴. And at that time in the cold

divided, for the purposes of cultivation, across and across, so must also the Bhikkhu's robe be divided. That some, both of the agricultural and of the tailoring terms, should now be unintelligible to us is not surprising. Buddhaghosa himself, as the extracts from his commentary show, was not certain of the meaning of them all.

¹ *Ubbhāṇḍite āvarehi*. The former word is of course applied to the Bhikkhus. Compare Childers, under *Bhāṇḍikā*, and *Gātaka* I, 504 (last line but one).

² *Bhisī* = Sanskrit *Brisī*. Compare the 14th *Pāṭṭiya*, where we ought to have rendered the word 'bolster.' Childers is incorrect in translating it by 'mat.'

³ Mentioned also, as being near to Vesāli, in the 'Book of the Great Decease,' III, 2.

⁴ *Bāhullāya āvattā*. This phrase occurs in *Mahāvagga* I, 31, 5.

winter nights, in the period between the *Ashtakā* festivals when the snow falls¹, the Blessed One sat at night in the open air with but one robe on, and the Blessed One felt not cold. As the first watch of the night was coming to its end, the Blessed One felt cold; and he put on a second robe, and felt not cold. As the middle watch of the night was coming to its end, the Blessed One felt cold; and he put on a third robe, and felt not cold. As the last watch of the night was coming to an end, when the dawn was breaking and the night was far spent², the Blessed One felt cold; and he put on a fourth robe, and felt not cold.

3. Then this thought sprang up in the Blessed One's mind: 'Those men of good birth³ in this doctrine and discipline who are affected by cold, and are afraid of cold, they are able to make use of three robes⁴. It were well if in confining within limits the dress of the Bhikkhus, and in fixing a bound thereto, I were to allow the use of three robes.' And on that occasion the Blessed One, when he had

¹ See our note on the same phrase at *Mahāvagga* I, 20, 15.

² *Nandimukhiyā rattiyā*. The derivation of this phrase is uncertain, though the general meaning is not subject to doubt. The Sanskrit form of the whole phrase will be found in the *Lalita Vistara* at p. 447. Comp. *Sāṅkhāyana-grīhya*, ed. Oldenberg, IV, 4, where the word *nāṇḍimukho* occurs in a different connection.

³ In the text read *Ye pi kho kulaputtā*. The idea is that men of lower grade, being accustomed to cold, would not want so many robes. But there must be one rule for all; and the rule is accordingly made to suit the comfort of the weaker brethren—early Buddhism, contrary to an erroneous opinion still frequently expressed, being opposed to asceticism.

⁴ Or, 'to get on with the three robes.' Compare the use of *yāpetum* in the 'Book of the Great Decease,' II, 32.

delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

4, 5. 'When on the high road, &c. . . . I saw, &c. . . . and I thought, &c. . . . (all the chapter is repeated down to ". . . . I were to allow the use of three robes"). I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of three robes, (to wit), a double waist cloth, and a single¹ upper robe, and a single under garment².'

¹ *Ekakkhiyam*. Compare *Gâtaka* I, 326. Buddhaghosa says *dvigunam dupaṭṭa-samghâṣim ekakkhiyam ekapaṭṭam*. Though 'single,' the lengths of cotton cloth, pieced together, of which the robes were made, were allowed to be doubled at the seams, the collar, the elbows, and the knees. See above, VII, 1, 5.

² The waist cloth (*samghâṭi*) was wrapped round the waist and back, and secured with a girdle. The under garment (*antara-vāsaka*; see also the end of this note) was wrapped round the loins and reached below the knee, being fastened round the loins by an end of the cloth being tucked in there; and sometimes also by a girdle. The upper robe (*uttarāsanga*) was wrapped round the legs from the loins to the ankles, and the end was then drawn, at the back, from the right hip, over the left shoulder, and either (as is still the custom in Siam, and in the Siamese sect in Ceylon) allowed to fall down in front, or (as is still the custom in Burma, and in the Burmese sect in Ceylon) drawn back again over the right shoulder, and allowed to fall down on the back. From the constant reference to the practice of adjusting the robe over one shoulder as a special mark of respect (for instance, *Mahāvagga* I, 29, 2; IV, 3, 3), the Burmese custom would seem to be in accordance with the most ancient way of usually wearing the robe. The oldest statues of the Buddha, which represent the robe as falling over only one shoulder, are probably later than the passages just referred to.

The ordinary dress of laymen, even of good family, in Gotama's time was much more scanty than the decent dress thus prescribed for the Bhikkhus. See Rh. D.'s note on the 'Book of the Great Decease,' VI, 26. But it consisted also, like that of the Bhikkhus, not in garments made with sleeves or trousers, to fit the limbs, but in simple lengths of cloth.

The *antara-vāsaka* corresponds, in the dress of the monks, to

6. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, on the ground that three robes had been allowed by the Blessed One, used to frequent the village in one suit of three robes, and in another suit to rest in the *Ârâma*, and in another to go to the bath. Then those Bhikkhus who were modest were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, 'How can the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus wear extra suits of robes.'

And those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One. Then the Blessed One on that occasion, when he had delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear an extra suit of robes. Whosoever does so, shall be dealt with according to law¹.'

7. Now at that time the venerable *Ânanda* had acquired an extra suit of robes, and the venerable *Ânanda* was desirous of giving the extra suit to the venerable *Sâriputta*, but the venerable *Sâriputta* was staying at *Sâketa*. Then the venerable *Ânanda* thought: 'It hath been laid down by the Blessed One that we are not to keep an extra suit of robes. Now I have received one, and I want to give it to the venerable *Sâriputta*; but he is staying at *Sâketa*. What now shall I do?'

the *sâ/ika* in the dress of ordinary women, and was of the same shape as the *udaka-sâ/ika*, or bathing dress, prescribed for the use both of monks (below, chapter 15) and of nuns (*Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga*, *Pâṭṭiya* XXII). The latter was, however, somewhat shorter.

The ordinary dress of the *Bhikkhunîs* or Sisters consisted of the same three garments as that of the Bhikkhus.

¹ That is, according to the first *Nissaggiya*. The first section of the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* on that rule is identical with this section.

And the venerable Ānanda told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘How long will it be, Ānanda, before the venerable Sāriputta returns?’

‘He will come back, Lord, on the ninth or the tenth day from now.’

Then the Blessed One on that occasion, when he had delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said:

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to keep an extra suit of robes up to the tenth day¹.’

8. Now at that time the Bhikkhus used to get extra suits of robes given to them. And these Bhikkhus thought: ‘What now should we do with extra suits of robes?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to make over an extra suit of robes (to other Bhikkhus who have no robes²).’

14.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Vesāli as long as he thought fit, he went onwards on his journey towards Benares. And in due course he arrived at Benares, and there, at Benares, he stayed in the hermitage in the Migadāya.

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu’s under robe was torn. And that Bhikkhu thought: ‘The Blessed

¹ So the first Nissaggiya; the second section of the Sutta-vibhaṅga on which rule is identical with this section 7.

² On *vikappetum*, compare our note above, the 59th Pāṭṭiya, and below, chapters 20, 22.

One has ordained the use of three robes, a double waist cloth, and a single upper robe, and a single under-garment¹, and this under-garment of mine is torn. What if I were to insert a slip of cloth² so that the robe shall be double all round and single in the middle.'

2. So that Bhikkhu inserted a slip of cloth. And the Blessed One on his way round the sleeping apartments saw him doing so, went up to the place where he was, and said to him :

'What are you doing, O Bhikkhu ?'

'I am inserting a slip of cloth, Lord.'

'That is very good, O Bhikkhu. It is quite right of you, O Bhikkhu, to insert a slip of cloth.'

And the Blessed One on that occasion, when he had delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use a double waist cloth, and a single upper robe, and a single under-garment, of cloths which are new, or as good as new³; and the use of a fourfold waist cloth, and of a double upper robe, and of a double under robe of cloth which has been worn for a long time. You are to make endeavour to get sufficient material from rags taken from the dust-heap⁴, or from bits picked up in the bazaar⁴. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, slips of cloth inserted bolt-like to hold a torn robe

¹ See above, VIII, 13, 5.

² Buddhaghosa says, *Aggaḷam akkhaḍḍeyyan* (sic) *ti khinna-tthāne* *pilotika-khaṇḍam* *laggāpeyyam*. The word occurs at *Gāṭaka* I, 8, where the liability to want such an insertion is given as one of the nine disadvantages of a robe from the ascetic's point of view.

³ *Ahata-kappānam*. See above, VII, 1, 6.

⁴ See our notes on these expressions above, VII, 1, 6.

together, patches¹, darns², and small pieces of cloth sewn on by way of marking², or of strengthening² the robe.'

15.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Benares as long as he thought fit, he went onwards on his journey toward Sâvatthi. And in due course journeying straight on he arrived at Sâvatthi; and there, at Sâvatthi, he stayed at the *Getavana*, *Anâtha-piṇḍika's* *Ârâma*. And Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra went up to the place where the Blessed One was; and when she had come there, she saluted the Blessed One, and took her seat on one side. And the Blessed One taught Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra seated thus: and incited, and aroused, and gladdened her with religious discourse. And Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra when she had been thus taught, &c., spake thus to the Blessed One: 'Will my Lord the Blessed One consent to accept his morrow's meal at my hands, together with the company of the Bhikkhus?' The Blessed One, by remaining silent, granted his consent; and Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra, perceiving that the Blessed One had consented, rose from her seat, and saluted the Blessed One, and keeping him on her right side as she passed him, she departed thence.

¹ This liability to have to be patched is given, in connection with the previous phrase, as one of the nine disadvantages of robes at *Gâtaka* I, 8; and *tunnavâya* occurs as the expression for a mender of old clothes at *Kullavagga* VI, 5, 1:

² See our notes on these expressions above, VII, 1, 5.

2. Now at that time, when the night was far spent, there was a great storm of rain over the whole world¹. And the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus:

‘Just as it is raining in the *Getavana*, O Bhikkhus, so is it raining over the whole world. Let yourselves, O Bhikkhus, be rained down upon, for this is the last time there will be a mighty storm of rain over the whole world.’

‘Even so, Lord,’ said those Bhikkhus in assent to the Blessed One; and throwing off their robes they let themselves be rained down upon.

3. And Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra having provided sweet food, both hard and soft, gave command to a slave girl, saying,

‘Go thou² to the *Ârâma*; and when you are there, announce the time, saying, “The time, Sirs, has arrived, and the meal is ready.”’

‘Even so, my Lady,’ said the slave girl in assent to Visâkhâ, the mother of Migâra; and going to the *Ârâma* she beheld there the Bhikkhus, with their robes thrown off, letting themselves be rained down upon. Then thinking, ‘These are not Bhikkhus in the *Ârâma*, they are naked ascetics letting the rain fall on them,’ she returned to the place where Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra was, and said to her:

‘There are no Bhikkhus in the *Ârâma*; there are

¹ *Kâtuddîpiko*, literally, ‘over the four continents,’ into which the world was supposed to be divided. Compare Genesis vii. 44.

² *Gakkha ge*; where *ge* is the appropriate form of address invariably used to a female slave or maid-servant. Compare Childers, in the ‘Dictionary,’ p. 617.

naked ascetics there, letting the rain fall on themselves.'

Then it occurred to Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra—she being learned, expert, and wise—'For a certainty the venerable ones must have thrown off their robes in order to let themselves be rained down upon, and this foolish girl thinks therefore that there are no Bhikkhus in the Ârâma, but only naked ascetics letting the rain fall on them.' And she again gave command to the slave girl, saying,

'Go thou to the Ârâma; and when you are there, announce the time, saying, "The time, Sirs, has arrived, and the meal is ready."'

4. Now the Bhikkhus when they had cooled their limbs, and were refreshed in body, took their robes, and entered each one into his chamber. When the slave girl came to the Ârâma, not seeing any Bhikkhus, she thought: 'There are no Bhikkhus in the Ârâma. The Ârâma is empty.' And returning to Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra she said so.

Then it occurred to Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra—she being learned, expert, and wise—'For a certainty the venerable ones, when they had cooled their limbs and were refreshed in body, must have taken their robes, and entered each one into his chamber.' And she again gave command to the slave girl, saying,

'Go thou to Ârâma; and when you are there announce the time, saying, "The time, Sirs, has arrived, and the meal is ready."'

5. And the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: 'Make yourselves ready, O Bhikkhus, with bowl and robe; the hour for the meal has come.'

'Even so, Lord,' said the Bhikkhus in assent to

the Blessed One. And in the morning the Blessed One, having put on his under-garment, and being duly bowled and robed, vanished from the *Getavana* as quickly as a strong man would stretch forth his arm when it was drawn in, or draw it in again when it was stretched forth, and appeared in the mansion¹ of *Visâkhâ* the mother of *Migâra*. And the Blessed One took his seat on the seat spread out for him, and with him the company of the *Bhikkhus*.

6. Then said *Visâkhâ* the mother of *Migâra*: 'Most wonderful, most marvellous is the might and the power of the *Tathâgata*, in that though the floods are rolling on knee-deep, and though the floods are rolling on waist-deep, yet is not a single *Bhikkhu* wet, as to his feet, or as to his robes.' And glad and exalted in heart she served and offered with her own hand to the company of the *Bhikkhus*, with the *Buddha* at their head, sweet food, both hard and soft. And when the Blessed One had finished his meal, and had cleansed his hands and the bowl, she took her seat on one side. And, so sitting, she spake thus to the Blessed One:

'Eight are the boons, Lord, which I beg of the Blessed One.'

'The *Tathâgatas*, O *Visâkhâ*, are above granting boons (before they know what they are)².'

'Proper, Lord, and unobjectionable are the boons I ask.'

'Speak then, O *Visâkhâ*.'

7. 'I desire, Lord, my life long to bestow robes

¹ *Koṭṭhaka* does not only mean a room, as given by Childers: it signifies here, as at *Gâtaka* I, 227, a battlemented dwelling, the house of a person of rank.

² See our note on this phrase at I, 54, 4.

for the rainy season on the *Samgha*, and food for in-coming Bhikkhus, and food for out-going Bhikkhus, and food for the sick, and food for those who wait upon the sick, and medicine for the sick, and a constant supply of congey, and bathing robes for the nuns.'

'But what circumstance is it, O Visâkhâ, that you have in view in asking these eight boons of the Tathâgata?'

'I gave command, Lord, to my slave girl, saying, "Go thou to the Ârâma; and when you are there, announce the time, saying, 'The time, Sirs, has arrived, and the meal is ready.' " And the slave girl went, Lord, to the Ârâma; but when she beheld there the Bhikkhus with their robes thrown off, letting themselves be rained down upon, she thought: "These are not Bhikkhus in the Ârâma, they are naked ascetics letting the rain fall on them," and she returned to me and reported accordingly. Impure, Lord, is nakedness, and revolting. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring to provide the *Samgha* my life long with special garments for use in the rainy season¹.

8. 'Moreover, Lord, an in-coming Bhikkhu, not being able to take the direct roads, and not knowing the places where food can be procured, comes on his way wearied out by seeking for an alms. But when he has partaken of the food I shall have provided for in-coming Bhikkhus, he will come on his way without being wearied out by seeking for an alms, taking the direct road, and knowing the place where food can be procured. It was this circumstance

¹ See below, the note on § 15.

that I had in view in desiring to provide the *Samgha* my life long with food for in-coming Bhikkhus.

‘Moreover, Lord, an out-going Bhikkhu, while seeking about for an alms for himself, may be left behind by the caravan¹, or may arrive too late at the place whither he desires to go, and will set out on the road in weariness. But when he has partaken of the food I shall have provided for out-going Bhikkhus, he will not be left behind by the caravan; he will arrive in due time at the place whither he desires to go, and he will set out on the road when he is not weary. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring to provide the *Samgha* my life long with food for out-going Bhikkhus.

9. ‘Moreover, Lord, if a sick Bhikkhu does not obtain suitable foods his sickness may increase upon him, or he may die. But if a Bhikkhu have taken the diet that I shall have provided for the sick, neither will his sickness increase upon him, nor will he die. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring to provide the *Samgha* my life long with diet for the sick.

‘Moreover, Lord, a Bhikkhu who is waiting upon the sick, if he has to seek out food for himself, may bring in the food (to the invalid) when the sun is already far on his course², and he will lose his

¹ Compare *sukhâ vihâyati* in the *Sigâlovâda Sutta* at p. 302 of Grimblot's ‘*Sept Suttas Pâlis*.’

² Compare *Ussûra-seyyo* in the *Sigâlovâda Sutta* at p. 302 of Grimblot's ‘*Sept Suttas Pâlis*;’ and Böhrling-Roth, under *utsûra*.

opportunity of taking his food¹. But when he has partaken of the food I shall have provided for those who wait upon the sick, he will bring in food to the invalid in due time, and he will not lose his opportunity of taking his food. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring to provide the *Samgha* my life long with food for those who wait upon the sick.

10. 'Moreover, Lord, if a sick Bhikkhu does not obtain suitable medicines his sickness may increase upon him, or he may die. But if a Bhikkhu have taken the medicines which I shall have provided for the sick, neither will his sickness increase upon him, nor will he die. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring to provide the *Samgha* my life long with medicines for the sick.

'Moreover, Lord, the Blessed One when at Andhakavinda, having in view the ten advantages thereof, allowed the use of congey². It was those advantages I had in view, Lord, in desiring to provide the *Samgha* my life long with a constant supply of congey.

11. 'Now, Lord, the Bhikkhunts are in the habit of bathing in the river *Akiravattī* with the courtesans, at the same landing-place, and naked. And the courtesans, Lord, ridiculed the Bhikkhunts, saying, "What is the good, ladies, of your maintaining³ chastity when you are young? are not the

¹ *Bhattakkhedam* karissati, because he may not eat solid food after sun-turn.

² See *Mahāvagga* VI, 24. The ten advantages are enumerated in § 5 there.

³ In the text read *kinna*. Compare *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga*, *Pāṭiṭṭiya* XXI, 1, where the whole passage recurs. The first sentence also recurs *ibid.*, *Pāṭiṭṭiya* II.

passions things to be indulged? When you are old, maintain chastity then; thus will you be obtainers of both ends." Then the Bhikkhuns, Lord, when thus ridiculed by the courtesans, were confused. Impure, Lord, is nakedness for a woman, disgusting, and revolting. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring to provide the Bhikkhun^s-saṃgha my life long with dresses to bathe in.'

12. 'But what was the advantage you had in view for yourself, O Visâkhâ, in asking these eight boons of the Tathâgata?'

'Bhikkhus who have spent the rainy seasons in various places will come, Lord, to Sâvatthi, to visit the Blessed One. And on coming to the Blessed One they will ask, saying, "Such and such a Bhikkhu, Lord, has died. Where has he been re-born, and what is his destiny?" Then will the Blessed One explain that he had attained to the fruits of conversion, or of the state of the Sakadâgâmins, or of the state of the Anâgâmins, or of Arahats¹hip. And I, going up to them, shall ask, "Was that brother, Sirs, one of those who had formerly been at Sâvatthi?"'

13. 'If they should reply to me, "He had formerly been at Sâvatthi," then shall I arrive at the conclusion, "For a certainty did that brother enjoy either the robes for the rainy season, or the food for the in-coming Bhikkhus, or the food for the out-going Bhikkhus, or the food for the sick, or the food for those that wait upon the sick, or the

¹ A conversation of the kind here referred to is related, as having actually taken place at Nâdika, in the 'Book of the Great Decease,' II, 5-8.

medicine for the sick, or the constant supply of congey." Then will gladness spring up within me on my calling that to mind; and joy will arise to me thus gladdened; and so rejoicing all my frame will be at peace; and being thus at peace I shall experience a blissful feeling of content; and in that bliss my heart will be at rest; and that will be to me an exercise of my moral sense, an exercise of my moral powers, an exercise of the seven kinds of wisdom¹! This, Lord, was the advantage I had in view for myself in asking those eight boons of the Blessed One.'

14. 'It is well, it is well, Visākhā. Thou hast

¹ The succession of ideas in this paragraph is very suggestive, and throws much light both upon the psychological views and upon the religious feelings of the early Buddhists. The exact rendering of course of the abstract terms employed in the Pāli text is no doubt, as yet, beset with difficulty, for the reasons pointed out in Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,' pp. xxv, xxvi; but the general sense of the passage is already sufficiently clear. For one or two words we have no real and adequate equivalent.

Kāya is neither 'body' nor 'faculties'; it is the whole frame, the whole individuality, looked at rather objectively than subjectively, and rather from the outward and visible than from the inner, metaphysical, stand-point. Compare the use of *Sakkāya-di//hi* and of *Kāyena passati*.

Sukha is not so much 'happiness,' simply and vaguely, as the serenity of the bliss which follows on happiness. It is contrasted with, and follows after, *pāmogga* and *pti*, in the same way as in this passage, in the standing description of the *Ghānas* (translated by Rh. D. in the *Mahā-sudassana Sutta* II, 5-8, in the 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 272). Its opposite, *Dukkha*, is a positive state of pain, and in comparison with this, *sukha* is negative, the absence of pain.

Kitta is always more emotional than intellectual. It has the connotation, not of 'mind,' as is usually and erroneously supposed, but of 'heart.'

done well in asking eight boons of the Tathâgata with such advantages in view.'

And the Blessed One gave thanks to Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra in these verses ;

'Whatsoever woman, upright in life, a disciple of the Happy One, gives, glad at heart and overcoming avarice, both food and drink—a gift, heavenly, destructive of sorrow, productive of bliss,—

'A heavenly life does she attain, entering upon the Path that is free from corruption and impurity ;

'Aiming at good, happy does she become, and free from sickness, and long does she rejoice in a heavenly body.'

And when the Blessed One had given thanks to Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra in these verses, he arose from his seat, and departed thence.

15. Then the Blessed One on that occasion, after he had delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, garments for the rainy season¹, and food for in-coming Bhikkhus, and food for out-going Bhikkhus, and diet for the sick, and food for those that wait upon the sick, and medicine for the sick, and a constant supply of congey, and bathing robes for the sisterhood.'

Here ends the chapter called the
Visâkhâ-bhânavâra.

¹ The size of such a garment is limited by the 91st Pâṭittiya to six spans by two-and-a-half—that is just enough to go round the loins from the waist half down to the knee. It would be decent, and yet avoid the disadvantage of wearing the robes in the rain, where they would become wet and heavy in the manner described, for instance, at Mahāvagga VII, 1, 1.

16.

1, 2. Now at that time Bhikkhus who had eaten sweet foods went to sleep unmindful and unthoughtful. And they who had thus gone to sleep, dreamed¹.

3. 'I allow, O Bhikkhus, for the protection of the body, and of the robe, and of the sleeping-place, the use of a mat.'

4. Now at that time the mat, being too short², did not protect the whole of the sleeping-place.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to have a covering made as large as you like.'

17³.

1. Now at that time the venerable Belatthasīsa, the superior of the venerable Ānanda, had a disease of thick scabs; and by reason of the discharge thereof his robes stuck to his body. The Bhikkhus moistened those robes with water, and loosened them (from his body).

The Blessed One, as he was going on his rounds through the sleeping-places, saw them [doing so], and going up to the place where they were, he asked them :

¹ The remainder of this introductory story scarcely bears translation. The first sentences recur in the Sutta-vibhaṅga, *Samghādisesa* I, 2, 1, and *Pāṭiṭṭiya* V, 1, 1.

² The length of a mat (*nisīdanam*) was limited by the 89th *Pāṭiṭṭiya* to two spans by one.

³ This introductory story is also given as the introduction to Mahāvagga VI, 9.

‘What is the matter, O Bhikkhus, with this Bhikkhu?’

‘The venerable one has the disease of thick scabs; and by reason of the discharge thereof his robes stick to his body. So we are moistening those robes thoroughly with water, to loosen them (from his body).’

2. Then the Blessed One on that occasion, after having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, to whomsoever has the itch, or boils, or a discharge, or scabs, the use of an itch-cloth¹.’

18.

1. Now Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra took a cloth for wiping the face, and went up to the place where the Blessed One was. And on arriving there, she saluted the Blessed One, and took her seat on one side, and, so sitting, Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra spake thus to the Blessed One :

‘May the Blessed One be pleased to accept of me this cloth for wiping the face, that that may be to me for a long time for a blessing and for good.’

And the Blessed One accepted the cloth for wiping the face. And he taught, and incited, and aroused, and gladdened Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra with religious discourse. And she, so taught &c., rose from her seat, and saluted the

¹ According to the 90th Pâṭṭiya such a cloth must not be more than four spans in length, and two in breadth.

Blessed One, and passing him on her right side, she departed thence.

Then the Blessed One on that occasion, after having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a cloth to wipe your faces with.’

19.

1. Now at that time Roga the Malla was a friend of the venerable Ānanda's¹. And a linen cloth belonging to Roga the Malla had been deposited in the keeping of the venerable Ānanda; and the venerable Ānanda had need of a linen cloth.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to take a thing on trust (that it would be given to you) when it belongs to a person possessed of these five qualifications—he must be an intimate and familiar friend who has been spoken to (about it)² and is alive, (and the Bhikkhu taking the thing) must know “He will remain pleased with me after I have taken it.” I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to take a thing on trust (that it would be given to you)³ when it belongs to a person possessed of these five qualifications.’

¹ He is also mentioned as such in Mahāvagga VI, 36.

² Buddhaghosa says, *Ālapito ti mama santakam gaṇhāhi yaṃ ikkheyyāsiṃti evaṃ vutto*.

³ *Vissāsam gaṇhetum*, on which phrase compare *vissāsa gaṇhāti* in chapter 31, below, where the context leaves no doubt as to its meaning.

20.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus were fully provided with the three robes, but they had need of water-strainers¹ and of bags (to carry their bowls and other things in)².

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, pieces of cloth requisite (for those purposes).’

2. Then it occurred to the Bhikkhus: ‘The things allowed by the Blessed One—the three robes, and the robes for the rainy season, and the mat, and the bed-covering, and the cloth to cover boils &c. with, and to wipe the face with, and required (for water-strainers and bags)—are all these things things which ought to be kept to ourselves³, or things which ought to be handed over⁴ (from time to time by one Bhikkhu to another)?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to keep in hand the three robes, and not to assign them—to keep to yourselves the robes for the rainy season during the four months of the rains, but beyond that time to hand them over—to keep to yourselves the mats and the bed coverings, and not to hand them over—to keep to yourselves the coverings for the itch &c. while the disease lasts, but beyond that time to

¹ Compare *Kullavagga* VI, 13.

² Compare the passages given in the index to the text of the *Kullavagga*, p. 355, s. v. *thavikā*.

³ Compare below, VIII, 24, 3.

⁴ Compare above, VIII, 8, 3.

hand them over—to keep to yourselves the cloths to wipe the face with, and those required for water-strainers and bags, and not to hand them over.’

21.

1. Now the Bhikkhus thought: ‘What is the limit for the size of a robe up to which it ought to be handed over to another Bhikkhu¹?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, to hand over any robe which is in length eight inches according to the accepted inch².’

Now at that time a robe belonging to the venerable Mahā Kassapa, which had been made of cast-off pieces of cloth became heavy (by reason of the weight of the new pieces tacked on to it³).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to darn it roughly together with thread⁴.’

It was uneven at the end⁵.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to remove the unevenness⁶.’

¹ See VIII, 13, 8, and our note on the 59th Pākittiya.

² See our note on this word in the 92nd Pākittiya.

³ So explains the commentary, *Khinna-//hāne aggalāropanena garuko hoti*.

⁴ *Suttalūkham kātun ti sutten’ eva aggalam kātun ti atho* (B.). Compare above, chapter 12. 2.

⁵ *Vikanno ti suttam aññitvā sabbantānam eko samghāṇ-kono digho hoti*, says Buddhaghosa. *Vikannaka* in the 233rd Gāṭaka seems to mean ‘harpoon.’

⁶ *Vikannam uddharitun ti dīgha-konam khinditum* (B.).

The threads frayed out¹.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to put a braiding or a binding along or round (the edge)².’

Now at that time the ribbons³ of the under garment gave way⁴.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make an eight-footed . . . ⁵.’

2. Now at that time when a set of robes was being made for a certain Bhikkhu it was impossible to make it entirely from torn pieces of cloth⁶.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to have two of the robes made of torn pieces of cloth, and one of cloth not torn.’

It was impossible to make two of the robes of torn pieces of cloth, and one of cloth not torn.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make two robes

¹ Okiratî (sic) ti *khinna-konato gaḷati* (B.). *Gaḷati* at VI, 13, 1, is ‘ran over,’ whereas *okiriyanti* at the corresponding passages VI, 12, 1, 2, is ‘were spilt.’ Probably the above rendering is the real meaning here, as the threads could not be literally spilt or sprinkled.

² On these difficult technical terms Buddhaghosa provokingly says, *anuvātaṃ paribhaṇḍaṃ anuvātañ k’eva paribhaṇḍaṃ*. Childers, under the first, has merely ‘with the wind,’ and under the second, ‘girdle.’ The same expressions occur also above, at VII, 1, 5, where Buddhaghosa again only explains the words by the words themselves.

³ We probably ought to read *paṭṭā*, not *pattā*; but what is meant by the ribbons of the *samghāṭi* is very doubtful. Buddhaghosa says nothing.

⁴ For *luggati* compare *paluggati*.

⁵ What this is is again uncertain, and Buddhaghosa gives no help.

⁶ See above, chapter 11, at the end.

(out of the set) of untorn pieces, and one of torn pieces.'

Even this was impossible.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make (each robe out of the set) half (from torn pieces) and half¹ (from untorn pieces). But a set of robes made entirely from untorn pieces is not to be worn. Whosoever shall wear (a set of robes so made) is guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

22.

1. Now at that time a quantity of robes had come into the possession of a certain Bhikkhu, and he was desirous of giving those robes to his father and mother.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'Since they are his father and mother, what can we say, O Bhikkhus, though he give them to them. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give (robes, in such a case,) to your parents. And a gift of faith is not to be made of no avail. Whosoever shall make it of no avail, he is guilty of a dukkaṭa².'

23.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu who had deposited his robes³ in Andhavana entered the

¹ Anvādhikam, on which Buddhaghosa says nothing.

² Compare the 1st and 3rd Nissaggiyas, and above, VIII, 13, 8, as to the rules concerning extra robes, and what is to be done with them.

³ For the rule as to such depositing, see the 29th Nissaggiya.

village for alms (clad only) in his waist cloth and nether garment¹. Thieves carried off that robe. That Bhikkhu became ragged and ill-clad.

The Bhikkhus spake thus: 'How is it, friend, that you have become ragged and ill-clad?'

'I had deposited my robe in Andhavana, and entered the village in my waist cloth and nether garment. Thieves carried off that robe. Thence am I become ragged and ill-clad.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to enter the village (clad only) in your waist cloth and nether garment. Whosoever shall do so is guilty of a dukkaṭa².'

2. Now at that time the venerable Ānanda through thoughtlessness went into the village for alms in his waist cloth and nether garment.

The Bhikkhus spake to him thus: 'Hath it not been laid down by the Blessed One that we are not to enter the village in our waist cloth and nether garment. Why have you, O friend, gone so into the village?'

'It is true, my friends, that it has been laid down by the Blessed One that we are not to enter the village so, but I did it out of thoughtlessness.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

3. 'There are five reasons, O Bhikkhus, for laying

Kīvara (robe) must here be used for *Samghāṭi*. See our note on VIII, 13, 5, and section 2, below, where *samghāṭi* occurs.

¹ On *Santaruttara*, see the 7th *Nissaggiya*. It is clear from this passage that Buddhaghosa was right in his limitation of the word as used in that rule; and we should have done better, therefore, to follow it in our translation of the rule.

² Compare the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th *Sekhiyas*, and the 2nd *Nissaggiya*; and also above, VII, 1, 3.

aside the robe¹—when he (the Bhikkhu) is sick, when it is the appointed time for keeping the rainy season², when it is necessary to go to the other side of a river, when the vihâra has been securely fastened with a bolt³, when the Kathina ceremony has been performed⁴. These, O Bhikkhus, are the five reasons for laying aside the robe (*Samghâti*).

‘There are five reasons, O Bhikkhus, for laying aside the waist cloth and the nether garment. [The reasons are the same as in the last paragraph.] These, O Bhikkhus, are the five reasons, &c.

‘There are five reasons for laying aside the garment for use in the rainy season—when he is sick, when it is necessary to go beyond the boundary (?)⁵, when it is necessary to go to the other side of a river, when the vihâra has been securely fastened with a bolt, when the garment for use in the rainy

¹ Here the word used is *Samghâti*.

² On *samketa*, compare II, 8, 1. Buddhaghosa merely says here, *Vassika-samketan ti kattâro mâse*. As *samketa* implies a mutual agreement, the ‘appointed time’ here probably means, not the time fixed by the Buddha, but the time agreed upon by the *Samgha* as that to which the rule laid down by the Buddha should apply. There may easily have arisen questions as to the exact day on which the four months should properly begin; and there were even differences of opinion as to the exact length of the period itself, some making it three, and some four months. See on these points Childers, under *Vassa* and *Vassûpanâyikâ*.

³ From fear of thieves.

⁴ See the 2nd *Nissaggiya*, and above, VII, 1, 3.

⁵ Buddhaghosa has nothing on this reason. It would seem that the garment in question might be left behind when the Bhikkhu had to go on a journey, if that journey would take him beyond the boundary of the technical ‘residence.’ On the use of the word, see the passages collected by H. O. in the Index to the Pâli Text (vol. ii. p. 349, s. v. *sîmâ*).

season has not been made, or has been left unfinished¹.

‘These, O Bhikkhus, are the five reasons,’ &c.

24.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu kept Vassa² alone. The people then gave him robes, saying, ‘We give them to the Samgha.’

Then that Bhikkhu thought: ‘It has been laid down by the Blessed One that the lowest number which can constitute a Samgha is four³. Now I am by myself, and these people have given the robes, saying, “We give them to the Samgha.” I had better take these robes, which are the property of a Samgha, to Sāvatti.’

So that Bhikkhu did so, and told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘These robes are your own, O Bhikkhu, until the Kathina ceremony shall have been performed⁴.’

2. ‘Now in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu keep Vassa alone, and the people of the place give

¹ It is evident from this last reason that the reasons are not such as would justify a Bhikkhu in laying aside the garment in such a way as to remain naked, but such as would justify him in not using the rainy-season garment when he might otherwise have done so. In the five cases mentioned he might wear the nether garment only reaching from above the navel to below the knees, instead of the garment for the rainy season, which was smaller in size. See our note above on VIII, 13, 5, and VIII, 15, 15.

² That is, spent the rainy season.

³ This is laid down in Mahāvagga IX, 4, 1.

⁴ And thereby the Kathina license suspended. Compare the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Nissaggiyas, and our note on p. 18.

him robes, intending them for the *Samgha*,—I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that those robes shall be his until the *Katthina* ceremony shall have been performed.’

3. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu spent the rest of the year (besides the rainy season)¹ alone. The people there (&c., as before, in the first paragraph of 24. 1, down to the end).

So that Bhikkhu did so, and told the matter to the Bhikkhus. They told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you are to divide such robes with the *Samgha* (whether large or small in number) that may be present there.

4. ‘Now in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu spend the rest of the year (besides the rainy season) alone, and the people of the place give him robes, intending them for the *Samgha*,—I allow, O Bhikkhus, that that Bhikkhu should appropriate those robes to himself², saying, “These robes are for me.” If another Bhikkhu should arrive before those robes have been appropriated to that Bhikkhu, an equal share is to be given (to the in-coming Bhikkhu). If while the robes are being divided by those Bhikkhus, and before the lot has been cast, another Bhikkhu should arrive, an equal share is to be given to him. If while the robes are being divided by those Bhikkhus, and after the lot has been cast, another Bhikkhu

¹ Buddhaghosa says, *Utukâlan ti vassânato aññam kâlam*, where *vassâna* means the rainy season. See *Abhidhânappadîpikâ*, verse 79.

² On this sense of *adhihâtum*, see above, *Mahâvagga* VIII, 20, 2.

should arrive, an equal share need not, if they do not wish it¹, be given to him.'

5. Now at that time two Theras, who were brothers, the venerable Isidâsa and the venerable Isibhatta, having spent the rainy season in Sâvatthi, went to take up their abode in a certain village. The people there, thinking, 'It is long since these Theras have arrived here,' made gifts of both food and robes.

The Bhikkhus who resided there asked the Theras, saying, 'These robes, Sirs, which are the property of the Samgha, have come to us through the Theras' arrival². Will the Theras accept a share?'

The Theras answered: 'As we understand the rule laid down by the Blessed One, these robes belong to you alone until the Kathina ceremony shall have been performed³.'

6. Now at that time three Bhikkhus spent the rainy season at Râgagaha. The people there made gifts of robes, saying, 'We give them to the Samgha.'

Then those Bhikkhus thought thus: 'It has been laid down by the Blessed One that the smallest Samgha shall consist of four persons, and we are only three, and these people have made gifts of robes, intending to give them to the Samgha. What now ought we to do with them?'

Now at that time there were staying in Pâṭali-

¹ Akâmâ; on which compare II, 27, 15, and especially II, 34, 3, and IV, 17, 6.

² Âgamma, which is here nearly the same as uddissa. To give the full import of the expression it would be necessary to say, 'have come to us in consequence of the inducement offered to the givers by the presence of the Theras here.'

³ See our note above on § 1.

putta, at the kukkuṭārāma, a number of Theras—the venerable Nilavāsi, and the venerable Sānavāsi¹, and the venerable Gopaka, and the venerable Bhagu, and the venerable Phalika-sandāna. And those Bhikkhus went to Pāṭaliputta, and asked the Theras what they should do.

The Theras answered: 'As we understand the rule laid down by the Blessed One, these robes belong to you alone until the Kāṭhina ceremony shall have been performed.'

25.

1. Now at that time the venerable Upananda of the Sakya race, having spent the rainy season at Sāvattī, went to take up his abode in a certain village. The Bhikkhus in that place assembled together with the object of dividing the robes. They said to him:

'These robes, friend, which are the property of the Saṃgha, are about to be divided. Will you accept a share of them?'

'Yes, friends, I will,' said he; and taking his share, departed thence and took up his abode elsewhere.

[The same thing happened there, and] he departed thence and took up his abode elsewhere.

[The same thing happened there, and so] he returned to Sāvattī with a great bundle of robes.

2. The Bhikkhus said to him: 'What a merito-

¹ There is a Sānavāsi who takes a prominent part at the Council of Vesālī (*Kullavagga* XII, 1, 8; XII, 2, 4). He is probably meant to be considered the same as this one.

rious person you are, friend Upananda. Plenty of robes have come into your possession!’

‘Where is my merit, friends?’ said he, and [told them all that had happened]¹.

3. ‘How then, friend Upananda, have you spent the rainy season in one place, and accepted a share of robes in another place?’

‘Yes, friends, that is so.’

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were indignant, murmured, and became annoyed, saying, ‘How can the venerable Upananda spend the rainy season in one place, and accept a share of robes in another place?’

They told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘Is it true, Upananda, as they say, that you have spent the rainy season in one place, and have accepted a share of robes in another place?’

‘It is true, Lord.’

The Blessed Buddha rebuked him, saying, ‘How can you, O foolish one, act so? This will not redound to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted!’

And after having rebuked him, and delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, saying, ‘Whosoever, O Bhikkhus, has spent the rainy season in one place, is not to accept a share of the robes in another place. Whosoever does so shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

4. Now at that time the venerable Upananda of the Sakya race spent the rainy season alone in two residences, thinking thus to obtain many robes. And the Bhikkhus thought: ‘How should his portion

¹ Section 1 repeated, with the necessary change of person, &c.

of the robes be assigned to Upananda of the Sakya race ?'

They told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Give, O Bhikkhus, to that foolish one but one portion¹. In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu spend the rainy season alone in two residences, thinking thus to obtain many robes, then, if he have spent exactly half the season in one place and half in another, a half portion of the robes due to him shall be given to him in one place, and a half in the other; but in whichever place of the two he have spent a greater part of the rainy season, thence shall the portions of robes due to him be given.'

26.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had a disturbance in his bowels, and he lay fallen in his own evacuations. And the Blessed One on going round the sleeping-places accompanied by the venerable Ānanda came to that Bhikkhu's abode, and saw him so. And he went up to him, and asked him, 'What is the matter with you, O Bhikkhu ?'

'I have a disturbance, Lord, in my bowels.'

'Then have you, O Bhikkhu, any one to wait upon you ?'

'No, Lord.'

'Why do not the Bhikkhus wait upon you ?'

'Because I am of no service, Lord, to the Bhikkhus.'

2. Then the Blessed One said to the venerable

¹ Buddhaghosa says, *Ekādhīppāyan ti ekaṃ adhippāyaṃ. Eka-puggala-paṭṭisaṃ eva dethā ti attho.*

Ânanda : 'Go, Ânanda, and fetch some water. Let us bathe this Bhikkhu.'

'Even so, Lord,' said the venerable Ânanda, in assent to the Blessed One, and fetched the water. And the Blessed One poured the water over that Bhikkhu; and the venerable Ânanda wiped him down. And the Blessed One taking hold of him at the head, and the venerable Ânanda at the feet, they lifted him up, and laid him down upon his bed.

3. Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, and asked the Bhikkhus, 'Is there, O Bhikkhus, in such and such an apartment, a Bhikkhu who is sick?'

'There is, Lord.'

'Then what, O Bhikkhus, is the matter with that Bhikkhu?'

'He has a disturbance, Lord, in his bowels.'

'And is there any one, O Bhikkhus, to wait upon him?'

'No, Lord.'

'Why, then, do not the Bhikkhus wait upon him?'

'That Bhikkhu, Lord, is of no service to the Bhikkhus; therefore do they not wait upon him.'

'Ye, O Bhikkhus, have no mothers and no fathers who might wait upon you! If ye, O Bhikkhus, wait not one upon the other, who is there indeed who will wait upon you? Whosoever, O Bhikkhus, would wait upon me, he should wait upon the sick.

4. 'If he have an upagghâya, his upagghâya should wait upon him as long as his life lasts, and wait until he has recovered; and so if he have an âka-riya, a saddhi-vihârika, an antevâsika, a fellow

saddhi-vihârika, or a fellow antevâsika¹. And if he have neither of all these, then should the *Samgha* wait upon him; and whosoever does not do so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.

5. 'There are five qualities, O Bhikkhus, which, when a sick man has, he is difficult to wait upon—when he does not do what is good for him; when he does not know the limit (of the quantity of food) that is good for him²; when he does not take his medicine; when he does not let a nurse who desires his good know what manner of disease he has, or when it is getting worse that that is so, or when it is getting better that that is so, or when it is stationary that that is so; and when he has become unable to bear bodily pains that are severe, sharp, grievous, disagreeable, unpleasant, and destructive to life³. These are the five qualities, O Bhikkhus, which, when a sick man has, he is difficult to wait upon.

6. 'There are five qualities, O Bhikkhus, which, when a sick man has, he is easy to wait upon—when he does' (&c., the contrary of the last section).

7. 'There are five qualities, O Bhikkhus, which, when one who waits upon the sick has, he is incompetent to the task—when he is not capable of prescribing medicines; when he does not know what (diet) is good and what is not good for the patient, serving what is not good, and not serving what is good for him; when he waits upon the sick out of

¹ On all except the last two this duty has already been enjoined above in the passages on the mutual duties of masters and pupils (Mahāvagga I, 24, 25; I, 26, 11; I, 32, 3; I, 33, 1).

² Compare *Gâtaka* II, 293, 294.

³ This last clause occurs also above, at I, 49, 6.

greed, and not out of love ; when he revolts from removing evacuations, saliva or vomit ; when he is not capable from time to time of teaching, inciting, arousing, and gladdening the patient with religious discourse. These are the five qualities, O Bhikkhus, which, when one who waits upon the sick has, he is incompetent to the task.

8. 'There are five qualities, O Bhikkhus, which, when one who waits upon the sick has, he is competent to the task—when he is capable' (&c., the contrary of the last section).

27.

1. Now at that time two Bhikkhus were journeying along a high road in the country of Kosala. And they came to a certain residence, and there one of the two fell ill. Then the Bhikkhus there thought : 'Waiting upon the sick has been highly spoken of by the Blessed One. Let us then, friends, now wait upon this Bhikkhu.' And they waited upon him, and while he was being nursed by them, he completed his time¹. Then those Bhikkhus took that Bhikkhu's bowl and his robes, and went to Sâvatthi, and told the matter to the Blessed One.

2. 'On the death of a Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, the *Samgha* becomes the owner of his bowl and of his robes. But, now, those who wait upon the sick are of much service. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the bowl and the set of robes are to be assigned by the

¹ That is, he died.

Samgha to them who have waited upon the sick. And thus, O Bhikkhus, are they to be assigned. The Bhikkhu who has waited upon the sick ought to go before the *Samgha*, and to say thus: "Such and such a Bhikkhu, Sirs, has completed his time. These are his set of robes and his bowl." Then a discreet and able Bhikkhu ought to lay the proposition before the *Samgha*, saying, "Let the *Samgha* hear me. Such and such a Bhikkhu has completed his time. These are his set of robes and his bowl. If it is convenient to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* assign this set of robes and this bowl to those who have waited upon the sick." This is the *ñattī*.¹ [Here follow the usual formal words of a *kammavâtâ*.¹]

3. Now at that time a certain *Sāmaṇera* had completed his time.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

[The decision and the *kammavâtâ* are the same as in § 2.]

4. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu and a *Sāmaṇera* waited upon a sick Bhikkhu; and while he was being waited upon by them he completed his time. And the Bhikkhu who had waited upon the sick thought: 'How now ought the due portion of robes be given to the *Sāmaṇera* who waited upon the sick?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you are to give an equal portion to a *Sāmaṇera* who waits upon the sick.'

5. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu who was

¹ There is only one, not three *Kammavâtâs*, given in the text.

possessed of much property, and of a plentiful supply of a Bhikkhu's requisites, completed his time.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'On the death of a Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, the *Samgha* becomes the owner of his bowl and of his robes. But, now, those who wait upon the sick are of much service. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the set of robes and the bowl are to be assigned by the *Samgha* to them who have waited upon the sick. And whatever little property and small supply of a Bhikkhu's requisites there may be, that is to be divided by the *Samgha* that are present there; but whatever large quantity of property and large supply of a Bhikkhu's requisites there may be, that is not to be given away¹ and not to be apportioned², but to belong to the *Samgha* of the four directions³, those who have come in, and those who have not⁴.'

28.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu came naked up to the place where the Blessed One was, and said:

'The Blessed One, Lord, has praised in many ways the moderate man and the contented who has eradicated (evil), who has shaken off his passions, who is gracious, reverent, energetic⁵. Now this

¹ See *Kullavagga* VI, 15, 2.

² See *Kullavagga* VI, 16, 2.

³ That is, 'of all the world.'

⁴ This description of the totality of the *Samgha* is constantly found in dedicatory inscriptions. See Rh. D.'s paper in the *Indian Antiquary*, May, 1872.

⁵ So, for example, in *Kullavagga* I, 1, 3.

nakedness, Lord, is in many ways effectual to moderation and content, to the eradication of evil, to the suppressions of the passions, to graciousness, reverence, and zeal. It were well, Lord, if the Blessed One would enjoin nakedness upon the Bhikkhus.'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked him, saying, 'This would be improper, O foolish one, crooked, unsuitable, unworthy of a Samāṇa, unbecoming, and it ought not to be done. How can you, O foolish one, adopt nakedness as the Titthiyas do? This will not conduce, O foolish one, to the conversion of the unconverted.'

And when he had rebuked him, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to adopt nakedness, as the Titthiyas do¹. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a grave offence (Thullaṅkāya).'

2. [The whole section repeated respectively in the case of a Bhikkhu clad in a garment of grass, clad in a garment of bark², clad in a garment of phalaka cloth³, clad in a garment of hair⁴, clad in the skin of a wild animal, clad in the feathers of

¹ Compare above, VIII, 15, 7 and 11.

² This is several times referred to in the *Gâtakas* ; for instance, pp. 6, 9, 12.

³ Perhaps made of leaves. Compare Böhrtlingk-Roth's, No. 5, sub voce ; and *Gâtaka* I, 304 (phalakattarasayana). Perhaps also *Gâtaka* I, 356, 'making a man his phalaka,' may be a figure of speech founded on this use of the word, and mean 'making him his covering.'

⁴ Like the well-known Titthiya Agita, one of the six great heretics (*Sāmañña-phala Sutta*, ed. Grimblot, p. 114, = *Book of the Great Decease*, V, 60).

an owl, clad in antelope skins (with the hoofs left on)¹. But instead of 'adopt nakedness as the Titthiyas do' substitute respectively 'wear a garment of grass, &c., which is the symbol² the Titthiyas use.']

3. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu came up to the place where the Blessed One was, clad in cloth made of the stalks of the akka plant³.

[All as before in § 1, down to :]

And when he had rebuked him, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to dress yourselves in the stalks of the akka plant. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

[§ 3 is then repeated of a Bhikkhu clad in cloth made of the makaḍḍi fibre⁴.]

29.

1. Now at that time the Kḥabbaggiya Bhikkhus wore robes that were all of a blue, light yellow, crimson, brown, black, brownish yellow, or dark

¹ Buddhaghosa, at Suttavibhaṅga, Pârâgika I, 10, 3, where this word occurs, says on it, *Aginakkhikan* (sic) *ti salomam sakhuram agina-miga-kammam*. Compare also above, Mahâvagga V, 2, 4.

² Titthiya-dhaga. Compare Gâtaka I, 65, and Kullavagga I, 27.

³ Akkanâ/an ti akkanâ/amayam (B.). Compare Bôhtlingk-Roth, under arka.

⁴ Potthako ti makaṭimayo vuttati (B.). So also Childers, sub voce.

yellow colour¹; they wore robes with skirts to them which were not made of torn pieces of cloth, or were long, or had flowers on them, or cobras' hoods on them; they wore jackets, and dresses of the *Tirîṭṭaka* plant², and turbans.

The people were indignant, murmured, and became annoyed, saying, 'This is like those still living in the enjoyments of the world.'

They told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Robes that are all of a blue colour [&c.; all the things mentioned in the first paragraph being here repeated] are not to be worn. Whosoever wears them shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*³.'

30.

1. Now at that time Bhikkhus, after having spent the rainy season, but before a gift of robes had fallen to the *Samgha*, went away (from the place); left the Order; died; admitted that they were *Sâmaneras*; or that they had abandoned the precepts; or that they had become guilty of an extreme

¹ See Buddhaghosa's explanations of all these colours in the note on V, 2, 1.

² Buddhaghosa says on this word, *Tirîṭṭan* (sic) *ti pana ruk-khaḥhallimayam, tam pâda-punḥhanam kâtum vaṭṭati*. *K'hali* is 'bark.'

³ Buddhaghosa says that the robes of the colours mentioned in this chapter may be worn if they have first been dyed, or may be used as coverlets, or may be cut up and used as parts of robes. So the robes with skirts to them may be worn if the forbidden skirts have first been torn or cut off.

offence; or that they were mad; or that their minds were unhinged; or that they suffered bodily pain; or that suspension had been pronounced against them for their refusal to acknowledge an offence they had committed, or to atone for such an offence, or to renounce a false doctrine; or that they were eunuchs; or that they had furtively attached themselves (to the *Samgha*); or that they had gone over to the *Titthiyas*; or that they were an animal; or that they had been guilty of matricide, or of parricide; or that they had murdered an *Arahat*; or that they had violated a *Bhikkhuni*; or that they had caused a schism in the *Samgha*; or that they had shed (a Buddha's) blood; or that they were hermaphrodites¹.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

2. 'In case, O *Bhikkhus*, a *Bhikkhu*, after having spent the rainy season, goes away before a gift of robes has fallen to the *Samgha*—then they are nevertheless to be allotted to him if there be any person present proper to receive them on his behalf.

'Moreover in case, O *Bhikkhus*, a *Bhikkhu*, after having spent the rainy season, and before a gift of robes has fallen to the *Samgha*, leaves the Order, or dies, or acknowledges that he has become a *Sāmaṇera*, or that he has abandoned the precepts, or lastly that he has become guilty of an extreme offence,—then the *Samgha* becomes the owner (of the portion of robes that would have fallen to him).

¹ The above list of disqualifications has already occurred at II, 36; IV, 14.

‘Moreover in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu, after having spent the rainy season, and before a gift of robes has fallen to the *Samgha*, acknowledges that he has become mad, or unhinged in his mind, or in bodily pain, or that he has been suspended for refusal to acknowledge an offence he had committed, or to atone for such an offence, or to renounce a false doctrine—then (his portion of robes is nevertheless) to be allotted to him if there be any person present proper to receive them on his behalf.

‘Moreover in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu, after having spent the rainy season, and before a gift of robes has fallen to the *Samgha*, acknowledges that he is a eunuch, or that he had furtively attached himself to the *Samgha*, or that he had gone over to the *Titthiyas*, or that he is an animal, or that he had been guilty of matricide, or of parricide, or that he had murdered an *Arahat*, or that he had violated a *Bhikkhuni*, or that he had raised a schism in the *Samgha*, or that he had shed a Buddha’s blood, or that he is a hermaphrodite—then the *Samgha* becomes the owner (of the portion of robes that would have fallen to him).

3. ‘[The same rules as in § 2, if he had gone away, &c., after the gift of robes had been made to the *Samgha*, but before the robes had been divided among the individual members of the *Samgha* belonging to the place where he had spent the rainy season.]

4. ‘Moreover in case, O Bhikkhus, after the Bhikkhus have spent the rainy season, divisions arise among the *Samgha* before any robes have fallen to them, and the people there give the water (of

presentation¹) to one party, and the robes to the other party, thinking, "We are giving to the *Samgha*"—then those (robes are the property) of the (whole) *Samgha*.

'The people there give the water of presentation to one party, and the robes to the same party, thinking, "We are giving to the *Samgha*"—then those robes are the property of the whole *Samgha*.

5. '[In the same two cases, if the people intend to give to the one party only, the robes are to be the property of that party.]

6. 'Moreover in case, O Bhikkhus, after the Bhikkhus have spent the rainy season, divisions arise among the *Samgha* after the gift of robes has been made to the *Samgha*, but before the division (of the robes to the individual members) has taken place—then at the division an equal share is to be given to all.'

31.

1. Now at that time the venerable Revata sent a robe to the venerable Sâriputta in charge of a certain Bhikkhu, saying, 'Give this robe to the Thera.' But that Bhikkhu, whilst on the way, took the robe himself in trust on the venerable Revata².

Now the venerable Revata, on meeting with the

¹ There is no doubt that this is the meaning here of *udaka*. Compare above, *Mahāvagga* I, 22, 18, and *Gâtaka* I, 93; III, 286; *Dīpavamsa* XIII, 29.

² That is, in trust that the venerable Revata, if he knew that the Bhikkhu wanted it, would have given it to him. See above, *Mahāvagga* VIII, 19.

venerable Sâriputta, asked him, saying, 'I sent to the venerable Thera a robe. Did that robe come into his hands?'

'I know nothing, friend, about that robe.'

Then the venerable Revata said to that Bhikkhu: 'I sent a robe, my friend, in your charge to the Thera. Where is that robe?'

'I took the robe myself, Lord, in trust upon you.'

They told the matter to the Blessed One.

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu send a robe in charge of a Bhikkhu, saying, "Give this robe to such and such a Bhikkhu;" and he, whilst on the way, takes it himself in trust on the one who sends it—then it is rightly taken. But if he takes it himself in trust on the one to whom it was sent, it is wrongly taken.

'[The same repeated, the latter case being put first, and the former case last.]

'Moreover in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu send a robe in charge of a Bhikkhu, saying, "Give this robe to such and such a Bhikkhu;" and he, whilst on the way, hears that that Bhikkhu who sent it is dead;—then if he keeps the robe himself¹ as the robe of a deceased Bhikkhu, it is rightly kept; if he takes it himself in trust on the one to whom it was sent, it is wrongly taken.

'[In the same case], if he, whilst on the way, hears that that Bhikkhu to whom it was sent is dead—then if he keeps the robe himself as the robe of a deceased Bhikkhu, it is wrongly kept; if he takes

¹ On this meaning of *adhiti//hati*, see our note above, VIII, 20, 2; VIII, 24, 2.

it himself in trust on the one who sent it, it is rightly taken.

‘[In the same case, if he hears, whilst on the way, that both are dead—then if he keeps it himself as the robe of a deceased Bhikkhu, to wit, the one who sent it, it is rightly kept; if he keeps it himself as the property of a deceased Bhikkhu, to wit, the one to whom it was sent, it is wrongly kept.]

3. ‘Moreover in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu send a robe in charge of a Bhikkhu, saying, “I give the robe to such and such a Bhikkhu”—then [in all the cases given in § 2 the decision is reversed]’¹.

32.

1. There are, O Bhikkhus, these eight grounds² for the getting of a gift of robes—when he gives it to the boundary, when he gives it to (a *Samgha* which is) under agreement (with other *Samghas*), when he gives it on a declaration of alms, when he gives it to the *Samgha*, when he gives it to both the *Samghas*, when he gives it to the *Samgha* which has spent the rainy season (at the place), when he gives it to a specified number³, when he gives it to a single Bhikkhu.

¹ The reason of all this is, that if the sender (A) says to the messenger (B), ‘Give this robe to the sendee (C),’ the property in the robe does not pass; if A says to B, ‘I give this robe to C,’ it does pass.

² *Mâtikâ*; used in the same sense here as at VII, 1, 7.

³ That is, of monks and nuns—the Bhikkhu-*samgha* and the Bhikkhunî-*samgha*.

‘When he gives it to the boundary, it is to be divided among all those Bhikkhus who have come within the boundary¹.

‘When he gives it to a *Samgha* which is under agreement, there are a number of residences which hold in common whatever they get, and what is given in one residence is given in all.

‘When he gives it on a declaration of alms (means when the givers say), “We give it at the place where constant supply of alms is kept up for the *Samgha*.”

‘When he gives it to the *Samgha*, it is to be divided among the *Samgha* there present.

‘When he gives it to both the *Samghas*, though there be many Bhikkhus and only one Bhikkhuni, an equal half is to be given (to each of the two *Samghas*), and though there be many Bhikkhunis and only one Bhikkhu, an equal half is to be given (to each of the two *Samghas*).

‘When he gives it to the *Samgha* which has spent the rainy season, it is to be divided among as many Bhikkhus as have spent the rainy season at that particular residence.

‘When he gives it to a specified number, it is the number present at the giving of congey, or

¹ See chapters II, 6 and following.

² Buddhaghosa says, Bhikkhā-paññattiyā, ti attano parikkāga-paññāpana-//hāne. Ten’ ev’ āha yattha samghassa dhuvakārā kariyantī ti. Tass’ attho, yasmim vihāre imassa kīvara-dāyakassa santakam samghassa pākavaṭṭam vā vaṭṭati, yasmim vā vihāre bhikkhū attano bhāram katvā sadā gehe bhogesi. Yattha vārena āvāso vā kārīto, salākabhaddāni vā nibaddhāni, yena pana sakalo pi vihāro patiḥhāpito, tattha vattabbam eva n’ atthi ime dhuvakārā nāma.

rice, or hard food, or robes, or bedding, or medicine¹.

‘When he gives it to a single Bhikkhu, he says,
“I give a set of robes to such and such a one.”’

Here ends the eighth Khandhaka, the *Kīvara-*
khandhaka.

¹ That is, he invites a number of Bhikkhus to partake of *yāgu*, and when the *yāgu* is served he says, ‘I give robes to those who have partaken of the *yāgu*,’ and so on in all the other cases except that of robes. In that case he says, ‘I give robes to those who have previously received robes from me’ (B.).

NINTH KHANDHAKA.

(VALIDITY AND INVALIDITY OF FORMAL ACTS
OF THE SAMGHA.)

1.

1. At that time the blessed Buddha dwelt at *Kampâ*, on the brink of the lotus-pond *Gaggara*. At that time there was in the country of *Kâsi* (a village) called *Vâsabha-gâma*. There a Bhikkhu called *Kassapa-gotta* had his residence, who was bound (to that place) by the string (of the religious duties which he had to perform there¹), and who exerted himself to the end that clever Bhikkhus from a distance might come to that place, and the clever Bhikkhus therein might live at ease, and that (religious life at) that residence might progress, advance, and reach a high state.

Now at that time a number of Bhikkhus, making their pilgrimage in the country of *Kâsi*, came to *Vâsabha-gâma*. And the Bhikkhu *Kassapa-gotta* saw those Bhikkhus coming from afar; when he saw them, he prepared seats for them, brought water for the washing of their feet, a foot-stool, and a towel². Then he went forth to meet them, took their bowls and their robes, offered them (water) to drink, and provided a bath for them, and provided also rice-milk and food hard and soft.

¹ *Tanti-baddha*. *Buddhaghosa* says, *Tanti-baddho 'ti tasmiṃ âvâse kâtabbatâ-tanti-paṭibaddho*.

² See our note at I, 6, 11.

Now those stranger Bhikkhus thought: 'The resident Bhikkhu here, O friends, is indeed good-natured; he provides a bath for us and provides also rice-milk, and food, hard and soft. What if we were to stay here, friends, at Vāsabha-gāma.' Thus those stranger Bhikkhus stayed there at Vāsabha-gāma.

2. Now the Bhikkhu Kassapa-gotta thought: 'These stranger Bhikkhus are rested now from their travel-weariness; they did not know their way here before, but now they know their way. It is troublesome indeed to be busy all one's life for people not related to one's self, and being asked¹ is disagreeable to men. What if I were to provide no longer rice-milk, and food, hard and soft (for those Bhikkhus).' Thus he did not provide any more (for them) rice-milk, and food, hard and soft.

Then those stranger Bhikkhus thought: 'Formerly, friends, this resident Bhikkhu used to provide baths for us, and to provide also rice-milk, and food, hard and soft. But now he does not provide any more rice-milk, and food, hard and soft. This resident Bhikkhu, friends, is in anger with us now. Well, friends, let us pronounce expulsion against this resident Bhikkhu.'

3. Then those stranger Bhikkhus assembled and said to the Bhikkhu Kassapa-gotta: 'Formerly, friend, you used to provide baths for us and to provide also rice-milk, and food, hard and soft. But now you do not provide any more rice-milk, and food, hard and soft. You have committed an offence, friend; do you see that offence?'

¹ As he was obliged to ask the people of Vāsabha-gāma for what the stranger Bhikkhus wanted.

‘There is no offence, friends, for me to see.’

Then those stranger Bhikkhus pronounced expulsion against the Bhikkhu Kassapa-gotta for his refusal to see that (pretended) offence. Then the Bhikkhu Kassapa-gotta thought: ‘I do not know indeed whether this is an offence or not, and whether I have made myself guilty of an offence or not, and whether I have been expelled or not, and whether that sentence is lawful or unlawful, objectionable or unobjectionable, valid or invalid. What if I were to go to *Kampâ* and to ask the Blessed One about this matter?’

4. And the Bhikkhu Kassapa-gotta put his resting-place in order, took up his alms-bowl and his robe, and went forth to *Kampâ*; and in due course he came to *Kampâ* and to the place where the Blessed One was. Having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him.

Now it is the custom of the blessed Buddhas to exchange greeting with incoming Bhikkhus. And the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhu Kassapa-gotta: ‘Is it all well with you, O Bhikkhu? Do you find your living? Have you made your journey without too much fatigue? And from what place do you come, O Bhikkhu?’

‘It is all well, Lord; I find my living, Lord; I have made the journey, Lord, without too much fatigue.

5. ‘There is in the country of *Kâsi*, Lord, (a village) called *Vâsabha-gâma*. There I had my residence, Lord, (&c.¹, down to:) Then those

¹ See §§ 1-3. Instead of ‘the Bhikkhu Kassapa-gotta’ the

stranger Bhikkhus, Lord, pronounced against me expulsion for my refusal to see that offence. Then I thought, Lord: "I do not know indeed whether this is an offence or not, and whether I have made myself guilty of an offence or not, and whether I have been expelled or not, and whether that sentence is lawful or unlawful, objectionable or unobjectionable, valid or invalid. What if I were to go to *Kāmpā* and to ask the Blessed One about this matter." Thus I have come here, Lord.'

6. (Buddha replied): 'This is no offence, O Bhikkhu; it is not an offence. You are innocent; you are not guilty of an offence. You are not expelled, and have not been expelled; the sentence by which you have been expelled is unlawful, objectionable, and invalid. Go, O Bhikkhu, and settle yourself again at *Vāsabha-gāma*.'

The Bhikkhu *Kassapa-gotta* expressed his assent to the Blessed One (by saying), 'Yes, Lord,' rose from his seat, and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One and walked round him with his right side towards him, he went on his way to *Vāsabha-gāma*.

7. Now those stranger Bhikkhus (at *Vāsabha-gāma*) were overcome by scruples and remorse: 'It is all loss to us indeed, it is no gain to us; we will fare ill indeed, we will not fare well, in this that we have expelled that pure, guiltless Bhikkhu without any cause and reason. Well, friends, let us go to *Kāmpā* and let us confess there in the Blessed One's presence our sin in its sinfulness.'

pronoun of the first person is to be read; and the appellation 'Lord,' addressed to Buddha, is inserted several times.

And those stranger Bhikkhus put their resting-places in order, took up their alms-bowls and their robes, and went forth to *Kampā*, and in due course they came to *Kampā* and to the place where the Blessed One was. Having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, they sat down near him. Now it is the custom of the blessed Buddhas (&c.¹, down to :) 'It is all well, Lord; we find our living, Lord; we have made the journey, Lord, without too much fatigue. There is in the country of *Kāsi*, Lord, (a village) called *Vāsabha-gāma*; from that place we come, Lord.'

8. 'So are you, O Bhikkhus, those who have expelled the resident Bhikkhu there?'

'We are, Lord.'

'For what cause, O Bhikkhus, and for what reason?'

'Without any cause and reason, Lord.'

Then the Blessed One rebuked those Bhikkhus: 'That is improper, O Bhikkhus, it is unbecoming, indecent, unworthy of *Samaṇas*, unallowable, and to be avoided. How can you, O fools, expel a pure and guiltless Bhikkhu, without any cause and reason? This will not do, O Bhikkhus, for converting the unconverted.' Having thus rebuked them and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, expel a pure and guiltless Bhikkhu without cause and reason. He who does, commits a *dukkaṭa* offence.'

9. Then those Bhikkhus rose from their seats, adjusted their upper robes so as to cover one

¹ See § 4. The alterations to be made ('those Bhikkhus' instead of 'the Bhikkhu *Kassapa-gotta*,' &c.) are obvious.

shoulder, prostrated themselves, inclining their heads to the feet of the Blessed One, and said to the Blessed One: 'Transgression, O Lord, has overcome us like the foolish, like the erring, like the unhappy, in this that we have expelled a pure, guiltless Bhikkhu without any cause and reason. May, O Lord, the Blessed One accept (the confession of) our sin in its sinfulness, and we will refrain from it in future.'

'Truly, O Bhikkhus, transgression has overcome you like the foolish, like the erring, like the unhappy, in that you have expelled a pure, guiltless Bhikkhu without any cause and reason. But as you see, O Bhikkhus, your sin in its sinfulness, and duly make amends for it, we accept it from you. For this, O Bhikkhus, is called progress in the discipline of the noble one, if one sees his sin in its sinfulness, and duly makes amends for it, and refrains from it in future.'

2.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus of *Kampâ* performed official acts in the following ways: they performed unlawful acts before an incomplete congregation; they performed unlawful acts before a complete congregation; they performed lawful acts before an incomplete congregation; they performed seemingly lawful acts before an incomplete congregation; they performed seemingly lawful acts before a complete congregation; a single Bhikkhu pronounced expulsion against a single one; a single Bhikkhu pronounced expulsion against two; a single Bhikkhu

pronounced expulsion against a number of Bhikkhus; a single Bhikkhu pronounced expulsion against a *Samgha*; two Bhikkhus pronounced expulsion against a single one against two against a number of Bhikkhus against a *Samgha*; a number of Bhikkhus pronounced expulsion against a single one against two against another number against a *Samgha*; a *Samgha* pronounced expulsion against another *Samgha*¹.

2. Those Bhikkhus who were moderate, were annoyed, murmured, and became angry: 'How can the Bhikkhus of *Kampā* perform official acts in the following ways: perform unlawful acts before an incomplete congregation (&c., down to :) how can a *Samgha* pronounce expulsion against another *Samgha* ?'

These Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, as they say, O Bhikkhus, that the Bhikkhus of *Kampā* perform official acts in the following ways, &c. ?'

'It is true, Lord.'

Then the blessed Buddha rebuked those Bhikkhus: 'It is improper, O Bhikkhus, what these foolish persons are doing; it is unbecoming, indecent, unworthy of *Samanas*, unallowable, and to be avoided. How can these foolish persons, O Bhikkhus, perform official acts in the following ways, &c. This will not do, O Bhikkhus, for converting the unconverted.' Having thus rebuked them and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus:

3. 'If an official act, O Bhikkhus, is performed

¹ The cases of a *Samgha*'s expelling a single Bhikkhu, or two Bhikkhus, or a number of Bhikkhus, are omitted, because such proceedings are lawful.

unlawfully by an incomplete congregation, it is no real act¹ and ought not to be performed. An official act performed unlawfully by a complete congregation is no real act and ought not to be performed (&c., as in § 1, down to :). A seemingly lawful act performed before a complete congregation is no real act and ought not to be performed. In case a single Bhikkhu pronounces expulsion against a single one,—this is no real act and ought not to be performed (&c., down to :). In case a Samgha pronounces expulsion against another Samgha,—this is no real act and ought not to be performed.

4. 'There are, O Bhikkhus, four kinds of official acts (which a Samgha can perform); an unlawful act performed by an incomplete congregation, an unlawful act performed by a complete congregation, a lawful act performed by an incomplete congregation, and a lawful act performed by a complete congregation.

'If, O Bhikkhus, an act is unlawful and performed by an incomplete congregation—such an act, O Bhikkhus, is objectionable and invalid on account of its unlawfulness and of the incompleteness (of the congregation). Such an act, O Bhikkhus, ought not to be performed, nor is such an act allowed by me.

'If, O Bhikkhus, an act is unlawful and performed by a complete congregation—such an act, O Bhikkhus, is objectionable and invalid on account of its unlawfulness. Such an act, &c.

'If, O Bhikkhus, an act is lawful and performed by an incomplete congregation—such an act, O Bhikkhus, is objectionable and invalid on account of

¹ I. e. it is null and void.

the incompleteness (of the congregation). Such an act, &c.

‘If, O Bhikkhus, an act is lawful and performed by a complete congregation—such an act, O Bhikkhus, is unobjectionable and valid on account of its lawfulness and of the completeness (of the congregation). Such an act, O Bhikkhus, ought to be performed, and such an act is allowed by me.

‘Therefore, O Bhikkhus, you ought to train yourselves thus: “Lawful acts which are performed by complete congregations—such acts will we perform¹.”’

3.

1. At that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus performed official acts in the following ways: they performed unlawful acts before an incomplete congregation (&c., as in chap. 2, § 1, down to:) they performed seemingly lawful acts before a complete congregation; they performed acts without a *ñatti*² and with the proclamation (of the *kammavâkâ*²); they performed acts without a proclamation (of the *kammavâkâ*) and with the *ñatti*; they performed acts without a *ñatti* and without a proclamation (of the *kammavâkâ*); they performed acts contrary to the Dhamma; they performed acts contrary to the Vinaya; they performed acts contrary to the doctrine of the Teacher; and they performed acts against which (the Bhikkhus present) protested, which were unlawful, objectionable, and invalid.

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate, were annoyed,

¹ A similar injunction is found at the close of chapter II, 14.

² See I, 28, &c.

&c. These Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Is it true, as they say, O Bhikkhus, that the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, &c.?’

‘It is true, Lord, &c.’

Having thus rebuked them and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus :

2. ‘If an official act, O Bhikkhus, is performed unlawfully by an incomplete congregation, it is no real act and ought not to be performed (&c.¹, down to:). If an official act, O Bhikkhus, is performed against which (the Bhikkhus present) protest, which is unlawful, objectionable, and invalid, this is no real act and ought not to be performed.

3. ‘There are, O Bhikkhus, six kinds of official acts (which a *Samgha* can perform): an unlawful act, an act performed by an incomplete congregation, an act performed by a complete congregation, a seemingly lawful act performed by an incomplete congregation, a seemingly lawful act performed by a complete congregation, a lawful act performed by a complete congregation.

‘And which, O Bhikkhus, is an unlawful act? If one performs, O Bhikkhus, a *ñattidutiya* act² with one *ñatti*, and does not proclaim a *kammavâkâ*, such an act is unlawful. If one performs, O Bhikkhus, a *ñattidutiya* act with two *ñattis* and does not proclaim a *kammavâkâ* . . . with one *kammavâkâ* and does not propose a *ñatti* . . . with two

¹ Here the different categories of forbidden acts are enumerated one after the other, as in § 1.

² About *ñatti*, *kammavâkâ*, *ñattidutiya*, and *ñattiĥatuttha* acts, see our note at I, 28, 3. ‘Proposing a *ñatti*’ and ‘proclaiming a *kammavâkâ*’ mean proposing a motion and putting a resolution to the assembled brethren.

kammavâkâs and does not propose a *ñatti*, such an act is unlawful.

4. 'If one performs, O Bhikkhus, a *ñattikatuttha* act with one *ñatti* and does not proclaim a *kammavâkâ*, such an act is unlawful. If one performs, O Bhikkhus, a *ñattikatuttha* act with two (.... three, four) *ñattis* and does not proclaim a *kammavâkâ*, such an act is unlawful. If one performs, O Bhikkhus, a *ñattikatuttha* act with one *kammavâkâ* (.... with two, three, four *kammavâkâs*) and does not propose a *ñatti*, such an act is unlawful. Such acts, O Bhikkhus, are called unlawful acts.

5. 'And which, O Bhikkhus, is an act of an incomplete congregation ?

'If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattidutiya* act not all Bhikkhus, as many as are entitled to vote, are present, if the *khandâ*¹ of those who have to declare their *khandâ* has not been conveyed (to the assembly), and if the Bhikkhus present protest, such an act is performed by an incomplete congregation.

'If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattidutiya* act as many Bhikkhus as are entitled to vote, are present, but if the *khandâ* of those who have to declare their *khandâ* has not been conveyed (to the assembly), and if the Bhikkhus present protest, such an act is performed by an incomplete congregation.

'If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattidutiya* act as many Bhikkhus as are entitled to vote, are present, if the *khandâ* of those who have to declare their *khandâ* has been conveyed, but if the Bhikkhus present protest, such an act is performed by an incomplete congregation.

¹ See II, 23.

‘ If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattikatuttha* act, &c.¹

‘ Such acts, O Bhikkhus, are called acts performed by incomplete congregations.

6. ‘ And which, O Bhikkhus, is an act of a complete congregation ?

‘ If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattidutiya* act as many Bhikkhus as are entitled to vote, are present, if the *khanda* of those who have to declare their *khanda* has been conveyed (to the assembly), and if the Bhikkhus present do not protest, such an act is performed by a complete congregation.

‘ If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattikatuttha* act (&c., as in last section).

‘ Such acts, O Bhikkhus, are called acts performed by complete congregations.

7. ‘ And which, O Bhikkhus, is a seemingly lawful act performed by an incomplete congregation ?

‘ If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattidutiya* act the *kammavâkâ* is proclaimed first and the *ñatti* is proposed afterwards, if not all Bhikkhus, as many as are entitled to vote, are present, &c.²

8. ‘ And which, O Bhikkhus, is a seemingly lawful act performed by a complete congregation ?

‘ If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattidutiya* act the *kammavâkâ* is proclaimed first and the *ñatti* is proposed afterwards, if as many Bhikkhus as are entitled to vote, are present, &c.³

¹ The identical three cases given before with regard to the *ñattidutiya* act are repeated here.

² The six cases given in this paragraph, of which three refer to *ñattidutiya* acts and three to *ñattikatuttha* acts, differ from those specified in § 5 only by the statement added in each of these cases regarding the inverted order of *ñatti* and *kammavâkâ*.

³ This paragraph stands precisely in the same relation to § 6 in which the preceding one stands to § 5.

9. 'And which, O Bhikkhus, is a lawful act performed by a complete congregation ?

'If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattidutiya* act the *ñatti* is proposed first and afterwards the act is performed with one *kammavâkâ*, if as many Bhikkhus as are entitled to vote, are present, if the *khanda* of those who have to declare their *khanda* has been conveyed (to the assembly), and if the Bhikkhus present do not protest, such an act is lawful and performed by a complete congregation.

'If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñatti-katuttha* act the *ñatti* is proposed first and afterwards the act is performed with three *kammavâkâs*, if as many Bhikkhus as are entitled to vote, &c., such an act is lawful and performed by a complete congregation.'

4.

1. 'There are five kinds of *Samghas*: the Bhikkhu *Samgha* consisting of four persons, the Bhikkhu *Samgha* consisting of five persons of ten persons of twenty persons of more than twenty persons.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhu *Samgha* consist of four persons, and acts lawfully, and is complete, it is entitled to perform all official acts except three acts, that is, the *upasampadâ* ordination, *pavâraṇâ*, and *abbhâna*¹.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhu *Samgha* consist of five persons, and acts lawfully, and is complete, it is entitled to perform all official acts except

¹ See *Kullavagga* III, 2 seq.

two acts, that is, the upasampadâ ordination in the central countries¹ and abbhâna.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhu Samgha consist of ten persons, and acts lawfully, and is complete, it is entitled to perform all official acts except one, namely, abbhâna.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhu Samgha consist of twenty persons, and acts lawfully, and is complete, it is entitled to perform all official acts.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhu Samgha consist of more than twenty persons, and acts lawfully, and is complete, it is entitled to perform all official acts.

2. ‘An official act, O Bhikkhus, which requires the presence of four persons, if performed by a congregation in which a Bhikkhunî is the fourth, is no real act, and ought not to be performed. An official act, O Bhikkhus, which requires the presence of four persons, if performed by a congregation in which a sikkhamânâ is the fourth, . . . in which a sâmañera, &c.², is the fourth, . . . in which a person belonging to another communion is the fourth, . . . in which a person staying within a different boundary³ is the fourth, . . . in which a person poised in the air by supernatural power is

¹ As regards the exceptional regulations referring to the upasampadâ ordination in the bordering countries, see above, V, 13, 12.

² Here follows the very frequent enumeration given, for instance, at II, 36, §§ 1-4.

³ Generally speaking, the two categories of ‘persons belonging to another communion,’ and ‘persons staying within another boundary,’ can be considered as coincident. In certain cases, however, they could be distinguished; see X, 1, §§ 9, 10.

the fourth, in which a person against whom the Saṃgha institutes a proceeding is the fourth—is no real act and ought not to be performed.’

End of the regulations about acts performed by
four persons.

3-5. ‘An official act, O Bhikkhus, which requires the presence of five (. . . . ten, twenty) persons, if performed by a congregation in which a Bhikkhū, &c.¹, is the fifth (. . . . tenth, twentieth), is no real act and ought not to be performed.’

End of the regulations about acts performed by
five, (ten, twenty) persons.

6. ‘If, O Bhikkhus, a congregation in which a person sentenced to the parivāsa discipline² is the fourth, institutes the proceedings of parivāsa, of mûlāya paṭikassanā, and of mânatta, or if a congregation in which such a person is the twentieth, confers abbhāna, this is no real act and ought not to be performed.

‘If, O Bhikkhus, a congregation in which a person that ought to be sentenced to mûlāya paṭikassanā that ought to be sentenced to mânatta that is subject to the mânatta discipline

¹ Here the enumeration of § 2 is repeated.

² See about parivāsa, and the other Saṃghakammas referred to in this paragraph, the details given in the second book of the Kullavagga.

on whom the *abbhâna* sentence ought to be conferred¹, institutes the proceedings of *parivâsa*, of *mûlâya paṭikassanâ*, and of *mânatta*, or if a congregation in which such a person is the twentieth, confers *abbhâna*, this is no real act and ought not to be performed.

7. 'Of some persons, O Bhikkhus, the protest² raised in the assembly is effectual, of some persons it is ineffectual.

'And which are the persons, O Bhikkhus, whose protest raised in the assembly is ineffectual?

'The protest, O Bhikkhus, raised in the assembly by a Bhikkhunī is ineffectual. The protest, O Bhikkhus, raised in the assembly by a *sikkhamânâ* (&c.³, down to :) by a person against whom the *Samgha* institutes a proceeding, is ineffectual. These are the persons, O Bhikkhus, whose protest raised in the assembly is ineffectual.

8. 'And which are the persons, O Bhikkhus, whose protest raised in the assembly is effectual?

'The protest, O Bhikkhus, of a Bhikkhu who is healthy (in mind), who belongs to the same communion⁴, who stays within the same boundary⁵, even

¹ But has not yet been conferred. An *abbhita* Bhikkhu is considered as fully rehabilitated.

² Against official acts which the *Samgha* is performing.

³ This list of persons who cannot protest against official acts of the *Samgha* differs from that given in § 2 or at II, 36, §§ 1-4, only by three categories being here added after 'a person guilty of an extreme offence' (*antimavatthum agghâpannaka*). These categories are the following: 'a madman,' 'a person whose mind is unhinged,' 'a person who suffers (bodily) pain.' See II, 22, 3, &c.

⁴ That is, the *Samgha* which is going to perform the act in question.

⁵ See the note at § 2.

if he have committed a sin which brings about immediate punishment in hell,—if he give notice of his protest at the meeting,—is effectual. This is the person, O Bhikkhus, whose protest raised in the assembly is effectual.

9. 'There are, O Bhikkhus, two cases of expulsion¹ (pronounced against a person). If expulsion, O Bhikkhus, had not been pronounced (before) against a person, and the Saṃgha pronounces expulsion against him, there are some against whom such expulsion has been pronounced duly, and others against whom it has been pronounced unduly.

'And which is a person, O Bhikkhus, against whom, if expulsion had not been pronounced before, and the Saṃgha pronounces expulsion against him, expulsion has been pronounced unduly? In case, O Bhikkhus, there be a pure, guiltless Bhikkhu,—if the Saṃgha pronounces expulsion against him, expulsion has been pronounced unduly. This, O Bhikkhus, is called a person against whom, if expulsion had not been pronounced before, and the Saṃgha pronounces expulsion against him, expulsion has been pronounced unduly.

'And which is a person, O Bhikkhus, against whom, &c., expulsion has been pronounced duly? In case, O Bhikkhus, there be an ignorant, unlearned Bhikkhu, a constant offender, who is unable to discern what is an offence², who lives in lay society, unduly

¹ Compare the rules regarding the pabbâganiyakamma, Kullavagga I, 13 seq., and our note at I, 79, 1.

² Anapadâna. Buddhaghosa: 'Anapadâno'ti apasâna- (read apadâna-) virahito. apadânam vuḍḍhati parikkhedo. âpatti-parikkheda-virahito'ti attho.' Probably the word must not be derived from the root dâ, 'to give,' but from dâ, 'to cut.'

associating himself with lay people,—if the *Samgha* pronounces expulsion against him, expulsion has been pronounced duly. This, O Bhikkhus, is called a person, &c.

10. 'There are, O Bhikkhus, two cases of restoration (of an expelled Bhikkhu). If restoration, O Bhikkhus, had not been granted before to a person, and the *Samgha* grants restoration to him, there are some to whom such restoration will have been granted duly, and others to whom it will have been unduly granted.

'And which is a person, O Bhikkhus, to whom, &c., restoration has been granted unduly? A eunuch, O Bhikkhus, to whom restoration had not been granted before, and whom the *Samgha* restores, has been restored unduly. A person who has furtively attached himself (to the *Samgha*), &c.¹, to whom restoration had not been granted before, and whom the *Samgha* restores, has been restored unduly.

'This, O Bhikkhus, is called a person to whom, &c., restoration has been granted unduly. These, O Bhikkhus, are called persons to whom, &c., restoration has been granted duly.

11. 'And which is a person, O Bhikkhus, to whom, &c., restoration has been granted duly?' &c.²

End of the first Bhānavāra, called the Vāsabha-
gāma Bhānavāra.

¹ See the list of persons given at II, 36, 3.

² The formality and the repetitions are the same here as in § 10, and need not be repeated. The list of persons whose restoration is stated to be valid is the same as at I, 71, 1.

5.

1. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there be no offence which a Bhikkhu should see (or, acknowledge as committed by himself), and if the *Samgha*, or a number of Bhikkhus, or a single person reprove him (and say): "You have committed an offence, friend; do you see that offence?"—and he replies: "There is no offence, friends, which I should see," and the *Samgha* pronounces expulsion against him for his refusal to see that offence,—this is an unlawful act.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, there be no offence which a Bhikkhu should atone for, &c.¹

'In case, O Bhikkhus, there be no false doctrine which a Bhikkhu should renounce, &c.²

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there be no offence which a Bhikkhu should see, and there be no offence which he should atone for, and if the *Samgha*, or a number of Bhikkhus, or a single person reprove him (and say): "You have committed an offence, friend; do you see that offence? Atone for that offence,"—and he replies: "There is no offence, friends, which I should see; there is no offence,

¹ The *ukkhepaniyakamma āpattiyaṃ appaśiṇissagge* (expulsion for a Bhikkhu's refusal to atone for an offence) is spoken of here exactly in the same terms as those in which the *ukkhepaniyakamma āpattiyaṃ adassane* (expulsion for a Bhikkhu's refusal to see an offence) is spoken of in the preceding clause. The brethren say to the pretended offender, 'You have committed an offence, friend; atone for that offence'—which he refuses to do.

² As above; the Bhikkhus institute the *ukkhepaniyakamma pāpikāya diṃhiyaṃ appaśiṇissagge* (expulsion for a Bhikkhu's refusal to renounce a false doctrine).

friends, which I should atone for," and the *Samgha* pronounces expulsion against him for his refusal to see that offence, or for his refusal to atone for that offence,—this is an unlawful act.

3-5¹.

6-7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there be an offence which a Bhikkhu should see, and if the *Samgha*, or a number of Bhikkhus, or a single person reprove him (and say): 'You have committed an offence, friend; do you see that offence?'—and he replies: "Yes, friends, I see it," and the *Samgha* pronounces expulsion against him for his (pretended) refusal to see that offence,—this is an unlawful act.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, there be an offence which a Bhikkhu should atone for, &c.²

8-9. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, there be an offence which a Bhikkhu should see, and if the *Samgha*, or a number of Bhikkhus, or a single person reprove him (and say): "You have committed an offence, friend; do you see that offence?"—and he replies: "There is no offence, friends, which I should see," and the *Samgha* pronounces expulsion against him for his refusal to see that offence,—this is a lawful act³.'

¹ As in § 2, the first and second of the three cases given in § 1 are combined, so follow now combinations of the first and third, the second and third, and of the first, second, and third cases respectively.

² Here follow again the cases of the *ukkhepaniyakamma âpat-tiyâ appaśinissagge* and *pâpikâya di//hiyâ appaśinissagge*, and the combinations of the three cases as above.

³ Here follow the two other cases, together with the combinations of the three, exactly as above.

6.

1. And the venerable Upâli¹ went to the place where the Blessed One was. Having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him the venerable Upâli said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, if a complete congregation performs an act at which the presence (of the accused Bhikkhu) is required, in his absence—is this act, Lord, performed lawfully according to Dhamma and Vinaya?'

'It is performed, Upâli, unlawfully against Dhamma and Vinaya.'

2. 'Lord, if a complete congregation performs an act at which (the accused Bhikkhu) ought to be called upon for an answer, without calling upon him for an answer—if it performs an act at which the confession (of the culprit) is required, without his confession—if it grants to a Bhikkhu to whom *sativinaya*² ought to be granted, an *amûlha*vinaya³—if it proceeds against a Bhikkhu to whom *amûlha*vinaya ought to be granted, with the *tassapâpiyyasikâkamma*⁴—if it proceeds against a Bhikkhu against whom the *tassapâpiyyasikâkamma* ought

¹ That the redactors of this Piṭaka have chosen Upâli here and at X, 6, Kullavagga II, 2, 7, to question the Blessed One about the Vinaya regulations, stands evidently in connection with the tradition ascribing to Upâli an especial authority regarding the rules of the Order and styling him, as is said in the *Dīpavamsa* (IV, 3, 5; V, 7, 9), *agganikkhittaka*, i.e. original depositary, of the Vinaya tradition. See our Introduction, p. xii seq.

² See Kullavagga IV, 4, 10.

³ See Kullavagga IV, 5.

⁴ See Kullavagga IV, 11.

to be instituted, with the *tagganiyakamma*¹—if it proceeds against a Bhikkhu against whom the *tagganiyakamma* ought to be instituted, with the *nissayakamma*—if it proceeds against a Bhikkhu against whom the *nissayakamma* ought to be instituted, with the *pabbâganiyakamma*—if it proceeds against a Bhikkhu against whom the *pabbâganiyakamma* ought to be instituted, with the *paṭisâraṇiyakamma*—if it proceeds against a Bhikkhu against whom the *paṭisâraṇiyakamma* ought to be instituted, with the *ukkhapaniyakamma*—if it sentences a Bhikkhu against whom the *ukkhapaniyakamma* ought to be instituted, to *parivâsa*²—if it sentences a Bhikkhu who ought to be sentenced to *parivâsa*, to *mûlâya paṭikassanâ*—if it sentences a Bhikkhu who ought to be sentenced to *mûlâya paṭikassanâ*, to *mânatta*—if it grants to a Bhikkhu who ought to be sentenced to *mânatta*, the decree of *abbhâna*—if it confers on a Bhikkhu to whom *abbhâna* ought to be granted, the *upasampadâ* ordination,—is this act, Lord, performed lawfully according to Dhamma and Vinaya?’

3. ‘It is performed, Upâli, unlawfully against Dhamma and Vinaya. If a complete congregation, Upâli, performs an act at which the presence (of the accused Bhikkhu) is required, in his absence (&c., down to:) confers on a Bhikkhu to whom *abbhâna* ought to be granted, the *upasampadâ* ordination,—in such case, Upâli, this act is performed unlawfully against Dhamma and Vinaya, and in such case this *Samgha* trespasses against the law.’

¹ This *Samghakamma* and the following ones are explained in *Kullavagga* I, 1 seq.

² For this term and the next ones, see *Kullavagga* III, 1-7.

4. 'Lord, if a complete congregation performs an act at which the presence (of the accused Bhikkhu) is required, in his presence (&c., down to:) confers on a person, on whom the upasampadâ ordination ought to be conferred, the upasampadâ ordination,—is this act, Lord, performed lawfully according to Dhamma and Vinaya?'

'It is performed, Upâli, lawfully according to Dhamma and Vinaya. If a complete congregation performs an act (&c., down to:) the upasampadâ ordination,—in such case, Upâli, this act is performed lawfully according to Dhamma and Vinaya, and in such case this Saṃgha does not trespass against the law.'

5. 'Lord, if a complete congregation grants to a Bhikkhu to whom sativinaya ought to be granted, an amû/havinaya, and to a Bhikkhu to whom amû/havinaya ought to be granted, a sativinaya (&c.¹, down to:) confers on a Bhikkhu to whom abbhâna ought to be granted, the upasampadâ ordination, and grants to a person on whom the upasampadâ ordination ought to be conferred, the decree of abbhâna,—is this act, Lord, performed lawfully according to Dhamma and Vinaya?'

6. 'It is performed, Upâli, unlawfully against Dhamma and Vinaya. If a complete congregation grants to a Bhikkhu, &c.,—in such case, Upâli, this act is performed unlawfully against Dhamma and

¹ The Saṃghakammas enumerated in § 2, beginning with sativinaya, are arranged here in pairs, in direct and reverse order, in this way: sativinaya and amû/havinaya, amû/havinaya and sativinaya; then amû/havinaya and tassapâpiyyasikâkamma, tassapâpiyyasikâkamma and amû/havinaya, &c.

Vinaya, and in such case this *Samgha* trespasses against the law.'

7. 'Lord, if a complete congregation grants *sativinaya* to a *Bhikkhu* to whom *sativinaya* ought to be granted, and *amû/havinaya* to a *Bhikkhu* to whom *amû/havinaya* ought to be granted (&c.¹, down to :) grants *abbhâna* to a *Bhikkhu* to whom *abbhâna* ought to be granted, and confers the *upasampadâ* ordination on a person on whom the *upasampadâ* ordination ought to be conferred,—is this act, Lord, performed lawfully according to *Dhamma* and *Vinaya* ?'

8. 'It is performed, *Upâli*, lawfully according to *Dhamma* and *Vinaya* (&c., down to :) and in such case this *Samgha* does not trespass against the law.'

9. And the Blessed One thus addressed the *Bhikkhus*: 'If a complete congregation, O *Bhikkhus*, grants to a *Bhikkhu* to whom *sativinaya* ought to be granted, an *amû/havinaya*, in such case, O *Bhikkhus*, this act is performed unlawfully against *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*, and in such case this *Samgha* trespasses against the law. If a complete congregation, O *Bhikkhus*, institutes against a *Bhikkhu* to whom *sativinaya* ought to be granted, the *tassapâpiyyasikâkamma* (&c.², down to :) grants to a person on whom the

¹ The same dyads as in § 5.

² In this paragraph all possible combinations of two different *Samghakammas* are formed in this way: first, *sativinaya* is combined with *amû/havinaya* and all the rest, down to *upasampadâ*; then *amû/havinaya* with all terms from *tassapâpiyyasikâ* down to *sativinaya*, and so on; the whole series ends thus with the combinations of *upasampadâraha* with all terms from *sativinaya* down to *abbhâna*.

upasampadā ordination ought to be conferred, the decree of abbhāna,—in such case, O Bhikkhus, this act is performed unlawfully against Dhamma and Vinaya, and in such case this *Samgha* trespasses against the law.’

End of the second Bhānavāra, which contains the questions of Upāli.

7.

1. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu be litigious, contentious, quarrelsome, disputatious, and constantly raise questions before the *Samgha*. And the other Bhikkhus say among each other: “This Bhikkhu, friends, is indeed litigious, contentious, &c.; well, let us proceed against him with the *tagganiyakamma*¹.” And they proceed against him with the *tagganiyakamma* unlawfully² with an incomplete congregation³, and he then goes from that district to another district. There the Bhikkhus say among each other: “Against this Bhikkhu, friends, the *Samgha* has proceeded with the *tagganiyakamma* unlawfully with an incomplete congregation; well, let us proceed against him with the *tagganiyakamma*.” And they proceed against him with the *tagganiyakamma* unlawfully with a complete congregation, and he then goes from that district again to another district. And there the Bhikkhus again say among each other (&c.,

¹ See *Kullavagga* I, 1–8.

² See above, chap. 3, § 3 seq.

³ See above, chap. 3, § 5.

down to:) and they proceed against him with the tagganiyakamma lawfully with an incomplete congregation seemingly lawfully¹ with an incomplete congregation seemingly lawfully with a complete congregation².

2-5. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu be litigious, &c.'³

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu be ignorant, unlearned, a constant offender, unable to discern what is an offence⁴, and lives in lay society, unduly associating himself with lay people. And the other Bhikkhus say among each other: "This Bhikkhu, friends, is indeed ignorant, unlearned, &c.; well, let us proceed against him with the nissaya-kamma⁵," and they proceed against him with the nissaya-kamma unlawfully with an incomplete congregation, &c.'⁶

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu leads a life hurtful to the laity, and devoted to evil⁷. And the other Bhikkhus say among each other: "This

¹ See above, chap. 3, § 7.

² See above, chap. 3, § 8.

³ As in § 1, but with a different arrangement of the five categories on which this exposition is based: unlawfully with an incomplete congregation, unlawfully with a complete congregation, lawfully with an incomplete congregation, seemingly lawfully with an incomplete congregation, seemingly lawfully with a complete congregation. In § 1 these categories are arranged in their natural order; in § 2 the second is placed at the head, then follow the third, fourth, fifth, and finally the first; in § 3 the exposition likewise begins with the third and ends with the second, &c. This arrangement is called 'a wheel' (*kakka*).

⁴ See the note at chap. 4, § 9.

⁵ See *Kullavagga* I, 9-12.

⁶ The same five cases and the same *kakka* as in §§ 1-5.

⁷ See the 13th *Samghādisesa* Rule.

Bhikkhu, friends, leads a life hurtful to the laity, and devoted to evil; well, let us proceed against him with the *pabbâganiyakamma*¹," &c.²

8. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu abuses and reviles lay people. And the other Bhikkhus say among each other: "This Bhikkhu, friends, abuses and reviles lay people; well, let us proceed against him with the *paṭisâraṇiyakamma*³," &c.²

9-11. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu, having committed an offence, refuses to see that offence (committed by himself)⁴. And the other Bhikkhus say among each other: "This Bhikkhu, friends, has committed an offence and refuses to see that offence; well, let us pronounce expulsion against him for his refusal to see that offence⁵," &c.²

12-13. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu, against whom the *Samgha* has proceeded with the *tagganiyakamma*, behaves himself properly, lives modestly, aspires to get clear of his penance, and asks for the revocation of the *tagganiyakamma* sentence. And the other Bhikkhus say among each other: "This Bhikkhu, friends, against whom the *Samgha* has proceeded with the *tagganiyakamma*, in truth behaves himself properly; he lives modestly, &c.; well, let us revoke the *tagganiyakamma* sentence pronounced against him." And they revoke the *tagganiyakamma* sentence

¹ See *Kullavagga* I, 13-17.

² As in §§ 1-5 or in § 6.

³ *Kullavagga* I, 18-24.

⁴ § 10: A Bhikkhu, having committed an offence, refuses to atone for that offence. § 11: A Bhikkhu refuses to renounce a false doctrine.

⁵ § 10: For his refusal to atone for that offence. § 11: For his refusal to renounce that false doctrine.

pronounced against him unlawfully with an incomplete congregation. And he then goes from that district to another district. There the Bhikkhus say among each other: "The *tagganiyakamma* sentence, friends, pronounced against this Bhikkhu has been revoked by the *Samgha* unlawfully with an incomplete congregation," &c.¹

14. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu against whom the *Samgha* has proceeded with the *nissayakamma* . . . with the *pabbâganiyakamma* . . . with the *paṭisâraṇiyakamma* . . . against whom the *Samgha* has pronounced expulsion for his refusal to see an offence . . . for his refusal to atone for an offence . . . for his refusal to renounce a false doctrine, behaves himself properly, &c.²

15. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu be litigious, contentious, quarrelsome, disputatious, and constantly raise questions before the *Samgha*. And the other Bhikkhus say among each other: "This Bhikkhu, friends, is indeed litigious, contentious, &c.; well, let us proceed against him with the *tagganiyakamma*." And they proceed against him with the *tagganiyakamma*, unlawfully with an incomplete congregation. Now among the *Samgha* residing in that district a contention is raised whether this is an act performed unlawfully with an incomplete congregation, or an act performed unlawfully with a complete congregation, or an act performed lawfully with an incomplete

¹ The analogous five cases with the *lakka* development as in §§ 1-5.

² As in §§ 12, 13.

congregation, or an act performed seemingly lawfully with an incomplete congregation, or an act performed seemingly lawfully with a complete congregation, or an act not performed, badly performed, to be performed again. In this case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus who say: "It is an act performed unlawfully with an incomplete congregation"—and the Bhikkhus who say: "It is an act not performed, badly performed, to be performed again"—these Bhikkhus are right herein.

16. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu be litigious (&c., as in § 15, down to:) and they proceed against him with the *tagganiyakamma* unlawfully with a complete congregation lawfully with an incomplete congregation seemingly lawfully with an incomplete congregation seemingly lawfully with a complete congregation. Now among the *Samgha* residing in that district (&c., as in § 15).

17-20. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu be ignorant, unlearned,' &c.¹

End of the ninth Khandhaka, which treats of the events in *Kampā*.

¹ The text treats here in §§ 17, 18 of the *nissayakamma* (see § 6) and of the *Samghakammas* down to the expulsion for a Bhikkhu's refusal to renounce a false doctrine (see §§ 7-11) in the same manner as the *tagganiyakamma* is spoken of in §§ 15, 16. Then follows (§§ 19, 20) an exactly analogous exposition about the revocation of these *Samghakammas*, which stands in the same relation to §§ 15-18 in which §§ 12-14 stand to §§ 1-11.

TENTH KHANDHAKA.

(SCHISMS AMONG THE SAMGHA.)

1.

1. At that time the blessed Buddha dwelt at Kosambī in the Ghositārāma.

At that time a certain Bhikkhu had committed an offence which he considered as an offence, while the other Bhikkhus considered that offence as no offence. Afterwards he began to consider that offence as no offence, and the other Bhikkhus began to consider that offence as an offence.

Now those Bhikkhus said to that Bhikkhu : ‘You have committed an offence, friend ; do you see that offence ?’

(He replied) : ‘There is no offence, friends, which I should see.’

Then those Bhikkhus, bringing about unanimity (of the fraternity for their sentence) pronounced expulsion against that Bhikkhu for his refusal to see that offence.

2. Now that Bhikkhu was erudite ; he had studied the Āgamas ; he knew the Dhamma, the Vinaya, the Mâtikā¹ ; he was wise, learned, intelligent, modest, conscientious, anxious for training.

And that Bhikkhu went to his companions and friends among the Bhikkhus, and said to them : ‘This is no offence, friends ; this is not an offence.

¹ See *Kullavagga* I, 11, 1, with our note.

I am offenceless; I am not guilty of an offence; I am unexpelled and have not been expelled; the sentence by which I have been expelled is unlawful, objectionable, and invalid. May the venerable ones be my partisans according to Dhamma and Vinaya.'

Thus that Bhikkhu got his companions and friends among the Bhikkhus on his side.

And he sent also a messenger to his companions and friends among the Bhikkhus of the whole country (with the following message): 'This is no offence, friends; this is not an offence (&c., down to:). May the venerable ones be my partisans according to Dhamma and Vinaya.'

Thus that Bhikkhu got also his companions and friends among the Bhikkhus of the whole country on his side.

3. Now those Bhikkhus who were partisans of the expelled Bhikkhu, went to the place where those who had expelled him, were. Having approached them, they said to the Bhikkhus who had expelled him: 'This is no offence, friends; this is not an offence. This Bhikkhu is offenceless; this Bhikkhu is not guilty of an offence. This Bhikkhu is unexpelled; this Bhikkhu has not been expelled. The sentence by which he has been expelled is unlawful, objectionable, and invalid.'

When they had spoken thus, the Bhikkhus who had expelled that Bhikkhu, said to the partisans of the expelled one: 'This is an offence, friends; this is not no offence. This Bhikkhu is an offender; this Bhikkhu is not offenceless. This Bhikkhu is expelled; this Bhikkhu is not unexpelled. The sentence by which he has been expelled is lawful,

unobjectionable, and valid. Do not stand, O venerable ones, on the side of this expelled Bhikkhu; do not follow him.'

But the partisans of the expelled Bhikkhu, though they were spoken to thus by the Bhikkhus who had expelled him, persevered nevertheless on the side of that expelled Bhikkhu and followed him.

4. And a certain Bhikkhu went to the place where the Blessed One was. Having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him that Bhikkhu said to the Blessed One: 'A certain Bhikkhu, Lord, had committed an offence which he considered as an offence (&c., as in §§ 1-3, down to:). But the partisans, Lord, of the expelled Bhikkhu, though they were spoken to thus by the Bhikkhus who had expelled him, persevered nevertheless on the side of that expelled Bhikkhu and followed him.'

5. Then the Blessed One (exclaimed): 'The Bhikkhu Samgha is divided! The Bhikkhu Samgha is divided!'—and he rose from his seat and went to the place where the Bhikkhus were who had pronounced that sentence of expulsion. Having approached them, he sat down on the seat they had prepared. Sitting there the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus who had pronounced expulsion against that Bhikkhu: 'Do not think, O Bhikkhus, that you are to pronounce expulsion against a Bhikkhu whatever be the facts of the case, saying, "It occurs to us to do so; it occurs to us to do so."

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has committed an offence which he considers as no offence, while the other Bhikkhus consider it as an offence—if, O Bhikkhus, those Bhikkhus know with regard

to that Bhikkhu: "This venerable brother is erudite; he has studied the Āgamas; he knows the Dhamma, the Vinaya, the Mâtikâ; he is wise, learned, intelligent, modest, conscientious, anxious for training. Should we pronounce expulsion against this Bhikkhu for his refusal to see that offence, and should we not hold Uposatha with that Bhikkhu, but hold Uposatha without that Bhikkhu, this matter will cause among the Samgha altercations, contentions, discord, quarrels, divisions among the Samgha, disunion among the Samgha, separations among the Samgha, schisms among the Samgha,"—in that case, O Bhikkhus, let those Bhikkhus, standing in awe of causing divisions, not pronounce expulsion against that Bhikkhu for his refusal to see his offence.

7. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has committed (&c., as above, down to:). "Should we pronounce expulsion against this Bhikkhu for his refusal to see that offence, and should we not hold Pavâraṇâ with that Bhikkhu, but hold Pavâraṇâ without that Bhikkhu, and not perform official acts with that Bhikkhu, but perform official acts without that Bhikkhu, and not sit down on our seats with that Bhikkhu, but sit down on our seats without that Bhikkhu, and not sit down to drink rice-milk with that Bhikkhu, but sit down to drink rice-milk without that Bhikkhu, and not sit down in the dining-hall with that Bhikkhu, but sit down in the dining-hall without that Bhikkhu, and not dwell under one roof with that Bhikkhu, but dwell under one roof without that Bhikkhu, and not perform with that Bhikkhu, according to seniority, the duties of respectfully saluting each other, rising from our seats, raising the joined hands before each other, and all

proper duties, but perform without that Bhikkhu, according to seniority, the duties, &c.,—this matter will cause among the Samgha (&c., as in § 6, down to the end).’

8. And the Blessed One, having spoken thus to the Bhikkhus who had pronounced that sentence of expulsion, rose from his seat, and went to the place where the partisans of the expelled Bhikkhu were. Having approached them, he sat down on the seat they had prepared. Sitting there the Blessed One said to the partisans of the expelled Bhikkhu: ‘Do not think, O Bhikkhus, if you have committed an offence, that you need not atone for that offence, (saying to yourselves): “We are without offence.” In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu has committed an offence which he considers as no offence, while the other Bhikkhus consider it as an offence—if, O Bhikkhus, that Bhikkhu knows with regard to those Bhikkhus: “These venerable brethren are erudite (&c., down to :) anxious for training. It is impossible that they should, on my account, or on account of anybody else, abandon themselves to walking in longing, in malice, in delusion, in fear. Should these Bhikkhus pronounce expulsion against me for my refusal to see that offence, and should they not hold Uposatha with me, but hold Uposatha without me, and should they not hold Pavâranâ with me, but hold Pavâranâ without me (&c., as in § 7), this matter will cause, &c., schisms among the Samgha,”—in that case, O Bhikkhus, let that Bhikkhu, standing in awe of causing divisions, acknowledge that offence on the authority of his brethren ¹.’ And the

¹ In the text *sandhâya* must be corrected into *saddhâya*; see *Kullavagga* XI, 1, 10.

Blessed One, having spoken thus to the partisans of the expelled Bhikkhu, rose from his seat and went away.

9. At that time the Bhikkhus who were partisans of that expelled Bhikkhu, held Uposatha and performed official acts at that same place, within the boundary. On the other hand the Bhikkhus who had pronounced expulsion against him, went outside the boundary and there held Uposatha, and performed official acts.

Now a certain Bhikkhu of those who had expelled that Bhikkhu, went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him that Bhikkhu said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, those Bhikkhus who are partisans of that expelled Bhikkhu, hold Uposatha, and perform official acts, at that same place, within the boundary. On the other hand, we who have pronounced expulsion against him, have gone outside the boundary and there hold Uposatha and perform official acts.'

(Buddha replied): 'If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhu, who are partisans of that expelled Bhikkhu, will hold Uposatha, and perform official acts, at that same place, within the boundary, according to the rules laid down by me about *ñatti* and *anussâvanâ*, these official acts which they perform will be lawful, unobjectionable, and valid. And if you, O Bhikkhus, who have expelled that Bhikkhu, will hold Uposatha, and perform official acts, at that same place, within the boundary (&c., down to :) and valid.

10. 'And why is this so? These Bhikkhus belong to another communion than that to which you



belong, and you belong to another communion than that to which they belong.

‘There are two cases, O Bhikkhu, in which a Bhikkhu (though he dwell within the same boundary) is considered as belonging to another communion :— either he himself makes himself belong to another communion¹, or the Samgha in a complete congregation pronounces expulsion against him for his refusal to see (an offence committed by himself), or to atone (for such an offence), or to renounce (a false doctrine). These, O Bhikkhu, are the two cases in which a Bhikkhu is considered as belonging to another communion.

‘There are two cases, O Bhikkhu, in which a Bhikkhu (belonging to either of the categories mentioned) reacquires the belonging to the same communion (with his brethren within the same boundary): either he himself makes himself belong (again) to that same communion², or the Samgha, having expelled him for his refusal to see (an offence), or to atone (for an offence), or to renounce (a false doctrine), restores him in a complete congregation. These, O Bhikkhu, are the two cases in which a Bhikkhu reacquires the belonging to the same communion.

2.

1. At that time the Bhikkhus, among whom altercations, contentions, and quarrels had arisen, in the dining-hall and amidst the houses, behaved

¹ By associating with expelled Bhikkhus.

² By giving up his connection with expelled Bhikkhus,

improperly towards each other in gesture and word, and came to blows.

The people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), 'How can these Sakyaputtiya Samanas, when altercations, contentions, and quarrels have arisen among them, &c., and come to blows?' Some Bhikkhus heard those people that were annoyed, murmured, and had become angry. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed, murmured, and became angry (saying), 'How can the Bhikkhus, when altercations, &c.?''

These Bhikkhus told the thing to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, &c.?''

'It is true, Lord.'

Having rebuked them, and delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'When divisions have arisen among the Samgha, O Bhikkhus, and when unlawful conduct and unfriendliness prevail among the Bhikkhus, then you ought to sit down on your seats (separately, saying to yourselves): "At least we will not behave improperly towards each other in gesture or word, and will not come to blows." When divisions have arisen among the Samgha, O Bhikkhus, and when lawful conduct and friendliness prevail among the Bhikkhus, then you may sit down (together), one by one from each side¹.'

2. At that time the Bhikkhus, among whom altercations, contentions, and quarrels had arisen, wounded each other with sharp words in the assemblies, and were unable to settle that question.

¹ Āsanantarikāya. Buddhaghosa: 'Ekekaṃ āsanam antaram katvā nisīditabbam.'

Then a certain Bhikkhu went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted him, he stationed himself near him. Standing near him, that Bhikkhu said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, the Bhikkhus among whom altercations, contentions, and quarrels have arisen, wound each other with sharp words in the assemblies, and are unable to settle that question. Pray, Lord, may the Blessed One go to those Bhikkhus out of compassion towards them.'

And the Blessed One expressed his consent by remaining silent.

Then the Blessed One went to the place where those Bhikkhus were; having approached them, he sat down on the seat they had prepared. Sitting there the Blessed One thus addressed those Bhikkhus: 'Enough, O Bhikkhus, no altercations, no contentions, no disunion, no quarrel!'

When he had spoken thus, a certain Bhikkhu, an adherer of the party who were wrong, said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, may the Blessed One, the king of Truth, be patient! Lord, may the Blessed One quietly enjoy the bliss he has obtained already in this life! The responsibility for these altercations and contentions, for this disunion and quarrel will rest with us alone.'

And for the second time the Blessed One thus addressed those Bhikkhus: 'Enough, O Bhikkhus, &c.' And for the second time that Bhikkhu who adhered to the party who were wrong, said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, may the Blessed One, &c.' Then the Blessed One spoke thus to those Bhikkhus:

3. 'In former times, O Bhikkhus, there lived at

Benares a king of Kâsi, Brahmadatta by name, wealthy, rich in treasures, rich in revenues, rich in troops and vehicles, the lord over a great realm, with full treasuries and storehouses. And there was also a king of Kosala, Dighîti by name, not wealthy, poor in treasures, poor in revenues, poor in troops and vehicles, the lord over a small realm, with empty treasuries and storehouses.

‘And king Brahmadatta, O Bhikkhus, of Kâsi, having set the four hosts of his army in array, went out to war with king Dighîti of Kosala.

‘And king Dighîti of Kosala heard, O Bhikkhus : “King Brahmadatta of Kâsi, having set the four hosts of his army in array, has gone out to war with me.” Then king Dighîti of Kosala thought, O Bhikkhus : “King Brahmadatta of Kâsi is wealthy, rich in treasures, &c. ; and I am not wealthy, poor in treasures, &c. I am not able to stand against even one attack of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi. What if I were to flee from the town beforehand.”

‘And king Dighîti of Kosala, O Bhikkhus, took his queen-consort with him and fled from the town beforehand.

‘Then king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, O Bhikkhus, conquered the troops and vehicles, the realm, the treasuries and storehouses of king Dighîti of Kosala, and took possession of them.

‘And king Dighîti of Kosala, O Bhikkhus, together with his consort, went forth to Benares. Wandering from place to place he came to Benares, and there at Benares, O Bhikkhus, king Dighîti of Kosala dwelt, together with his consort, at a certain place near the town, in a potter’s dwelling, in disguise, in the guise of a wandering ascetic.

4. 'And ere long, O Bhikkhus, the queen-consort of king Dīghṭi of Kosala became pregnant. And there came upon her the longing of pregnant women; and she desired, at sunrise, to see an army, with its four hosts set in array, clad in armour, standing on auspicious ground, and to drink the water in which the swords were washed.

'And the queen-consort, O Bhikkhus, of king Dīghṭi of Kosala said to king Dīghṭi of Kosala: "I am pregnant, Lord, and the longing of pregnancy has come upon me; and I desire, at sunrise, &c."

'(The king replied): "Whence shall come, O queen, to people in distress like us, an army with four hosts set in array, clad in armour, standing on auspicious ground, and the water in which the swords are washed?"

'(The queen said): "If I do not obtain it, Lord, I shall die."

5. 'Now at that time, O Bhikkhus, the Brāhmaṇa who was domestic chaplain to king Brahmadatta of Kāsi, was a friend of king Dīghṭi of Kosala. And king Dīghṭi of Kosala, O Bhikkhus, went to the place where that Brāhmaṇa, the domestic chaplain to king Brahmadatta of Kāsi, was; having approached him he said to that Brāhmaṇa, the domestic chaplain to king Brahmadatta of Kāsi: "Your lady-friend, my beloved, is pregnant, and the longing of pregnant women has come upon her; and she desires (&c., as above)."

'(The Brāhmaṇa replied): "Well, O king, let us see the queen also."

'Then, O Bhikkhus, the queen-consort of king Dīghṭi of Kosala went to the place where that Brāhmaṇa, the domestic chaplain to king Brah-

madatta of Kâsi, was. And, O Bhikkhus, that Brâhmaṇa, the domestic chaplain to king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, saw the queen-consort of king Dīghiti of Kosala coming from afar. On seeing her he rose from his seat, adjusted his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, raised his joined hands to the queen-consort of king Dīghiti of Kosala, and three times uttered this exclamation: "Verily a Kosala king dwells in thy womb! Verily a Kosala king dwells in thy womb!" (And further he said): "Do not despond, O queen, you will obtain the sight at sunrise of an army with its four hosts set in array, clad in armour, standing on auspicious ground, and you will obtain the drinking of the water in which the swords are washed."

6. 'And, O Bhikkhus, that Brâhmaṇa, the domestic chaplain to king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, went to the place where king Brahmadatta of Kâsi was. Having approached him, he said to king Brahmadatta of Kâsi: "Lord, the signs that appear are such, that to-morrow at sunrise an army with four hosts, set in array, clad in armour, must station itself on auspicious ground, and the swords must be washed."

'Then, O Bhikkhus, king Brahmadatta of Kâsi gave order to his attendants: "Do, my friends, what the Brâhmaṇa, my domestic chaplain, tells you."

'Thus, O Bhikkhus, the queen-consort of king Dīghiti of Kosala obtained the sight at sunrise, &c., and the drinking of the water in which the swords were washed.

'And, O Bhikkhus, the queen-consort of king Dīghiti of Kosala, when the child in her womb had reached maturity, gave birth to a boy. They called

him Dīghāvu ("Longeval"). And ere long, O Bhikkhus, young Dīghāvu came to the years of discretion.

7. 'And king Dīghṭti of Kosala, O Bhikkhus, thought: "This king Brahmadatta of Kâsi has done much harm to us. By him we have been robbed of our troops and vehicles, our realm, our treasuries and storehouses. Should he find us out here, he will have us all three killed. What if I were to cause young Dīghāvu to dwell outside the town."

'Then king Dīghṭti of Kosala, O Bhikkhus, caused young Dīghāvu to dwell outside the town. And young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, dwelling outside the town, ere long learnt all arts.

8. 'At that time, O Bhikkhus, the barber of king Dīghṭti of Kosala dwelt at the court of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi. Now, O Bhikkhus, this barber of king Dīghṭti of Kosala saw king Dīghṭti of Kosala dwelling, together with his consort, at Benares, at a certain place near the town, in a potter's dwelling, in disguise, in the guise of a wandering ascetic. When he had seen him, he went to the place where king Brahmadatta of Kâsi was, and having approached him, he said to king Brahmadatta of Kâsi: "King Dīghṭti of Kosala, Your Majesty, dwells, together with his consort, at Benares, at a certain place near the town, in a potter's dwelling, in disguise, in the guise of a wandering ascetic."

9. 'Then, O Bhikkhus, king Brahmadatta of Kâsi gave order to his attendants: "Well, my friends, bring king Dīghṭti of Kosala and his consort before me."

'And those people, O Bhikkhus, accepted this order of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi (by saying),

"Yes, Your Majesty," and brought king Dîghîti of Kosala and his consort before him.

'Then, O Bhikkhus, king Brahmadatta of Kâsi gave order to his attendants: "Well, my friends, bind king Dîghîti of Kosala and his consort firmly with strong ropes, tie their arms to their backs, have them close shaven, lead them around with loud beatings of drums from road to road and from cross-way to cross-way, then lead them out of the town by the southern gate, hew them in four pieces to the south of the town, and throw the pieces away to the four quarters."

'And those people, O Bhikkhus, accepted this order of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi (by saying), "Yes, Your Majesty," bound king Dîghîti of Kosala and his consort firmly with strong ropes, tied their arms to their backs, had them close shaven, and led them around with loud beatings of drums from road to road and from cross-way to cross-way.

10. 'Now, O Bhikkhus, young Dîghâvu thought: "For a long time I have not seen my father and mother. What if I were to go and see my father and mother." And young Dîghâvu, O Bhikkhus, entered Benares, and saw his father and mother, bound firmly with strong ropes, their arms tied to their backs, close shaven, and being led around with loud beating of drums from road to road and from cross-way to cross-way. When he saw that, he went up to his father and mother.

'And king Dîghîti of Kosala, O Bhikkhus, saw young Dîghâvu coming from afar; seeing young Dîghâvu he said to him: "Do not look long, my dear Dîghâvu, and do not look short¹. For not by

¹ This enigmatic phrase will be found explained below, § 19.

hatred, my dear Dīghāvu, is hatred appeased; by not-hatred, my dear Dīghāvu, hatred is appeased."

11. 'When he had spoken thus, O Bhikkhus, the people said to king Dīghṭi of Kosala: "This king Dīghṭi of Kosala is mad and raves. What has this Dīghāvu to do with him? Who is he to whom he says: 'Do not look long, &c.?''" (Dīghṭi replied): "I am not mad, my friends, nor do I rave. He who is clever will understand it."

'And for the second time, &c. And for the third time, O Bhikkhus, king Dīghṭi of Kosala said to young Dīghāvu, &c. And for the third time said the people (&c., down to:) "He who is clever will understand it."

'Then those people, O Bhikkhus, having led king Dīghṭi of Kosala and his consort around from road to road and from cross-way to cross-way, led them out of the town by the southern gate, hewed them in four pieces to the south of the town, threw the pieces away to the four quarters, stationed there a troop of soldiers, and went away.

12. 'Then young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, went to Benares, got strong drink there, and made those soldiers drink it. When they were drunk and had fallen down, he gathered the pieces (of the two bodies), made a funeral pile, put his father's and his mother's bodies on that pile, set it on fire, and raising his clasped hands he three times circumambulated the funeral pile. •

'Now at that time, O Bhikkhus, king Brahmadatta of Kāsi had gone up on to the terrace of his splendid palace. And king Brahmadatta of Kāsi, O Bhikkhus, saw young Dīghāvu, who, raising his clasped hands, three times circumambulated the

funeral pile. When he saw that, he thought: "Doubtless this man is a relation or kinsman of king Dīghīti of Kosala. Alas for my misfortune, that nobody will tell me (what this means)!"

13. 'And young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, went to the forest. There he cried and wept to his heart's content. Then he wiped his tears, entered the town of Benares, went to the elephant stables near the royal palace, and said to the elephant trainer: "I wish to learn your art, master."

"Well, my good young man, learn it."

'And young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, arose in the night, at dawn's time, and sung in the elephant stables in a beautiful voice, and played upon the lute. And king Brahmadatta of Kāśi, O Bhikkhus, having risen in the night, at dawn, heard that singing in a beautiful voice and that playing upon the lute in the elephant stables. On hearing that he asked his attendants: "Who is it, my friends, who has risen in the night, at dawn's time, and has sung in the elephant stables in so beautiful a voice, and has played upon the lute?"

14. '(The attendants replied): "A young pupil, Your Majesty, of such and such an elephant trainer, has risen in the night, at dawn, and has sung in the elephant stables in so beautiful a voice, and has played upon the lute."

'(The king said): "Well, my friends, bring that young man to me."

'Those people accepted, O Bhikkhus, that order of king Brahmadatta of Kāśi (by saying), "Yes, Your Majesty," and brought young Dīghāvu to him.

"Is it you, my good young man, who has risen in the night, &c.?"

“ Yes, Your Majesty.”

“ Well, my good young man, sing and play upon the lute (also before me).”

‘ Young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, accepted this order of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi (by saying), “ Yes, Your Majesty,” and in order to win (the king’s) favour he sung in a beautiful voice and played upon the lute.

‘ And king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, O Bhikkhus, said to young Dīghāvu : “ Be my attendant, my good young man.”

‘ Young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, accepted this order of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi (by saying), “ Yes, Your Majesty.” And young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, became (a servant) of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, rising before him, lying down after him, willingly obeying all his commands, agreeable in his conduct, pleasing in his words. And ere long, O Bhikkhus, king Brahmadatta of Kâsi gave to young Dīghāvu an intimate position of trust.

15. ‘ And king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, O Bhikkhus, said to young Dīghāvu : “ Well, my young friend, put the horses to the chariot ; we will go a-hunting.” And young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, accepted this order of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi (by saying), “ Yes, Your Majesty,” put the horses to the chariot, and said to king Brahmadatta of Kâsi : “ The horses have been put to your chariot, Your Majesty ; you may do now as you think fit.”

‘ And king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, O Bhikkhus, ascended the chariot, and young Dīghāvu drove the chariot : and he drove the chariot in such a way that the hosts (of the royal retinue) went one way, and the chariot went another way.

‘ And after a long drive, O Bhikkhus, king Brahmadatta of Kâsi said to young Dîghâvu : “ Well, my young friend, stop now the chariot. I am tired ; I would lie down.”

‘ Young Dîghâvu, O Bhikkhus, accepted this order of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi (by saying), “ Yes, Your Majesty,” stopped the chariot, and sat down on the ground cross-legged. And king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, O Bhikkhus, lay down, laying his head in the lap of young Dîghâvu ; and as he was tired, he fell asleep in a moment.

16. ‘ And young Dîghâvu thought, O Bhikkhus : “ This king Brahmadatta of Kâsi has done much harm to us. By him we have been robbed of our troops and vehicles, our realm, our treasuries and storehouses. And he has killed my father and mother. Now the time has come to me to satisfy my hatred,”—(thinking thus) he unsheathed his sword. Then, O Bhikkhus, young Dîghâvu thought : “ My father said to me in the hour of his death : ‘ Do not look long, my dear Dîghâvu, and do not look short. For not by hatred, my dear Dîghâvu, is hatred appeased ; by not-hatred, my dear Dîghâvu, hatred is appeased.’ It would not become me to transgress my father’s word,”—(thinking thus) he put up his sword.

‘ And for the second time . . . and for the third time young Dîghâvu thought, O Bhikkhus : “ This king Brahmadatta of Kâsi has done much harm to us” (&c., down to :)—(thinking thus) he put up his sword.

‘ At that moment, O Bhikkhus, king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, frightened, terrified, full of anguish, and alarmed, suddenly arose.

‘ And young Dîghâvu, O Bhikkhus, said to king

Brahmadatta of Kâsi : " Why do you arise so suddenly, O king, frightened, terrified, full of anguish, and alarmed ?"

' (The king replied) : " I dreamt, my young friend, that young Dîghâvu, the son of king Dîghîti of Kosala, came upon me with his sword ; therefore have I arisen so suddenly, frightened, terrified, full of anguish, and alarmed."

17. ' Then, O Bhikkhus, young Dîghâvu, stroking with his left hand the head of king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, and with his right hand unsheathing his sword, said to king Brahmadatta of Kâsi : " I am that young Dîghâvu, O king, the son of king Dîghîti of Kosala. You have done much harm to us. By you we have been robbed of our troops and vehicles, our realm, our treasures and storehouses. And you have killed my father and mother. Now the time has come to me to satisfy my hatred."

' Then, O Bhikkhus, king Brahmadatta of Kâsi fell down before young Dîghâvu, inclining his head to his feet, and said to young Dîghâvu : " Grant me my life, my dear Dîghâvu ! Grant me my life, my dear Dîghâvu !"

" How can I grant you your life, O king ? It is you, O king, who should grant me my life !"

" Well, my dear Dîghâvu, then grant me my life, and I will grant you your life."

' Thus, O Bhikkhus, king Brahmadatta of Kâsi and young Dîghâvu granted each other their lives and took each other's hands and swore an oath not to do any harm to each other.

' And king Brahmadatta of Kâsi, O Bhikkhus, said to young Dîghâvu : " Well, my dear Dîghâvu, put now the horses to the chariot ; we will go."

‘And young Dīghāvu, O Bhikkhus, accepted this order of king Brahmadatta of Kāsi (by saying), “Yes, Your Majesty,” put the horses to the chariot, and said to king Brahmadatta of Kāsi : “The horses have been put to your chariot, Your Majesty ; you may do now as you think fit.”

‘And king Brahmadatta of Kāsi, O Bhikkhus, ascended the chariot, and young Dīghāvu drove the chariot ; and he drove the chariot in such a way that they soon reached again the hosts (of the royal retinue).

18. ‘And king Brahmadatta of Kāsi, O Bhikkhus, having entered Benares, convoked his ministers and counsellors and said to them : “If you should see, my good Sirs, young Dīghāvu, the son of king Dīghiti of Kosala, what would you do to him ?”

‘Some (of the ministers) replied : “We would cut off his hands, Your Majesty ;” (others said) : “We would cut off his feet”—“We would cut off his hands and feet”—“We would cut off his ears”—“We would cut off his nose”—“We would cut off his ears and his nose”—“We would cut off his head.”

“This is young Dīghāvu, Sirs, the son of king Dīghiti of Kosala. It is not permitted to do anything to him ; he has granted me my life, and I have granted him his life.”

19. ‘And king Brahmadatta of Kāsi, O Bhikkhus, said to young Dīghāvu : “Why did your father say to you in the hour of his death : ‘Do not look long, &c.’—what did your father mean by that ?”

“What my father said, O king, in the hour of his death : ‘Not long’—(means) : ‘Let not your hatred last long ;’ this did my father mean when he said in the hour of his death : ‘Not long.’ And

what my father said, O king, in the hour of his death : ' Not short '—(means) : ' Do not be hasty to fall out with your friends ;' this did my father mean when he said in the hour of his death : ' Not short.' And what my father said, O king, in the hour of his death : ' For not by hatred, my dear Dīghāvu, is hatred appeased ; by not-hatred, my dear Dīghāvu, is hatred appeased '—(means this) : ' You have killed my father and mother, O king. If I should deprive you therefore of life, O king, then your partisans, O king, would deprive me of life ; my partisans again would deprive those of life. Thus by hatred that hatred would not be appeased. But now, O king, you have granted me my life, and I, O king, have granted you your life ; thus by not-hatred hatred has been appeased.' This did my father mean when he said in the hour of his death : ' For not by hatred, &c.'"

20. ' Then king Brahmadatta of Kāsi, O Bhikkhus, thought : " O wonderful ! O marvellous ! How clever is this young Dīghāvu, that he understands in its full extent the meaning of what his father spoke so concisely,"—and he gave him back his father's troops and vehicles, his realm, his treasures and store-houses, and he gave him his daughter.

' Now, O Bhikkhus, if such is the forbearance and mildness of kings who wield the sceptre and bear the sword, so much more, O Bhikkhus, must you so let your light shine before the world that you, having embraced the religious life according to so well-taught a doctrine and a discipline, are seen to be forbearing and mild.'

And for the third time¹ the Blessed One thus

¹ See § 2.

addressed those Bhikkhus: 'Enough, O Bhikkhus, no altercations, no contentions, no disunion, no quarrels!'

And for the third time that Bhikkhu who adhered to the party who were wrong, said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, may the Blessed One, the king of Truth, be patient! Lord, may the Blessed One quietly enjoy the bliss he has obtained already in this life! The responsibility for these altercations and contentions, for this disunion and quarrel will rest with us alone.' And the Blessed One thought: 'Truly these fools are infatuate; it is no easy task to administer instruction to them,'—and he rose from his seat and went away.

End of the first Bhāṇavāra, which contains
the story of Dīghāvu.

3.

And in the forenoon the Blessed One, having put on his under-robcs, took up his alms-bowl and his *āvara*, and entered the town of Kosambī for alms. Having collected alms in Kosambī, after his meal, when he had returned from his alms-pilgrimage, he put his resting-place in order, took up his alms-bowl and his *āvara*, and standing in the midst of the assembly he pronounced the following stanzas:

'Loud is the noise that ordinary men make. Nobody thinks himself a fool, when divisions arise in the Saṃgha, nor do they ever value another person higher (than themselves).

'Bewildered¹ are (even) the clever words of him who is versed in the resources of eloquence. As wide as they like they open their mouth. By whom they are lead they do not see.

"He² has reviled me, he has beaten me, he has oppressed me, he has robbed me,"—in those who nurse such thoughts, hatred will never be appeased.

"He has reviled me, he has beaten me, he has oppressed me, he has robbed me,"—in those who do not nurse such thoughts, hatred is appeased.

'For not by hatred is hatred ever appeased; by not-hatred it is appeased; this is an eternal law.

'The others³ do not know that we must keep ourselves under restraint here; but those who know it, their quarrels are appeased.

'They whose bones are broken (by their foes), who destroy lives, who rob cows, horses, and treasures, who plunder realms,—even these may find conciliation. How should you not find it?

'If⁴ a man find a wise friend, a companion who

¹ Parimu//hâ. Buddhaghosa: 'Parimu//hâ 'ti mu//hassatino.' Mu//hassati cannot be connected with mû//ha, as Childers supposes, but it is evidently mushitasmṛiti (Kathâsarits. 56, 289; compare satisammosa, Mil. Pañha, p. 266). Thus it appears that parimu//ha must be derived also from the root mush.

² These verses are inserted in the Dhammapada, vv. 3-6.

³ That is to say, those who do not follow the Buddha's teaching. On this meaning of pare compare parappavâdâ at Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta V, 62. Professor Max Müller, who in the first edition of his translation of the Dhammapada (Buddhaghosa's Parables, p. lvi) has 'Some do not know that we must all come to an end here,' in the revised edition (Sacred Books of the East, vol. x) renders the phrase, 'The world does not know that we must all come to an end here.'

⁴ The following three verses have also been inserted in the Dhammapada, vv. 328-330. The two first recur in the Khagga-visâna-sutta of the Sutta Nipâta, vv. 11, 12.

lives righteously, a constant one, he may walk with him, overcoming all dangers, happy and mindful ¹.

‘If he find no wise friend, no companion who lives righteously, no constant one, let him walk alone, like a king who leaves his conquered realm behind ², like an elephant in the elephant forest ³.

‘It is better to walk alone; with a fool there is no companionship. Let a man walk alone; let him do no evil, free from cares, like an elephant in the elephant forest ³.’

4.

1. And the Blessed One, having pronounced these stanzas standing in the midst of the assembly, went forth to Bālakalṇakāra-gāma (or, to Bālaka, the salt-maker's village).

At that time the venerable Bhagu dwelt at Bālakalṇakāra-gāma. And the venerable Bhagu saw the Blessed One coming from afar; seeing him he prepared a seat, brought water for the washing of his feet, a foot-stool, and a towel, went forth to meet him, and took his bowl and his robe. The Blessed One sat down on the seat he had prepared; and

¹ On the juxtaposition of happiness with mindfulness, see the constantly repeated phrase occurring, for instance, in the *Tevigga Sutta* I, 49 (at the end). It would perhaps be better to read *sa-tīmā* in the text, as Fausböll has done, *metri causā*.

² That is, who abdicates, and devotes himself in the forest to a hermit's life. This is given as the crucial instance of a happy life in the *Gātaka Story*, No. 10.

³ Professor Fausböll reads in both verses *mātaṅgarañño* instead of *mātaṅgaraññe*.

when he was seated, the Blessed One washed his feet. And also the venerable Bhagu, having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, sat down near him. When he was sitting near him, the Blessed One said to the venerable Bhagu: 'Is it all well with you, O Bhikkhu? Do you find your living? Do you get food without too much trouble?'

'It is all well with me, Lord; I find my living, Lord; I get food, Lord, without too much trouble.'

And the Blessed One, having taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the venerable Bhagu by religious discourse, rose from his seat and went forth to the Eastern Bambû Park (*Pâkîna-vamsa-dâya*).

2. At that time the venerable Anuruddha and the venerable Nandiya and the venerable Kimbila dwelt at *Pâkîna-vamsa-dâya*. And the park-keeper saw the Blessed One coming from afar; seeing him he said to the Blessed One: 'Do not enter this park, O *Samana*; here dwell three noble youths accustomed to comfort and ease; you must not annoy them.' And the venerable Anuruddha heard what the park-keeper was saying to the Blessed One; hearing that he said to the park-keeper: 'Do not keep off the Blessed One, my good park-keeper; our teacher, the Blessed One, has arrived.' And the venerable Anuruddha went to the place where the venerable Nandiya and the venerable Kimbila were; having approached them, he said to the venerable Nandiya and to the venerable Kimbila: 'Come here, my venerable friends! Come here, my venerable friends! Our teacher, the Blessed One, has arrived.'

3. And the venerable Anuruddha, the venerable Nandiya, and the venerable Kimbila went forth to meet the Blessed One; one took the bowl and the

robe of the Blessed One, the other one prepared a seat, the third one brought water for the washing of his feet, a foot-stool, and a towel. Then the Blessed One sat down on the seat they had prepared; and when he was seated, the Blessed One washed his feet. And also those venerable persons, having respectfully saluted the Blessed One, sat down near him. When the venerable Anuruddha was sitting near him, the Blessed One said to him: 'Is it all well with you, O Anuruddhas'? Do you find your living? Do you get food without too much trouble?'

'It is all well with us, Lord; we find our living, Lord; we get food, Lord, without too much trouble.'

'And do you live, O Anuruddhas, in unity and concord, without quarrels, like milk and water (mixed together)², and looking at each other with friendly eyes?'

'Certainly, Lord, do we live in unity and concord (&c., down to:) and looking at each other with friendly eyes.'

'And in what way, O Anuruddhas, do you live in unity and concord, &c.?'

4. 'I think, Lord: "It is all gain to me indeed, it is high bliss for me indeed, that I live in the companionship of brethren like these." Thus, Lord, do I exercise towards these venerable brethren friendliness in my actions, both openly and in secret; I

¹ We have here the plural Anuruddhā, meaning Anuruddha and his friends. So in *Kullavagga* I, 13, 6 Sāriputtā means Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

² Khīrodakibhūtā can scarcely contain an allusion to the Milk Ocean (see Childers, s.v. khīrodaka). Milk and water is frequently chosen by the Indian poets as a type of the most perfect union.

exercise (towards them) friendliness in my words, and friendliness in my thoughts, both openly and in secret. And I think thus, Lord: "What if I were to give up my own will and to live only according to the will of these venerable brethren." Thus, Lord, I give up my own will and live only according to the will of these venerable brethren. Our bodies, Lord, are different, but our minds, I think, have become one¹.

And also the venerable Nandiya and also the venerable Kimbila said to the Blessed One: 'I think also, Lord: "It is all gain to me" (&c., down to:) have become one.

'In this way, Lord, do we live in unity and concord, without quarrels, like milk and water (mixed together), and looking at each other with friendly eyes.'

5. 'And do you live, O Anuruddhas, in earnestness, zeal, and resolvedness?'

'Certainly, Lord, do we live in earnestness, zeal, and resolvedness.'

'And in what way, O Anuruddhas, do you live in earnestness, zeal, and resolvedness?'

'He² who first of us comes back, Lord, from the village, from his alms-pilgrimage, prepares seats, gets water for washing feet, a foot-stool, and a towel, cleans the slop-basin, and gets it ready, and puts there (water to) drink and food. He who comes back last from the village, from his alms-pilgrimage, eats, if there is any food left (from the dinner of the others) and if he desires to do so; and if he does

¹ Compare the last poem in the Sutta Nipâta, and especially v. 1143.

² Compare IV, 1.

not desire (to eat), he throws it away at a place free from grass, or pours it away into water in which no living things are; takes away the seat, puts away the water for washing the feet, the foot-stool, and the towel, cleans the slop-basin and puts it away, puts the water and the food away, and sweeps the dining-room. He who sees a water-pot, or a bowl for food, or an easing-chair, empty and void, puts it (into its proper place), and if he is not able to do so single-handed, he calls some one else, and thus we put it (into its place) with our united effort, but we do not utter a word, Lord, on that account. And every five days, Lord, we spend a whole night, sitting together, in religious discourse. In this way, Lord, do we live in earnestness, zeal, and resolvedness.'

6. And the Blessed One, having taught, incited, animated, and gladdened the venerable Anuruddha and the venerable Nandiya and the venerable Kimbila by religious discourse, rose from his seat, and went forth to Pârileyaka. Wandering from place to place he came to Pârileyaka. There the Blessed One dwelt at Pârileyaka, in the Rakkhita grove, at the foot of the Bhaddasâla tree. Then in the mind of the Blessed One, who was alone, and had retired into solitude, the following thought arose: 'Formerly I did not live at ease, being troubled by those litigious, contentious, quarrelsome, disputatious Bhikkhus of Kosambî, the constant raisers of questions before the *Samgha*. But now, being alone and without a companion, I live pleasantly and at ease, remote from those litigious, contentious, quarrelsome, disputatious Bhikkhus of Kosambî, the constant raisers of questions before the *Samgha*.' And there

dwelt also a noble elephant, who was surrounded by a crowd of elephants, she-elephants, elephant-calves, and young elephants; the grass blades he ate had their tips broken; the branches he broke down (the other elephants) ate; the water he drank was turbid; and when he waded into the river and plunged down, the she-elephants came and rubbed up their bodies against him. Now that noble elephant thought: 'I am surrounded by a crowd of elephants (&c., down to:) and rub up their bodies against me. What if I were to live alone, far away from those crowds.'

7. And that noble elephant left the herd behind, and went to Pârileyaka, to the Rakkhita grove, to the foot of the Bhaddasâla tree, to the place where the Blessed One was. Having approached him, he administered with his trunk to the Blessed One (water to) drink and food, and removed the grass from that place. And that noble elephant thought: 'Formerly I did not live at ease, surrounded by that crowd of elephants (&c., down to:) and rubbed up their bodies against me. But now, being alone and without a companion, I live pleasantly and at ease, remote from those elephants, she-elephants, elephant-calves, and young elephants.'

Then the Blessed One, both regarding his own retirement, and understanding by the power of his mind the thoughts which had arisen in the mind of that noble elephant, on this occasion pronounced this solemn utterance:

'Thus the noble one and the noble, the elephant tusked with tusks like cart poles¹ (and the noble

¹ *Îsâdanta*; see Böhlingk-Roth, sub voce *îshâ*.

One among men)—the mind of the one and the mind of the other harmonise in this, that they take delight in dwelling alone in the forest.'

5.

1. And the Blessed One, having dwelt at Pāri-
leyyaka as long as he thought fit, went forth to
Sāvatthi. Wandering from place to place he came
to Sāvatthi. There the Blessed One dwelt at
Sāvatthi, in the Getavana, the garden of Anātha-
pindāka. And the lay-devotees of Kosambī
thought: 'These venerable Bhikkhus of Kosambī
have brought much misfortune to us; worried¹ by
them the Blessed One is gone. Well, let us neither
salute the venerable Bhikkhus of Kosambī, nor rise
from our seats before them, nor raise our hands
before them, nor perform the proper duties towards
them, nor honour and esteem and revere and sup-
port them, nor give them food when they come on
their walks for alms; thus, when they are not
honoured, esteemed, revered, supported, and hos-
pitably received by us, they will go away, or return
to the world, or propitiate the Blessed One.'

2. Thus the lay-devotees of Kosambī did not
salute any more the Bhikkhus of Kosambī, nor did
they rise from their seats before them (&c., down
to:) nor gave them food when they came on their
walks for alms.

Then the Bhikkhus of Kosambī, when they were
no more honoured (&c., down to:) and hospitably

¹ Ubbāḷha; see *Gāṭaka* I, 300, and *Mahāvagga* III, 9, 1.

received by the lay-devotees of Kosambī, said to each other: 'Well, friends, let us go to Sāvatti and let us settle there that question before the Blessed One.' And the Bhikkhus of Kosambī put their resting-places in order, took up their alms-bowls and their robes, and went forth to Sāvatti.

3. And the venerable Sāriputta heard: 'Those litigious, contentious, quarrelsome, disputatious Bhikkhus of Kosambī, the constant raisers of questions before the Samgha, are coming to Sāvatti.' And the venerable Sāriputta went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him the venerable Sāriputta said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, those litigious, contentious (&c., down to:) are coming to Sāvatti. How am I to behave, Lord, towards those Bhikkhus?'

'Well, Sāriputta, you must side with those who are right according to the Dhamma.'

'But how shall I discern, Lord, what is right and what is wrong?'

4. 'There are eighteen things, Sāriputta, by which you may conclude that a Bhikkhu is wrong according to the Dhamma. In case, Sāriputta, a Bhikkhu declares what is not Dhamma to be Dhamma, or declares what is Dhamma not to be Dhamma, or declares what is not Vinaya to be Vinaya, or declares what is Vinaya not to be Vinaya, or declares what has not been taught and spoken by the Tathāgata to have been taught and spoken by the Tathāgata, or declares something taught and spoken by the Tathāgata not to have been taught and spoken by the Tathāgata, or declares what has not been

practised by the Tathâgata to have been practised by the Tathâgata, or declares something practised by the Tathâgata not to have been practised by the Tathâgata, or declares what has not been ordained by the Tathâgata to have been ordained by the Tathâgata, or declares something ordained by the Tathâgata not to have been ordained by the Tathâgata, or declares what is no offence to be an offence, or declares an offence to be no offence, or declares a slight offence to be a grievous offence, or declares a grievous offence to be a slight offence, or declares (a rule regarding) an offence to which there is an exception to be without an exception, or declares (a rule regarding) an offence to which there is no exception to admit of exceptions¹, or declares a grave offence² to be a not grave offence, or declares an offence that is not grave to be a grave offence, —these are the eighteen things, Sâriputta, by which you may conclude that a Bhikkhu is wrong according to the Dhamma.

5. 'And there are eighteen things, Sâriputta, by which you may conclude that a Bhikkhu is right according to the Dhamma. In case, Sâriputta, a Bhikkhu declares what is not Dhamma to be not

¹ Our translation of *sâvasesa* and *anavasesa* is entirely conjectural. By the exceptions alluded to here we believe that such clauses must be understood as, for instance, in the sixth Nissaggiya Rule the words: 'Except at the right season;—here the right season means when the Bhikkhu has been robbed of his robe, or when his robe has been destroyed. This is the right season in this connection.'

² The term '*Du//hullâ âpatti*' is used also in the ninth Pâkittiya Rule, and the Old Commentary there states that by 'grave offences' those belonging to the *Pârâgika* and *Samghâdisesa* classes are understood.

Dhamma, or declares what is Dhamma to be Dhamma (&c., down to :), or declares a grave offence to be a grave offence, or declares an offence that is not grave to be not grave,—these are the eighteen things, Sâriputta, by which you may conclude that a Bhikkhu is right according to the Dhamma.'

6. And the venerable Mahâmogallâna heard (&c., as in §§ 3-5)—and the venerable Mahâkassapa heard, &c.—and the venerable Mahâkakkhâna heard, &c.—and the venerable Mahâkott'hita¹ heard, &c.—and the venerable Mahâkappina heard, &c.—and the venerable Mahâkunda heard, &c.—and the venerable Anuruddha heard, &c.—and the venerable Revata heard, &c.—and the venerable Upâli heard, &c.—and the venerable Ânanda heard, &c.—and the venerable Râhula heard (&c., as above).

7. And Mahâpagâpati Gotamî heard: 'Those litigious, contentious, quarrelsome, disputatious Bhikkhus of Kosambî, the constant raisers of questions before the Samgha, are coming to Sâvatthi.' And Mahâpagâpati Gotamî went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, she stationed herself near him. Standing near him Mahâpagâpati Gotamî said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, those litigious, contentious (&c., down to :) are coming to Sâvatthi. How am I to behave, Lord, towards those Bhikkhus?'

'Well, Gotamî, hear the Dhamma on both sides. When you have heard the Dhamma on both sides,

¹ The name of this Thera is spelt in the MSS. Mahâkott'hita and Mahâkott'hika. In the Northern Buddhist works he is called Mahâkaushthilya. In the Lalita Vistara (p. 1, ed. Calc.) Kaundilya is a misprint.

then accept the opinion and the belief and the doctrine and the cause of those Bhikkhus who are right according to the Dhamma ; and whatever the Bhikkhusamgha has to apply for to the Bhikkhusamgha¹, for all that you must apply to the party of those who are right.'

8. And Anātha-piṇḍika the householder heard (&c., as in § 3, down to:). 'How am I to behave, Lord, towards those Bhikkhus?'

'Well, householder, bestow gifts on both sides ; having bestowed gifts on both sides, hear the Dhamma on both sides. When you have heard the Dhamma on both sides, then accept the opinion and the belief and the doctrine and the cause of those Bhikkhus who are right according to the Dhamma.'

9. And Visākhā Migāramâtā heard, &c.²

10. And the Bhikkhus of Kosambī in due course came to Sāvatti. And the venerable Sāriputta went to the place where the Blessed One was ; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him the venerable Sāriputta said to the Blessed One : 'Lord, those litigious, contentious, quarrelsome, disputatious Bhikkhus of Kosambī, the constant raisers of questions before the Samgha, have arrived at Sāvatti. How are we, Lord, to arrange the dwelling-places of those Bhikkhus?'

'Well, Sāriputta, assign separate dwelling-places to them.'

¹ See Kullavagga X, 1, 4, and the 59th Pāṭittiya Rule in the Bhikkhuni-pātimokkha.

² As in § 8. Instead of 'Well, householder,' read 'Well, Visākhā.'

‘And if there be no separate dwelling-places, what are we to do then, Lord?’

‘Then, Sâriputta, you must separate (some dwelling-places from the rest) and then assign them (to those Bhikkhus). But in no wise, Sâriputta, do I say that the dwelling-place of a senior Bhikkhu must be taken from him. He who does that, commits a dukkaṭa offence.’

‘And how are we to act, Lord, regarding (the distribution of) material gifts¹?’

‘Material gifts, Sâriputta, must be distributed among all in equal parts.’

11. And that Bhikkhu against whom expulsion had been pronounced, pondering over both Dhamma and Vinaya, came to the following conclusion: ‘This is an offence; this is not no offence. I am an offender; I am not offenceless. I am expelled; I am not unexpelled. The sentence by which I have been expelled is lawful, unobjectionable, and valid.’ Then that expelled Bhikkhu went to the expelled Bhikkhu’s partisans; having approached them, he said to the partisans of the expelled Bhikkhu: ‘This is an offence, friends; this is not no offence, &c. Come now, my venerable brethren, and restore me.’

12. Then the partisans of that expelled Bhikkhu took with them the expelled Bhikkhu, and went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, they sat down near him. Sitting near him those Bhikkhus said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, this Bhikkhu, against whom expulsion has been pronounced, says, “This is an offence, friends (&c.,

¹ Such as food, robes, &c.

down to :) and restore me." What are we to do here, Lord ?'

'This is an offence, O Bhikkhus ; this is not no offence. This Bhikkhu is an offender ; this Bhikkhu is not offenceless. This Bhikkhu is expelled ; he is not unexpelled ; the sentence by which he has been expelled is lawful, unobjectionable, and valid. But since this Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, having committed an offence, and having been sentenced to expulsion, sees (his offence), restore now that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus.'

13. And the partisans of that expelled Bhikkhu, having restored that expelled Bhikkhu, went to the Bhikkhus who had sentenced him to expulsion ; having approached them, they said to the Bhikkhus who had pronounced that sentence : 'As regards that matter, friends, which gave origin to altercations among the *Samgha*, to contentions, discord, quarrels, divisions among the *Samgha*, to disunion among the *Samgha*, to separations among the *Samgha*, to schisms among the *Samgha*,—that Bhikkhu (who was concerned in that matter), having committed an offence, and having been sentenced to expulsion, has seen (his offence) and has been restored. Come, friends, let us declare now the re-establishment of concord among the *Samgha* in order to bring that matter to an end.'

Then the Bhikkhus who had pronounced that sentence of expulsion, went to the place where the Blessed One was ; having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, they sat down near him ; sitting near him those Bhikkhus said to the Blessed One : 'Lord, those partisans of the expelled Bhikkhu have said to us : "As regards

that matter (&c., down to:) in order to bring that matter to an end." What are we to do here, Lord?'

14. 'Since this Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, having committed an offence, and having been sentenced to expulsion, has seen (his offence) and has been restored, let the Samgha, O Bhikkhus, declare the re-establishment of concord in order to bring that matter to an end. And this declaration is to be performed in this way: Let all brethren assemble together, both the sick and the healthy; no one is allowed to send his declaration of *khandā*¹ (and to stay away). When you have assembled, let a learned, competent Bhikkhu proclaim the following *ñatti* before the Samgha: "Let the Samgha, reverend Sirs, hear me. As regards that matter which gave origin to altercations among the Samgha, to contentions, discord, quarrels, divisions among the Samgha, to disunion among the Samgha, to separations among the Samgha, to schisms among the Samgha,—that Bhikkhu (concerned in that matter), having committed an offence, and having been sentenced to expulsion, has seen (his offence) and has been restored. If the Samgha is ready, let the Samgha declare the re-establishment of concord in order to bring that matter to an end. This is the *ñatti*. Let the Samgha, reverend Sirs, hear me (&c.², down to:) the re-establishment of concord, in order to bring that matter to an end, has been declared by the Samgha; the division that existed among the Samgha has been settled; the disunion that existed

¹ See II, 23.

² Here follows the repetition of the *ñatti* and the other solemn formulas belonging to a *ñattidutiya kamma* in the usual way.

among the *Samgha* has been settled. The *Samgha* is in favour (of this declaration); therefore you are silent; thus I understand." Then let the *Samgha* hold *Uposatha* and proclaim the *Pâtimokkha*.'

6.

1. And the venerable Upâli¹ went to the place where the Blessed One was. Having approached him and respectfully saluted the Blessed One, he sat down near him. Sitting near him the venerable Upâli said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, if the *Samgha*, regarding a matter which has given origin to altercations (&c., down to :) to schisms among the *Samgha*, declares the re-establishment of concord, without having inquired into that matter and without having got to the bottom of it, is this declaration, Lord, lawful?'

'If the *Samgha*, Upâli, regarding a matter (&c., down to :) declares the re-establishment of concord, without having inquired into that matter and without having got to the bottom of it,—this declaration, Upâli, is unlawful.'

'But if the *Samgha*, Lord, regarding a matter (&c., down to :) declares the re-establishment of concord, after having inquired into that matter and after having got to the bottom of it,—is this declaration, Lord, lawful?'

'If the *Samgha*, Upâli, (&c., down to :) declares the re-establishment of concord, after having inquired

¹ See the note at IX, 6, 1.

into that matter and after having got to the bottom of it,—this declaration, Upâli, is lawful.’

2. ‘How many kinds are there, Lord, of the re-establishment of concord among a *Sâmg*ha?’

‘There are the following two kinds, Upâli, of re-establishment of concord among a *Samg*ha: Concord may be re-established, Upâli, in the letter, but not in the spirit, and concord may be re-established both in the spirit and in the letter.

‘And in what case, Upâli, is concord re-established in the letter, but not in the spirit? If the *Samg*ha, Upâli, (&c., as above) declares the re-establishment of concord, without having inquired into that matter and without having got to the bottom of it,—in this case, Upâli, concord is said to have been re-established in the letter, but not in the spirit.

‘And in what case, Upâli, is concord re-established both in the spirit and in the letter? If the *Samg*ha, Upâli, (&c., as above) declares the re-establishment of concord, after having inquired into that matter and after having got to the bottom of it,—in this case, Upâli, concord is said to have been re-established both in the spirit and in the letter. These, Upâli, are the two kinds of re-establishment of concord among a *Samg*ha.’

3. And the venerable Upâli rose from his seat, adjusted his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, bent his clasped hands towards the Blessed One, and addressed the Blessed One in the following stanzas:

‘In the affairs of the *Samg*ha and in its consultations, in the business that arises and in trials, what sort of man is then most wanted? what Bhikkhu is then most worthy of the leadership?’

‘Above all he who is blameless in his moral conduct, who watches over his behaviour, whose senses are well controlled, whom his rivals do not reprove according to the law,—for there is nothing for which they could censure him,—

‘Such a man, who abides in blameless conduct, is well versed (in the doctrine), and mighty are his words. He is not perplexed, nor does he tremble, when he enters an assembly¹. He does not disparage his cause by vain talk.

‘So also when he is asked questions in the assemblies, he does not hesitate, and is not troubled. By his timely words, that solve the questions, the clever man gladdens the assembly of the wise.

‘Full of reverence for elder Bhikkhus, well versed in what his teacher has taught him, able to find out (the right), a master of speech, and skilled in making his rivals fail,—

‘By whom his rivals are annihilated, by whom many people receive instruction,—he does not forsake the cause he has taken up, (nor does he become tired) of answering questions and putting questions without hurting others;—

‘If he is charged with a mission, he takes it upon himself properly, and in the business of the *Samgha* (he does) what they tell him²;—when a number of Bhikkhus despatches him (somewhere), he obeys

¹ The same idea is put into the Buddha’s mouth in the *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta* I, 23, 24.

² We propose to read *âhu nam yathâ*. This seems more satisfactory than the reading and the explanation found in Buddhaghosa’s *Aṅgakathâ*: ‘*yathâ nâma âhunam âhutipindam samuggazhanti* (sic) *evam* api so *scmanassagâten*’ *eva ketasâ samghassa kiṅkesu samuggaho*.’

their command, but he does not think therefrom, "It is I who do this;"—

'In what cases a Bhikkhu commits an offence, what an offence is, and how it is atoned for; both these expositions are well known to him¹; he is versed in the rules about offence and atonement;—

'By what deeds a Bhikkhu brings expulsion upon himself, in what cases one has been expelled, and the rehabilitation of a person who has undergone that penance,—all this he also knows, well versed in the Vibhaṅgas;—

'Full of reverence for elder Bhikkhus, for the young, for the Theras, for the middle-aged, bringing welfare to many people, a clever one:—such a Bhikkhu is the one who is then worthy of the leadership.'

End of the tenth Khandhaka, which contains the story of the Bhikkhus of Kosambi.

End of the Mahāvagga.

¹ For 'Exposition' the text has vibhaṅga, about the technical meaning of which see our Introduction, pp. xv seq. 'Both' refers to the Bhikkhuvibhaṅga and Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga. In the text, ubhayassa must be corrected into ubhay' assa, i. e. ubhaye assa.

KULLAVAGGA.

KULLAVAGGA.

FIRST KHANDHAKA.

THE MINOR DISCIPLINARY PROCEEDINGS.

I. THE TAGGANIYA KAMMA (ACT OF REBUKE).

1.

1. At that time the Blessed One was staying at Getavana, in the grove of Anātha-piṇḍika.

Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were followers of Paṇḍuka and of Lohitaka¹,—who themselves were makers of strife, quarrelsome², makers of disputes³, given to idle talk, and raisers of legal questions in the Saṃgha⁴,—used to go up to such other Bhikkhus as were the same, and say, 'Do not allow such a one, venerable Sirs, to turn you back. Discuss loud and long. You are indeed cleverer, more wise, more well informed, more able at that (than

¹ These were two out of the six notorious *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, who are so frequently mentioned elsewhere. Buddhaghosa says, *tesam nissitakā pi Paṇḍukalohitakā tv' eva paññāyanti*.

² In addition to the passages referred to in the two following notes, compare the closing words of the Pātimokkha, and the 2nd, 3rd, 12th, 13th, 17th, 54th, 74th, and 75th Pāṭittiya.

³ Such persons were formerly dealt with according to the 10th, 11th, and 12th Saṃghādisesas.

⁴ Such persons were formerly dealt with according to the 8th and 9th Saṃghādisesas and the 76th Pāṭittiya. Compare also below, IV, 14, and the 63rd and 79th Pāṭittiyas.

your adversaries are) and do not you be afraid of them. We too will be on your side.' Thereby both disputes arose which had not arisen before; and disputes which had arisen grew hotter.

2. Those Bhikkhus who were modest were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, 'How can the Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and of *Lohitaka* act thus.' And those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One on that occasion, and in that connection, convened an assembly of the Order of Bhikkhus, and inquired of the Bhikkhus: 'Is it true, as they say, Bhikkhus, that those Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka*,—who themselves (&c., as in § 1, down to the end)?'

'It is true, Lord!'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying, 'This is improper, O Bhikkhus, for those foolish persons, not according to rule, unsuitable, unworthy of a *Samana*, unbecoming, and ought not to be done. How can these foolish persons, O Bhikkhus, who themselves (&c., as in § 1, down to the end). This will not conduce, O Bhikkhus, either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted; but rather to those who have not been converted being not converted, and to the turning back of those who have been converted.'

3. And when the Blessed One had rebuked those Bhikkhus in various ways,—speaking of the evils of being hard to satisfy in the matter of support or nourishment, of wishing for much, of discontent, of love of society, and of sloth; and speaking in praise of being easy to satisfy in the matter of support and nourishment, of wishing for little, of the

contented man who has eradicated (evils from his mind), has quelled his passions¹, and is full of faith, of reverence, and of the exercise of zeal,—when he had thus held a religious discourse to the Bhikkhus as to what was fit and suitable in that respect, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said : ‘ Let the *Samgha*, therefore, O Bhikkhus, carry out the *Tagganiya-kamma* (Act of Rebuke) against those Bhikkhus.

4. ‘ Now thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be carried out. In the first place the Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka* ought to be warned ; when they have been warned, they ought to be reminded (of the Rule in the *Pâtimokkha* against which they have offended) ; when they have been reminded, they ought to be charged with the (particular) offence ; when they have been charged with the offence, some discreet and able Bhikkhu ought to lay the matter before the *Samgha*, saying,

“ Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. These Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka*, who themselves (&c., as in § 1, down to the end). If the time is fit for the *Samgha* (to do so) let the *Samgha* carry out the *Tagganiya-kamma* against the Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka*.

“ Such is the motion (*ñatti*).

“ Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. The Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka*,

¹ We have here the substance of that ‘religious discourse’ (*dhammim katham*) which the Buddha is so frequently stated to have held before he laid down the rule for the guidance of the Bhikkhus in the particular matter which had been brought before him. It recurs in the *Mahâvagga* (I, 25, 6), and is constantly to be supplied both there and below.

who themselves (&c., as in § 1, down to the end). The *Samgha* hereby carries out the *Tagganiya-kamma* against them. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the carrying out of the *Tagganiya-kamma* against the *Bhikkhus* who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka*, let him remain silent. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

“A second time I say the same thing. Let the venerable *Samgha* (&c., as before¹). A third time I say the same thing. Let the venerable *Samgha* (&c., as before¹).

“The *Tagganiya-kamma* against the *Bhikkhus* who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka* has been carried by the *Samgha*. The *Samgha* approves (the motion). Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”

2².

1. ‘There are three things, O *Bhikkhus*, by which, when a *Tagganiya-kamma* is characterised, it is against the *Dhamma*, and against the *Vinaya*, and difficult to be settled; (that is to say), when it has not been carried out in a full assembly of properly qualified persons, according to law and justice, and in the presence of the litigant parties³—when it has been carried out without the accused person having been heard—when it has been carried out without the accused person having confessed himself guilty. A *Tagganiya-kamma*, O *Bhikkhus*, charac-

¹ The motion just proposed is repeated down to the end.

² Repeated below, chapters 10, 14, and 19.

³ All these details are involved in the meaning of the technical term *asammukhatâ*, which is fully explained in *Kullavagga* IV, 14, 16, and following.

terised by these three things is against the Dhamma, and against the Vinaya, and difficult to be settled.

‘There are other three things, O Bhikkhus, by which, when a *Tagganiya-kamma* has been characterised, it is against the Dhamma, and against the Vinaya, and difficult to be settled; (that is to say), when it has been carried out though no fault has been committed—when it has been carried out for a *Pârâgika* or a *Samghâdisesa* offence¹—when it has been carried out though the fault has been confessed. A *Tagganiya-kamma*, O Bhikkhus, characterised (&c., as before, down to) settled.

‘There are other three things, O Bhikkhus, by which, when a *Tagganiya-kamma* has been characterised, it is against the Dhamma, and against the Vinaya, and difficult to be settled; (that is to say), when it has been carried out without the accused person having been warned—when it has been carried out without the accused person having been called upon to remember (whether he has or has not committed the offence)—when it has been carried out without the accused person having been convicted. A *Tagganiya-kamma*, O Bhikkhus, characterised (&c., as before, down to) settled.

‘There are other three things, O Bhikkhus, by which, when a *Tagganiya-kamma* has been characterised, it is against the Dhamma, and against the Vinaya, and difficult to be settled; (that is to say), when it has not been carried out in a properly constituted meeting properly conducted²—when it has

¹ Buddhaghosa says, *Adesanâgâminiyâ ti Pârâgikâpattiyâ vâ Samghâdisesâpattiyâ vâ*.

² As in the first paragraph of this section more fully described. The word here used is the same.

been carried out without justice¹—when it has been carried out without the presence and approval of all the Bhikkhus belonging to the particular circuit². A *Tagganiya-kamma*, O Bhikkhus, characterised by these three things is (&c., as before, down to) settled.

‘There are other three things, O Bhikkhus, by which, when a *Tagganiya-kamma* has been characterised, it is against the Dhamma, and against the Vinaya, and difficult to be settled; (that is to say), when it has been carried out without the accused person having been heard—when it has been carried out without justice—when it has been carried out without the presence and approval of all the Bhikkhus belonging to the circuit. A *Tagganiya-kamma*, O Bhikkhus, characterised by these three things is (&c., as before, down to) settled.

‘There are other three things (&c., as before, down to) that is to say, when it has been carried out without the accused person having been convicted—when it has been carried out without justice—when it has been carried out without the presence and approval of all the Bhikkhus belonging to the circuit.’

[And in a similar way each of the three things in paragraphs 2 and 3 of this section are united with the two things just repeated in each of paragraphs 4, 5, and 6, to make six further cases in which a *Tagganiya-kamma* is declared to be against the Dhamma, and against the Vinaya, and difficult to be revoked.]

Here end the twelve cases of a proceeding (*Kamma*) which is against the law.

¹ *Adhammena*; perhaps ‘contrary to the Rules.’

² *Vaggena* for *vi + aggena*, the opposite of *samaggena*. See our note on the 21st *Pāṭittiya*, and *Mahāvagga IX*, 3, 5.

3.

1. 'There are three things, O Bhikkhus, by which, when a *Tagganiya-kamma* is characterised, it is a proceeding in accordance with the Dhamma, a proceeding in accordance with the Vinaya, and is easy to be settled; (that is to say), when it has been carried out in a full assembly of qualified persons, according to law, and in the presence of the litigant parties—when it has been carried out after the accused person has been heard—when it has been carried out after the accused person has confessed himself guilty. A *Tagganiya-kamma*, O Bhikkhus, characterised by these three things is in accordance with the Dhamma, and in accordance with the Vinaya, and is easy to be settled.'

[And in a similar way the opposite of each of the twelve propositions in the last section is here laid down.]

Here end the twelve cases of a proceeding (*Kamma*) which is according to law.

4.

1. 'There are three things, O Bhikkhus, which, when they characterise a Bhikkhu, the *Samgha*, if it likes, should carry out the *Tagganiya-kamma* against him; (that is to say), when he is a maker of strife, quarrelsome, a maker of disputes, given to idle talk, and a raiser of legal questions in the *Samgha*¹—when he is dull, stupid, full of faults, and devoid of merit—when he is living in lay society, in unlawful

¹ This refers to the Introductory Story, I, 1, 1.

association with the world. There are three things, O Bhikkhus, which, when the *Samgha* suspects (&c., as before, down to) against him.

‘There are other three things, O Bhikkhus, (&c., as before, down to) against him; (that is to say), when he has failed in morality as regards moral things—when he has failed in conduct as regards transgression—when he has failed in opinion as regards the principal matters of opinion¹. There are three things, O Bhikkhus, (&c., as before, down to) against him.

‘There are other three things, O Bhikkhus, (&c., as before, down to) against him; (that is to say), when he speaks in dispraise of the Buddha—when he speaks in dispraise of the Dhamma—when he speaks in dispraise of the *Samgha*. These are three things, O Bhikkhus, (&c., as before, down to) against him.

2. ‘There are three kinds of Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, against whom, if the *Samgha* likes, it should carry out the *Tagganiya-kamma*; (that is to say), one who is a maker of strife (&c., as in § 1, down to) a raiser of legal questions in the *Samgha*—one who is dull, stupid, full of faults, and devoid of merit—and one who is living in lay society, in unlawful association with the world. These are three kinds of Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, (&c., as before, down to) the *Tagganiya-kamma*.

‘There are other three kinds of Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, against whom, if the *Samgha* likes, it should carry out the *Tagganiya-kamma*; (that is to say), one who has failed in morality in regard to moral matters—one who has failed in conduct

¹ Compare Mahāvagga I, 36, 8, and our note there.

as regards transgression—one who has failed in opinion as regards the principal matters of opinion. These are three kinds of Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) the Tagganiya-kamma.

‘There are other three kinds of Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, against whom, if the Saṃgha likes, it should carry out the Tagganiya-kamma; (that is to say), one who speaks in dispraise of the Buddha—one who speaks in dispraise of the Dhamma—one who speaks in dispraise of the Saṃgha. These are three kinds of Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) the Tagganiya-kamma.’

Here end the six permissive cases of Tagganiya-kamma.

51.

1. ‘A Bhikkhu against whom the Tagganiya-kamma has been carried out ought to conduct himself aright. And herein this is the right conduct²: he ought not to confer the upasampadâ—he ought not to give a nissaya³—he ought not to provide

¹ This chapter is repeated below for the Nissaya-, Pabbâga-niya-, and Paṭisâraṇiya-kammās (chapters 10, 15, and 21). The corresponding rule for the first two Ukkhepaniya-kammās is different, and much more stringent (chapter 27, repeated in chapter 31); but that for the third (chapter 33) is again the same as the rule laid down in this chapter. In the second Khandhaka (1, 2) the list of restrictions is again longer.

² Sammāvattanâ. See Mahāvagga I, 26, 1; 27, 1; 33, 1; 34, 1.

³ Buddhaghosa says, āgantukānam nissayo na dātabbo. The relation of a junior Bhikkhu either to his upagghâya or to his âkariya is alike called nissaya (Mahāvagga I, 36, 1); but the term is more especially applied to the latter (Mahāvagga I, 32, 2, whereas in the corresponding formula for the upagghâya, Mahâ-

himself with a *sāmaṇera*¹—he ought not to accept the office of giving exhortation to the nuns²—and if he has accepted the office, he ought not to exhort the nuns²—he ought not to commit the offence for which the *Tagganiya-kamma* has been carried out by the *Samgha* against him—nor any offence of a similar kind—nor any worse offence—he ought not to find fault with the proceeding (that has been carried out against him)—nor with (the *Bhikkhus*) who have carried it out—he ought not to raise objection against a regular³ *Bhikkhu*'s taking part in the *Uposatha* ceremony⁴—or in the *Pavāraṇā* ceremony⁵—he ought not to issue commands (to a junior inhibiting him from going beyond the bounds⁶, or summoning him to come before the elders)—he ought not to set on foot a censure against any other *Bhikkhu*⁷—he ought not to ask another *Bhikkhu* to give him leave (to rebuke that *Bhikkhu*⁸)—he ought not to warn (another *Bhikkhu*⁹ whom he supposes to be offending)—he ought

vagga I, 25, 7, the word *nissaya* does not occur). In other words, *nissaya* means all that is included in the phrase '*nissāya te vatthabbam*' (*Kullavagga* I, 9, 2).

¹ Compare *Mahāvagga* I, 36, 37.

² See below, *Kullavagga* X, 9, 4, and also the 21st *Pāṭittiya*.

³ Compare *Minayeff*, *Pāṭimokkha*, p. 63.

⁴ Compare *Pāṭimokkham* *thapetum* at *Kullavagga* IX, 2.

⁵ Compare *Mahāvagga* IV, 16, 2.

⁶ As, for example, under the rule at *Mahāvagga* I, 27, 2. *Budhaghosa* says, *Na savaṇaniyam kâtabban ti aham âyasmantam asmim vatthusmim vaṇaniyam karomi imamhâ âvâsâ param pi mâ pakkâmi yâva na tam adhikarânam vûpasantam hotîti*. He also gives a longer note, partly to the same effect, on the corresponding passage in II, 1, 2, which will be found in our note there, and from which we have taken the second clause in the parentheses.

⁷ See the note on this word in the next chapter.

⁸ Compare *Mahāvagga* II, 16, 1. ⁹ Compare *Kullavagga* IX, 5.

not to call upon another Bhikkhu to remember (whether he has or has not committed an offence)—and he ought not to associate with the Bhikkhus.’

Here end the eighteen duties which follow on a Tagganiya-kamma.

6¹.

1. So the *Samgha* carried out the Tagganiya-kamma against the Bhikkhus who were followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka*. And when they had been subjected by the *Samgha* to the Tagganiya-kamma and were conducting themselves aright in accordance thereto, they became subdued², and they sought for release³; and going up to the Bhikkhus they spake as follows: ‘We, Sirs, have been subjected by the *Samgha* to the Tagganiya-kamma (&c., down to) release. What now should we do?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Then, O Bhikkhus, let the *Samgha* revoke the Tagganiya-kamma carried out against the followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka*.

2. ‘There are five things, O Bhikkhus, by which,

¹ Compare below, chapters 11, 16, 23, 28, 34.

² *Lomam pântenti*. See the commentary as given by H. Oldenberg at p. 309 of his edition of the text. That our translation is correct is evident from the use of *panna-lomo* (at *Kullavagga* VII, 1, 6), that being simply the opposite of *ha//ha-lomo*, which signifies ‘having the hair of the body erect in consequence of the excitement produced by fear, joy, or amazement;’ and hence simply ‘troubled, excited.’ The opposite of this is ‘pacified, subdued.’

³ *Netthâram vattanti*. See the commentary in the edition of the text *loco citato*.

when a Bhikkhu is characterised, a *Tagganiya-kamma* ought not to be revoked for him; (that is to say), when he confers the *upasampadâ*—when he gives a *nissaya*—when he provides himself with a *sâmañera*—when he accepts the office of giving exhortation to the nuns—and when, having accepted that office, he exhorts the nuns. These are the five things, O Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) revoked for him.

‘There are other five things, O Bhikkhus, by which, when a Bhikkhu is characterised, a *Tagganiya-kamma* ought not to be revoked for him; (that is to say), when he commits the offence for which the *Tagganiya-kamma* has been carried out by the *Samgha* against him—or any other offence of a similar kind—or any worse offence—when he finds fault with the proceeding that has been carried out against him—or with the Bhikkhus who have carried it out. These are five things, O Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) revoked for him.

‘There are eight things, O Bhikkhus, by which, when a Bhikkhu is characterised, a *Tagganiya-kamma* ought not to be revoked for him; (that is to say), when he raises objections against a regular¹ Bhikkhu’s taking part in the *Upasatha* ceremony—or in the *Pavâraṇâ* ceremony—when he inhibits a junior from going beyond the bounds—when he sets on foot a censure against any other Bhikkhu—when he asks another Bhikkhu to give

¹ *Pakatattassa*, that is a Bhikkhu who has not made himself liable to any disciplinary proceeding, has committed no irregularity. It is one of the expressions unknown to the *Pâtimokkha*, but occurs in the much later *Introduction* to that work (Dickson, p. 11). See below, III, 1, 1.

him leave to rebuke that Bhikkhu—when he warns another Bhikkhu whom he supposes to be offending—when he reminds another Bhikkhu of a rule against which he supposes that Bhikkhu to be offending—when he associates with the Bhikkhus. These are the eight things, O Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) revoked for him.’

Here end the eighteen cases in which there ought to be no revocation (of the Tagganiya-kamma).

7.

[This chapter is exactly the converse of the last.]

Here end the eighteen cases in which there ought to be a revocation (of the Tagganiya-kamma).

8¹.

1. ‘Now, thus, O Bhikkhus, should the revocation be carried out. Those Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka* should go before the *Samgha*, with their upper robe arranged over one shoulder, and should bow down at the feet of the elder Bhikkhus, and squatting down, and raising their hands with the palms joined together, should speak as follows: “We, Sirs, have been subjected by the *Samgha* to the Tagganiya-kamma, and are conducting ourselves aright in accordance thereto; and we have become subdued, and we seek for release, and beg for a revocation of the Tagganiya-

¹ Compare below, chapters 12 and 17.

kamma." And a second time they should beg [in the same words]. And a third time they should beg [in the same words]. Then a discreet and able Bhikkhu should lay the matter before the *Samgha* :

2. "“ Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. These Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka* have been subjected (&c., as before), and they are conducting themselves (&c., as before), and they beg (&c., as before).

““ This is the motion (*ñatti*).

““ Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. These Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) and they beg for a revocation of the *Tagganiya-kamma*. The *Samgha* revokes the *Tagganiya-kamma* for the Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka*. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the revocation of the *Tagganiya-kamma* for the Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka*, let him hold his peace. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

““ And a second time I say the same thing. Let the venerable *Samgha* (&c., as before, down to) let him speak.

““ And a third time I say the same thing. Let the venerable *Samgha* (&c., as before, down to) let him speak.

““ The revocation of the *Tagganiya-kamma* for the Bhikkhus who are followers of *Panduka* and *Lohitaka* has been carried by the *Samgha*. The *Samgha* approves ; therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”

Here ends the first (*Kamma*), the
Tagganiya-kamma.

II. THE NISSAYA-KAMMA (ACT OF SUBORDINATION).

9.

1. Now at that time the venerable Seyyasaka was stupid, and indiscreet, and full of faults, and devoid of merit, and was living in lay society in unlawful association with the world¹. So much so that the Bhikkhus were worn out² with placing him on probation³, and with throwing him back to the beginning (of his probationary term)⁴, and with subjecting him to the m $\ddot{a}$ nat $\ddot{t}$ a discipline⁵, and with rehabilitating him⁶. The moderate Bhikkhus were annoyed, and murmured, and became indignant

¹ There is no rule in the P $\acute{a}$ timokkha in which any of these things are declared to be an offence. The 31st and 85th P $\acute{a}$ k $\acute{u}$ ttiyas only refer to a Bhikkhu's staying an unreasonable time in a public rest-house, and to his frequenting a village beyond the ordinary occasions. Stupidity, and keeping low company, are not mentioned. Why then should Seyyasaka have been placed upon probation? We think the answer will appear from our note 1 on II, 1, 1.

² Pakat $\acute{a}$, 'done up,' explained by v $\acute{a}$ va/ $\acute{a}$. See Oldenberg's quotation from Buddhaghosa at p. 310 of his edition of the text.

³ Compare Mah $\acute{a}$ vagga I, 38, 1; Mah $\acute{a}$ -parinibb $\acute{a}$ na Sutta V, 64, 65; and Kullavagga III, 3. On the distinction between these kinds of probation, see also our note below on II, 1, 1.

⁴ See below, II, 2, 1. Compare also Subh $\acute{u}$ t $\acute{i}$'s explanation in Childers, and the passages quoted in the index to Oldenberg's edition of the text, p. 348, sub voce, especially Kullavagga III, 7.

⁵ See below, Kullavagga III, 1; III, 4.

⁶ See below, Kullavagga III, 2; III, 5.

(saying), 'How can the venerable Seyyasaka be so stupid (&c., as before), that the Bhikkhus are worn out (&c., as before)?'

Then those Bhikkhus told that matter to the Blessed One.

And the Blessed One on that occasion, and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-samgha, and asked the Bhikkhus, 'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say, that the venerable Seyyasaka is stupid (&c., as before, down to) with rehabilitating him?'

'It is true, Lord!'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked him (saying), 'This is improper' (&c., as usual, compare I, 2, 3, down to), and addressed the Bhikkhus, and said, 'Let the Samgha therefore, O Bhikkhus, carry out the Nissaya-kamma (Act of Subordination) against the venerable Seyyasaka: "Thou must remain under the superintendence of others¹."

2. 'Now thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be carried out. In the first place the Bhikkhu Seyyasaka ought to be warned; when he has been warned, he ought to be reminded²; when he has been reminded, he ought to be charged with the offence²; when he has been charged with the offence, some discreet and able Bhikkhu ought to lay the matter before the Samgha (saying),

"Let the venerable Samgha hear me (&c., as usual; see above, chapters I. 4 and 8. 2)."

¹ These are the distinctive and technical words of the Nissaya-kamma, just as the corresponding clause in chap. 13, § 7 contains the technical words of the Pabbâganiya-kamma.

² As explained above, chap. I. 4.

10.

[Chapters 2-5 are here repeated at length, Nissaya-kamma being substituted throughout for Tagganiya-kamma.]

11¹.

1. So the *Samgha* carried out the Nissaya-kamma against the Bhikkhu Seyyasaka (saying), 'Thou must remain under the superintendence of others.'

And he, when subjected by the *Samgha* to the Nissaya-kamma, by resorting to and cultivating the acquaintance of good companions², associating with them, getting them to declare to him (the Dhamma), and asking them questions, became wise in the traditions; a man to whom the Nikâyas had been handed down; a reciter of the Dhamma, of the Vinaya, and of the Mâtikas; clever, discreet, wise, modest, full of remorse, and docile; he conducted himself aright, he became subdued, he sought for release, and going up to the Bhikkhus, he spake as follows:

'I, Sirs, after having been subjected by the *Samgha* to the Nissaya-kamma, am conducting myself aright, and have become subdued, and I seek for release. What now should I do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Then, O Bhikkhus, let the *Samgha* revoke the Nissaya-kamma for the Bhikkhu Seyyasaka.'

¹ Compare above, chapter 6.

² Compare Dhammapada, ver. 357.

2. 'There are five things, O Bhikkhus (&c., as in chap. 6. 2, down to the end of chap. 7, reading throughout Nissaya-kamma for Tagganiya-kamma).'

12.

[This chapter sets out the mode of revocation by a kamma-vâkâ precisely as above in chapter 8.]

Here ends the second (Kamma), the Nissaya-kamma.

III. THE PABBĀGANIYA-KAMMA (ACT OF BANISHMENT).

13¹.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were followers of Assagi and Punabbasu were dwelling on the Kiā Hill, wicked Bhikkhus, and shameless. Such as these were the evil practices they followed: they used to plant cuttings of flowers, and have them planted; they used to water flowers, and have them watered; they used to gather them, and have them gathered; they used to make them up into nosegays, and have them so made up; they used to make them up, and to have them made up, into wreaths, of the kind with the stalks together, and of the kind with the stalks separate², of the kind called *mañgarikā*³, of the kind called *vidhutikā*⁴, of the kind called *vaṭamsaka*⁵, of the kind

¹ The whole of this chapter recurs in the Sutta Vibhaṅga on the 13th *Samghâdisesa*. The proceeding here laid down is really only a later method of acting under the circumstances similar to those for which that rule had previously been the authorised dealing.

² The Samanta Pāsādikā says, *Ekatovanṭikan ti pupphānaṃ vanṭe ekato katvā kata-mālaṃ*. *Ubhatovanṭikan ti ubhohi passehi puppha-vanṭe katvā kata-mālaṃ*.

³ Perhaps 'like an anklet.' The Sam. Pās. says, *Mañgarī viya katā puppha-vikati mañgarikā ti*.

⁴ Perhaps 'like a fan.' The Sam. Pās. says, *Vidhutikā ti sūṭhiyā vā salākāya vā sinduvāra-pupphādīni viggḥitvā katā (mālā)*.

⁵ Perhaps 'like a crest.' The Sam. Pās. says, *vaṭamsako ti*

called *āveḷa*¹, of the kind called *uraḷḷhada*²;—and they then used to take or send wreaths of each of these various kinds to the wives and daughters and young women and sisters-in-law and female slaves in respectable families;—and they used to eat out of one dish, to drink out of one vessel, to sit on one seat, to lie on one bed, one mat, one coverlet, with the wives and daughters and young women and sisters-in-law and female slaves in respectable families;—and they used to eat food at the wrong time, and to drink strong drink, and to make use of garlands, and scents, and unguents;—and they used to dance, and sing, and play music, and wanton, and all these together in every combination.

2. And they used to amuse themselves at games³ with eight pieces and ten pieces, and with tossing up, hopping over diagrams formed on the ground, and removing substances from a heap without shaking the remainder; and with games at dice, and trap-ball; and with sketching rude figures, tossing balls, blowing trumpets, having matches at ploughing with mimic ploughs, tumbling, forming mimic wind-mills, guessing at measures, having

avatamsako. Compare the close of Rh. D.'s note on *vegha* for *avegha*, 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 37.

¹ Perhaps 'like an earring.' The Sam. Pās. says, *aḷelo* (sic) *ti kanṇikā*. Compare Sanskrit *āpīḍa*, and *Gâtaka*, vol. i, pp. 12, 95, 269.

² The Sam. Pās. says, *Uraḷḷhado ti hâra-sadisam ure-thapanakapuppâ dâman*. 'Like mail-armour.'

³ All these games are forbidden *seriatim* in paragraph 4 of the *Magghima Sîla*, and the whole list of offences recurs in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, *Samghâdisesa* XIII, 1, 2. See Rh. D., 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli,' p. 193. We adhere to the translations there given and based on the *Sumaṅgala Vilâsini*.

chariot races, and archery matches, shooting marbles with the fingers, guessing other people's thoughts, and mimicking other people's acts;—and they used to practise elephant riding, and horse riding, and carriage driving, and archery, and swordsmanship;—and they used to run to and fro in front of elephants, and in front of horses, and in front of carriages;—and they used to exhibit signs of anger¹, and to wring their hands², and to wrestle³, and to box with their fists;—and spreading their robes out as a stage they used to invite dancing girls, saying, 'Here you may dance, sister!' and greet her with applause⁴. Thus manifold were the evil lives which they practised.

3. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu who had spent the rainy season in the country of Kâsi, and was on his way to visit the Blessed One, arrived at the Kiâ Hill. And that Bhikkhu in the early morning put on his under garment, and went, duly bowled and robed, to the Kiâ Hill for alms. And he was perfect in dignity, with his eyes cast down, and pleasing in appearance, whether in going in or

¹ *Usse/henti*. We are quite uncertain how to render this word. One might be tempted to think that a denominative verb from *usso/hi* may have acquired a technical sense appropriate to this passage. But we do not favour any such conjectural alteration of the clear reading of the MSS., at all events at present.

² *Appo/henti*. See Buddhaghosa's note quoted by Rh. D. in his note on the Book of the Great Decease, II, 19:

³ *Nibbugghanti*, which Buddhaghosa explains by *malla-yudham karonti*. Compare *ubbugghati* at *Kullavagga* VIII, 10, and *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, *Pârâgika* I, 10, 26.

⁴ The Sam. Pâs. says, *Nalâ/ikam pi denti sâdhu sâdhu bhaginñti attano nalâ/e añgulim thapetvâ tassâ nalâ/e thapenti*.

in coming out, in looking or in watching, in bending in his arm or in stretching it forth¹.

Then the people on beholding that Bhikkhu, said, 'Who is this fellow like a fool of fools, or like an idiot of idiots, or like a simpleton of simpletons²? Who would give an alms when this fellow comes near! Now our own masters, the followers of Assagi and Punabbasu, are gentle, friendly, pleasant in speech, radiant with smiles, by no means fools, but open in countenance, and the first to speak. To such now it is fit to give an alms!'

And a certain lay-disciple saw that Bhikkhu as he was going along the Kiṇṇa Hill for alms. And on seeing him, he went up to the place where he was; and on coming there he said to that Bhikkhu:

'Has your reverence received an alms?'

'No, my friend, I have received no alms!'

'Come, your reverence! Let us go to my house!'

4. So the lay-disciple took the Bhikkhu to his house, and gave him to eat, and asked him:

'Whither then is your reverence going?'

'I am on my way to Sâvatthi, my friend, to visit the Blessed One.'

'Then let your reverence bow down at the feet of the Blessed One in my name, and say, "The residence on the Kiṇṇa Hill, Lord, has been spoiled. The Bhikkhus who are followers of Assagi and Punabbasu are dwelling on the Kiṇṇa Hill, wicked Bhikkhus, and shameless. Such as these are the

¹ Compare Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta II, 15.

² The Sam. Pâs. says, *Samkuṭṭa-mukhatâya bhâkuṭṭa-bhâkuṭṭa viya*.

evil practices they follow (&c., as in §§ 1, 2, down to the end). And people, Lord, who were formerly believers and full of faith, are now become non-believers and void of faith; the opportunities of alms that were formerly open to the *Samgha* are now destroyed; worthy *Bhikkhus* forsake, and wicked *Bhikkhus* dwell in the place. Let, Lord, the Blessed One be pleased to send (other) *Bhikkhus* to the *Kiṭṭhā* Hill in order that the residence there may be re-established.”

5. ‘Very well, my friend,’ said the *Bhikkhu*, in assent, to that lay-disciple. And rising from his seat, he set out for *Sāvattthi*, and went straight on to *Anātha-pindika*’s grove, to the *Getavana* in *Sāvattthi*, to the place where the Blessed One was staying. And on arriving there he saluted the Blessed One, and took his seat on one side.

Now it is the custom for the Blessed Buddhas to exchange words of greeting with in-coming *Bhikkhus*. And the Blessed One said to that *Bhikkhu*, ‘Do things go well with you, O *Bhikkhu*? Have you enough for your support? Have you accomplished your journey without too much fatigue? And whence, O *Bhikkhu*, have you come?’

‘Things go well with me, Lord. I have enough for my support. And I have accomplished my journey without too much fatigue. I have spent the rainy season, Lord, in the land of *Kāśi*; and on my way to *Sāvattthi* to visit the Blessed One I arrived at the *Kiṭṭhā* Hill. And after having dressed early in the morning, I went, Lord, duly bowled and robed, on to the *Kiṭṭhā* Hill for alms. And a certain lay-disciple saw me (&c., as above, down to the end of § 4, with the alterations necessary to

the narrative form of speech). Thence, Lord, am I come.'

6. Then the Blessed One on that occasion, and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-Saṃgha, and asked the Bhikkhus:

'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say, that those Bhikkhus who are followers of Assaḡi and Punabbasu, and are dwelling on the Kiṭṭa Hill, are wicked Bhikkhus, and shameless; and that such are the evil practices they follow (&c., as in § 4, down to the end)?'

'It is true, Lord.'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying, 'How can they, O Bhikkhus, foolish persons that they are, follow such practices as these (&c., as in §§ 1, 2, down to the end)? This will not conduce, O Bhikkhus, to the conversion of the unconverted (&c., as usual. Compare chap. 1, § 2, down to the end).'

And when the Blessed Buddha had rebuked them, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the venerable Sâriputta and Moggallâna, and said, 'Go now, Sâriputta and Moggallâna¹, to the Kiṭṭa Hill. And on arriving there carry out the Pabbâganiya-kamma (Act of Banishment²) against those Bhikkhus who are followers of Assaḡi and Punabbasu, to the effect that they may become your Saddhi-vihârikas³.'

¹ On this meaning of Sâriputtâ, see the note on Mahâvagga X, 4, 3.

² That is, out of the particular place where they have caused the scandal, not of the Order. When they in anger left the Order, their conduct in doing so is blamed. See chap. 16, § 1.

³ See Mahâvagga I, 25, 6, and following, and Kullavagga VIII, 11, 12, and compare above, 9. 1.

‘How, Lord, can we carry out the Pabbâganiya-kamma against those Bhikkhus who are followers of Assaḡi and Punabbasu; for they are passionate men and violent?’

‘Then do you go, Sâriputta and Moggallâna, together with a number of Bhikkhus.’

‘So be it, Lord!’ said Sâriputta and Moggallâna, in assent, to the Blessed One.

7¹. ‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be carried out. In the first place the Bhikkhus who are followers of Assaḡi and Punabbasu ought to be warned: when they have been warned, they ought to be reminded (of the Rule in the Pâtimokkha against which they have offended); when they have been reminded they ought to be charged with the offence; when they have been charged some discreet and able Bhikkhu ought to lay the matter before the Saṃgha, saying,

“Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. These Bhikkhus who are followers of Assaḡi and Punabbasu are wicked Bhikkhus and shameless. Their evil practices are both seen and heard, and also that respectable families have been led astray by them is seen, too, and heard². If the time is fit for the Saṃgha to do so, let the Saṃgha carry out the Pabbâganiya-kamma against those Bhikkhus who are followers of Assaḡi and Punabbasu, to the effect that the Bhikkhus who are followers

¹ On this section compare chap. 1, § 4, chap. 9, § 2.

² Buddhaghosa points out that whereas the Tagganiya-kamma is directed against quarrelsomeness, and the nissaya-kamma against foolishness, it is scandal to the community against which the Pabbâganiya-kamma is directed.

of Assagi and Punabbasu are not to dwell on the Kiā Hill¹.

“ This is the motion (*ñatti*).

“ Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. These Bhikkhus who are followers of Assagi and Punabbasu are wicked Bhikkhus and shameless. Their evil practices (&c., as before, down to) is seen, too, and heard. The *Samgha* hereby carries out the Pabbāganiya-kamma against them, to the effect that the Bhikkhus who are followers of Assagi and Punabbasu are not to dwell on the Kiā Hill¹. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the carrying out of the Pabbāganiya-kamma against the followers (&c., as before) to the effect (&c., as before¹) let him remain silent. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

“ A second time I say the same thing. Let the venerable *Samgha* (&c., as before). A third time I say the same thing. Let the venerable *Samgha* (&c., as before).

“ The Pabbāganiya-kamma has been carried out by the *Samgha* against those Bhikkhus who are followers of Assagi and Punabbasu to the effect that those Bhikkhus who are followers of Assagi and Punabbasu are not to dwell on the Kiā Hill¹. The *Samgha* approves of it. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”

14.

1. [Here follow the twelve cases in which a Pabbāganiya-kamma is declared to be against

¹ The corresponding clause to the words ‘to the effect,’ &c., is wanting in chap. 1, § 4, but occurs in chap. 9, § 2.

the law, and according to law respectively, in the precise wording of chapters 2 and 3, reading Pabbâganiya for Tagganiya. Then follow the six cases of permissive suspension in the precise wording of chapter 4, but in addition to the cases there given for the Tagganiya-kamma, §§ 1 and 2 of this chapter are respectively added at the end of §§ 1 and 2 of that chapter.]

1. 'There are three things, O Bhikkhus, which when they characterise a Bhikkhu, the *Samgha*, if it likes, should carry out the Pabbâganiya-kamma against him; (that is to say), when he is characterised by frivolity¹ of action—when he is characterised by frivolity of speech—when he is characterised by frivolity both of action and of speech. These are the three things, O Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) against him.

'There are other three things, O Bhikkhus, which when they characterise a Bhikkhu, the *Samgha*, if it likes, should carry out the Pabbâganiya-kamma against him; (that is to say), when he is characterised by absence of right-doing in action—when he is characterised by absence of right-doing in speech—when he is characterised by absence of right-doing both in action and in speech. These are the other three things, O Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) against him.

'There are other three things (&c., as in each of the last paragraphs; the three things here being injury² done by him to others in action, in speech, and both in action and in speech, owing to his own

¹ The Sam. Pâs. says, Kâyiko davo nâma kâya-kîlâ vuḍḍati.

² The Sam. Pâs. says, Kâyikaṃ upaghâtitaṃ nâma kâya-dvâre paññatti-sikkhâpadassa asikkhana-bhâvena upahananāṃ vuḍḍati.

want of training in the precepts and practices of the order).

‘There are other three things (&c., as in each of the last paragraphs, the three things here being evilness of life in action, in speech, and both in action and in speech).

2. ‘There are three kinds of Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, against whom, when the *Samgha* likes (to do so), it should carry out the *Pabbâganiya-kamma*; (that is to say), one who is frivolous in action—one who is frivolous in speech—one who is frivolous both in action and in speech. These are the three kinds of Bhikkhus (&c., as above, down to) the *Pabbâganiya-kamma*.

‘There are other three kinds of Bhikkhus (&c., as in the last paragraph, substituting first, absence of right-doing—secondly, injury to others—and thirdly, evilness of life respectively in action, in speech, and both in action and in speech).’

15.

[This chapter is identical with chapter 5, reading *Pabbâganiya* for *Tagganiya*.]

16¹.

1. So the Bhikkhu-*Samgha*, with *Sâriputta* and *Moggallâna* at their head, proceeded to the *Kiâ Hill*, and there carried out the *Pabbâganiya-kamma* against those Bhikkhus who were followers

¹ Corresponding to chapters 6 and 11 above.

of Assagi and Punabbasu, to the intent that those Bhikkhus should no longer dwell on the Kizâ Hill. And they, when subjected by the *Samgha* to the Pabbâganiya-kamma, did not conduct themselves aright, they did not become subdued, they did not seek for release, they did not ask the Bhikkhus for forgiveness, they reviled them, they found fault with them¹, saying that they were offending by acting in partiality, in ill-feeling, in folly, and in fear²; and they not only departed from the place, but also left the Order³.

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were offended, murmured, and became indignant, saying, 'How can those Bhikkhus who are followers of Assagi and Punabbasu, after having been subjected by the *Samgha* to the Pabbâganiya-kamma, refuse to conduct themselves aright (&c., as before, down to) leave the Order?' And those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One on that occasion, and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-samgha, and asked the Bhikkhus:

'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say, that those Bhikkhus who are followers of Assagi and Punabbasu, after having been subjected by the *Samgha* to the Pabbâganiya-kamma, refuse (&c., as before, down to) leave the Order?'

'It is true, Lord!'

¹ Compare *Samghâdisesa* 13.

² These are the four so-called Agatis, usually occurring as the faults of a judge (Rh. D., 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. xxii, and Dasaratha Gâtaka, p. 1), but compare Sigâlovâda Sutta, ed. Grimbolt, p. 299.

³ Compare Gâtaka I, 117, and Mahâvagga I, 39, 5.

‘How can those Bhikkhus who (&c., as before, down to) leave the Order? This will not conduce, O Bhikkhus, either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted; but rather to the unconverted being not converted, and to the turning back of those which have been converted.’ And when the Blessed One had rebuked those Bhikkhus in various ways, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said:

‘Then, O Bhikkhus, let not the *Samgha* revoke the *Pabbâganiya-kamma*. There are five things, O Bhikkhus (&c., as before, from chapter 6, § 2, down to the end of chapter 7, reading *Pabbâganiya* for *Tagganiya*).’

Here end the eighteen cases in which there
ought to be a revocation (of the
Pabbâganiya-kamma).

17¹.

1. ‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, should the revocation be carried out. The Bhikkhu, who has been subjected to the *Pabbâganiya-kamma*, should go before the *Samgha* (&c., as before in chapter 8, §§ 1, 2, down to the end).’

Here ends the third (*Kamma*), the
Pabbâganiya-kamma.

¹ Compare chapters 8 and 12.

IV.

THE PATISÂRANIYA-KAMMA (ACT OF RECONCILIATION).

18¹.

1. Now at that time the venerable Sudhamma was residing at *Makkhikāsanda* in dependence upon *Kitta* the householder, superintending² the new buildings he erected³, and being constantly supplied by him with food. And whenever *Kitta* the householder wished to give an invitation to the *Samgha*, or to four or five *Bhikkhus*⁴, or to a single one, he used not to invite them without making special mention of the venerable Sudhamma.

Now at that time a number of the Thera *Bhikkhus*, including the venerable *Sâriputta*, and the venerable *Mahâ Moggallâna*, and the venerable *Mahâ Kakkâna*, and the venerable *Mahâ Kottthita*, and the venerable *Mahâ Kappina*, and the venerable *Mahâ Kunda*, and

¹ The whole of this story of *Kitta* and Sudhamma recurs in the *Dhammapada* commentary, pp. 262–264. There is no Rule in the *Pâtimokkha* by which giving offence to a layman, the cause of the proceeding described in the following chapters, is considered worthy of censure.

² *Navakammiko*, not 'newly appointed to an office,' as Dr. Rudolf Hoernle translates in the *Indian Antiquary*, XI, 29, in dealing with one of the *Bharhut* Inscriptions. See *Gâtaka* I, 92, and below, V, 13, 3, VI, 5, 2, VI, 17, 1, X, 24. This duty of superintending a new building was even filled by *Bhikkhunis*; see the *Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga*, *Pârâgika* I, where the details of the duty are incidentally mentioned.

³ Compare below, *Kullavagga* VI, 5, 2, and *Gâtaka* I, 92, 22.

⁴ This clause, both here and below, is omitted in the Sinhalese MS.

the venerable Anuruddha, and the venerable Revata, and the venerable Upâli, and the venerable Ânanda, and the venerable Râhula, as they were journeying through the country of Kâsi, arrived at *Makkhikâsanda*. And *Kitta* the householder heard the news that the Thera Bhikkhus had arrived at *Makkhikâsanda*.

Then *Kitta* the householder went up to the place where the Thera Bhikkhus were, and on arriving there, he saluted the Thera Bhikkhus, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated the venerable Sâriputta taught *Kitta* the householder, and incited him, and roused him, and gladdened him with religious discourse. And *Kitta* the householder, having been thus taught, and incited, and roused, and gladdened with religious discourse, said to the Thera Bhikkhus, 'May the venerable Theras consent to take their to-morrow's meal, as incoming Bhikkhus, at my house.' And the Thera Bhikkhus signified, by silence, their consent.

2. Then perceiving that the Thera Bhikkhus had given their consent, *Kitta* the householder rose from his seat, and bowed down before the Thera Bhikkhus, and keeping them on his right hand as he passed them, went on to the place where the venerable Sudhamma was. And on arriving there, he saluted the venerable Sudhamma, and stood by on one side. And so standing, *Kitta* the householder said to the venerable Sudhamma: 'May the venerable Sudhamma consent to take his to-morrow's meal at my house with the Theras.'

But the venerable Sudhamma, thinking, 'Formerly indeed this *Kitta* the householder, whenever he wished to give an invitation to the *Samgha*, or to

four or five Bhikkhus, or to a single one, used not to invite them without making special mention of me; but now he has invited the Thera Bhikkhus without regarding me. This *Kitta* the householder is now incensed against me, unfavourable to me, takes pleasure in me no longer.' And so thinking he refused, saying, 'It is enough, O householder.'

And a second time *Kitta* the householder said to the venerable Sudhamma (&c., as before, with the same result). And a third time (&c., as before, with the same result).

Then *Kitta* the householder, thinking, 'What can the venerable Sudhamma do against me, whether he consents, or whether he does not consent,' saluted the venerable Sudhamma, and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, departed thence.

3. And at the end of the night *Kitta* the householder made ready sweet food, both hard and soft, for the Thera Bhikkhus. And the venerable Sudhamma, thinking, 'I may as well go and see what *Kitta* the householder has made ready for the Thera Bhikkhus,' robed himself early in the morning, and went, duly bowled and robed, to the place where *Kitta* the householder dwelt; and, on arriving there, he took his seat on a mat spread out for him.

Then *Kitta* the householder went up to the place where the venerable Sudhamma was; and after he had come there, he saluted the venerable Sudhamma, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated the venerable Sudhamma addressed *Kitta* the householder, and said: 'Though this great store of sweet food, both hard and soft, has been made ready by you, O householder, there is one thing yet wanting, that is to say, tila seed cake.'

‘Though then, Sir, there is so much treasure in the ward of the Buddhas, yet there is but one thing of which the venerable Sudhamma makes mention, and that is tila seed cake. Long ago, Sir, certain merchants of Dakkhināpatha went, for the sake of their traffic, to the country of the East, and thence they brought back a hen. Now, Sir, that hen made acquaintance with a crow, and gave birth to a chicken. And, Sir, whenever that chicken tried to utter the cry of a cock it gave vent to a “caw,” and whenever it tried to utter the cry of a crow, it gave vent to a “cock-a-doodle-do¹.” Just even so, Sir, though there is much treasure in the ward of the Buddhas, whenever the venerable Sudhamma speaks, the sound is “tila seed cake.”’

4. ‘You are abusing me, householder. You are finding fault with me, householder. This place, householder, is yours. I must go away from it,’ said the venerable Sudhamma.

‘I do not intend, Sir, to abuse the venerable Sudhamma, nor to find fault with him. Let, Sir, the venerable Sudhamma still dwell at *Makkhikāsanda*. Pleasant is this grove of plum trees, and I shall take good care to provide the venerable Sudhamma with those things a recluse requires—to wit, with robes and food and lodging and medicine when he is sick.’

And a second time the venerable Sudhamma said: ‘You are abusing me (&c., as before, with the same reply). And a third time the venerable Sudhamma said: ‘You are abusing me (&c., as before, down to) I must go away from it.’

¹ Compare *Gâtaka* I, 432; II, 307.

‘Whither then, Sir, will the venerable Sudhamma go?’

‘I shall go to Sāvatti, O householder, to visit the Blessed One.’

‘Then, Sir, let the Blessed One know all, both what you yourself have said, and what I have said. And I should not, Sir, be surprised if the venerable Sudhamma were to return again even to *Makkhikā-sanda*.’

5. So the venerable Sudhamma gathered together his sleeping mat, and set out, with his bowl and his robe, for Sāvatti. And he journeyed straight on to Sāvatti, to the *Getavana*, Anāthapindika’s Grove, to the place where the Blessed One was; and on arriving there he bowed down before the Blessed One, and took his seat on one side. And when he was thus seated the venerable Sudhamma informed the Blessed One of all, both that he himself had said, and that *Kitta* the householder had said.

The Blessed Buddha rebuked him, saying, ‘This was improper, O foolish one, not according to rule, unsuitable, unworthy of a *Samana*, and ought not to have been done. How is it that you, O foolish one, could put down¹ and could lower by your censure² *Kitta* the householder, he being a man of faith, a believing disciple, and a donor, a provider, and a supporter of the *Samgha*?’ This will not conduce, O foolish one, either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted; but rather to the unconverted not being converted, and to the turning back of those who have been

¹ Compare *Dhammapada*, p. 263, and *Gâtaka* I, 191.

² Compare *Gâtaka* I, 191, 356, 359, and *Sutta Nipâta*, verse 905.

converted.' And after he had rebuked him, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said : ' Let therefore the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, carry out the *Paṭisāraṇiya-kamma* (Act of Reconciliation)¹ against the Bhikkhu Sudhamma, saying, "You are to ask and obtain pardon of *Kitta* the householder."' "

6. ' Now thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be carried out. In the first place the Bhikkhu Sudhamma ought to be warned : when he has been warned, he ought to be reminded (of the Rule in the *Pāti-mokkha* against which he has offended); when he has been reminded, he ought to be charged with the offence ; when he has been charged with the offence, some discreet and able Bhikkhu ought to lay the matter before the *Samgha*, saying,

" Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. This Bhikkhu Sudhamma has put down, and has lowered by censure *Kitta* the householder, a man of faith, a believing disciple, a donor, provider and supporter of the *Samgha*. If the time is fit for the *Samgha* to do so, let the *Samgha* carry out the *Paṭisāraṇiya-kamma* against the Bhikkhu Sudhamma.

" This is the motion (*ñatti*).

¹ Childers proposes doubtingly to derive the word *Paṭisāraṇiya* from the root *smar*; but that that is impossible is probably sufficiently evident from the meaning of the word, which is quite clear from the context of this, and from the following chapters. Now at p. 530 of the *Lalita Vistara* the common Pāli phrase *sammodanīyam katham sārāṇīyam vītisāretvā* is represented by the Sanskrit *sammodanīḥ samraṅganīḥ kathāḥ kṛtvā*. It is by no means impossible that this parallel may offer the true solution of the etymology of the Pāli words in question ; (compare *Sārāga* as equal to *saṃrāga*, *sāratta* to *saṃrakta*, &c. &c.) *Paṭisāraṇiya* would then be equal to *pratisamraṅganīya*. See Senart, *Mahāvagga*, p. 599.

“Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. This Bhikkhu (&c., as before, down to) supporter of the *Samgha*. The *Samgha* hereby carries out the *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma* against the Bhikkhu Sudhamma with the words, ‘You are to ask and obtain pardon of *Kitta* the householder.’ Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the carrying out of the *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma* against Sudhamma the Bhikkhu, let him remain silent. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

“A second time I say the same thing. Let the venerable *Samgha* (&c., as before). A third time I say the same thing. Let the venerable *Samgha* (&c., as before).

“The *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma* has been carried out against the Bhikkhu Sudhamma with the words, ‘You are to ask and obtain pardon of *Kitta* the householder.’ The *Samgha* approves the motion. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”

19.

[Here the twelve cases of a proceeding against, and the twelve cases of a proceeding according to law are repeated of the *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma* in the words of chapters 2 and 3 of the *Tagganiya-kamma*.]

20¹.

1. ‘There are five things, O Bhikkhus, which when they characterise a Bhikkhu, the *Samgha*, if it likes, should carry out the *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma* against him; (that is to say), when he goes about to bring

¹ See above, chapter 4.

loss on the laity—when he goes about to do harm to the laity—when he goes about to deprive the laity of their dwellings—when he reviles and finds fault with the laity—when he brings about division between the laity. These are the five things, O Bhikkhus, which (&c., as above, down to) against him.

‘There are other five things, O Bhikkhus, which when they characterise a Bhikkhu, the *Samgha*, if it likes, should carry out the *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma* against him; (that is to say), when he speaks to the laity in dispraise of the Buddha—when he speaks to the laity in dispraise of the Dhamma—when he speaks to the laity in dispraise of the *Samgha*—when he puts laymen down, and lowers them by censure—when he does not fulfil a promise made in accordance with the Rules to the laity. These are the other five things, O Bhikkhus, which (&c., as before, down to) against him.

‘There are five kinds of Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, against whom the *Samgha*, if it likes, should carry out the *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma*; (that is to say), one who goes about to bring loss on the laity (&c., as in the last paragraph, down to the end).’

- Here end the four times five cases of suspicion.

21.

[Chapter 5, as to the right conduct of a Bhikkhu subjected to the *Tagganiya-kamma*, is repeated, reading *Paṭisâraṇiya* for *Tagganiya*.]

Here end the eighteen duties which follow on a
Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma.

22.

1. So the *Samgha* carried out the *Patissāraṇiya-kamma* against Sudhamma the Bhikkhu, saying, 'You are to ask and obtain pardon of *Kitta* the householder. And after he had been subjected by the *Samgha* to the *Patissāraṇiya-kamma*, though he went to *Makkhikāsanda*, he was unable, being greatly troubled in his mind, to ask and obtain pardon of *Kitta* the householder, but returned again even to *Sāvatti*.

Then the Bhikkhus asked him, 'Has *Kitta* the householder been induced by you to give you his pardon?'

'Indeed, though I went to *Makkhikāsanda*, I was unable, being greatly troubled in my mind, to ask and obtain pardon of *Kitta* the householder.'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

2. 'Let, then, the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, appoint a companion messenger to Sudhamma the Bhikkhu, to ask and obtain pardon of *Kitta* the householder.

'Now thus, O Bhikkhu, should the companion messenger be appointed. In the first place the Bhikkhu (who is to be sent) is to be asked (whether he is willing to go). After he has been asked, let some discreet and able Bhikkhu lay the matter before the *Samgha*, as follows:

"Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. If the time seems meet to the venerable *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* appoint such and such a Bhikkhu as a companion messenger to Sudhamma the Bhikkhu, to ask and obtain pardon of *Kitta* the householder.

"This is the motion (*ñatti*).

“Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. The *Samgha* hereby appoints such and such a Bhikkhu as a companion messenger to Sudhamma the Bhikkhu, to ask and obtain pardon of *Kitta* the householder. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of such and such a Bhikkhu being appointed as a companion messenger to Sudhamma the Bhikkhu, let him remain silent. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

“Such and such a Bhikkhu has been appointed by the *Samgha* (&c., as before). The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”

3. ‘Then, O Bhikkhus, let Sudhamma the Bhikkhu go, together with the Bhikkhu who is the companion messenger, to *Makkhikâsanda*, and ask pardon of *Kitta* the householder, saying, “Pardon me, O householder; I desire to gain once more thy good pleasure.” If, when he thus speaks, he pardons him, it is well. If he pardon him not, the Bhikkhu who is the companion messenger should say, “Pardon him, O householder; he desires to gain once more thy good pleasure.” If, when he thus speaks, he pardon him, it is well. If he pardon him not, the Bhikkhu who is the companion messenger should say, “Pardon him, O householder; I desire to gain thy good pleasure.” If, when he thus speaks, he pardon him, it is well. If he pardon him not, the Bhikkhu who is the companion messenger should say, “Grant pardon, O householder, to this Bhikkhu, in the name of the *Samgha* (I ask it).” If (&c., as before, down to). If he pardon him not, the Bhikkhu who is the companion messenger—without going out of sight, and without going out of hearing,

of *Kitta* the householder—should make *Sudhamma* the *Bhikkhu* arrange his robe on one shoulder, and squat down on his heels, and stretch forth his two hands with the palms together, and so confess his fault.’

23.

1. So the venerable *Sudhamma* went, with another *Bhikkhu* as companion messenger, to *Makkhikâsanda*, and obtained pardon of *Kitta* the householder. And he conducted himself aright, and he became subdued, and he sought for release (&c., as above, in chapters 6, 7, down to the end).

Here end the eighteen cases in which there ought to be a revocation of the *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma*.

24.

[In this chapter the *Kammavākā* of the revocation of the *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma* is given in words precisely similar to those of chapters 8 and 12.]

Here ends the fourth (*Kamma*), the
Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma.

V. THE UKKHEPANIYA-KAMMAS (ACTS OF SUSPENSION)
for not acknowledging, and for not atoning for,
an offence¹.

25.

1. Now at that time the Blessed Buddha was dwelling at Kosambī, in the Ghosita Ārāma. And at that time the venerable *Khanna*², when he had committed a fault, was not willing to acknowledge the fault. Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, 'How can the venerable *Khanna* act so?' And those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One on that occasion, and in that connection, after he had convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, asked the Bhikkhus:

'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say, that *Khanna*

¹ There is no mention in the Pātimokkha of any such proceeding. At the close of each of the four Pāṭidesaniya Rules there is a form of confession to be observed. It would seem from the following chapters, which are nowhere expressly confined to these four cases, that a similar confession was expected after the commission of an offence against any of the Pātimokkha Rules. In the closing words of the Saṃghādisesa Rules, an older proceeding is mentioned, under which an offending Bhikkhu who has not confessed any breach of either of those thirteen Rules is to remain on probation for as many days as he has allowed to go by without confessing.

² On *Khanna*'s character, see also below, IV, 14, 1, XI, 1, 12-14, and Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta VI, 4.

when he has committed a fault, is not willing to acknowledge the fault?’

‘It is true, Lord!’

The Blessed Buddha rebuked him, saying, ‘How, O Bhikkhus, can that foolish one act so? This will not conduce either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted; but rather to those who have not been converted being not converted, and to the turning back of those who have been converted.’

And when the Blessed One had so rebuked him, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus and said: ‘Let therefore the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, carry out against *Khanna* the Bhikkhu the *âpattiyâ adassane Ukkhepaniya-kamma* (the Act of Suspension which follows on not acknowledging a fault) to the intent that he shall not eat or dwell together with the *Samgha*¹.

‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be carried out.’ [Here follow the formal words of the *Kammavâkâ* as in chapter 1. 4, with the necessary alterations owing to the difference of the fault and of the *Kamma* following on it. And at the end of the *Kammavâkâ* (after the words ‘Thus I understand’) the following sentence is added.]

‘And send a proclamation, O Bhikkhus, from residence to residence²; saying, “*Khanna* the Bhikkhu has been subjected by the *Samgha* to the *Ukkhepaniya-kamma* for not acknowledging a fault.”’

¹ Compare *Mahāvagga* I, 79 generally, and § 2 of that chapter on the last clause (*asambhogam samghena*).

² On this phrase the *Samanta Pāsādikā* says, *Âvāsa-paramparañ ka bhikkhave samsathā ti sabbāvāsesu ārokettha*.

26.

[Here follow the twelve cases in which a Kamma is against the law, and the twelve in which it is according to law; and also the six permissive cases in which it may be carried out, if the *Samgha* likes, precisely as in chapters 2, 3, and 4.]

27¹.

1. 'A Bhikkhu against whom the Ukkhepaniya-kamma that follows on not acknowledging a fault has been carried out ought to conduct himself aright. And herein this is the right conduct: he ought not to confer the upasampadâ—he ought not to give a nissaya²—he ought not to provide himself with a *sâmañera*²—he ought not to accept the office of giving exhortation to the nuns²—if he have accepted that office, he ought not to exhort the nuns²—he ought not to commit the offence for which the Ukkhepaniya-kamma that follows on not acknowledging a fault has been carried out against him—nor any offence of a similar kind—nor any worse offence—he ought not to find fault with the proceeding (that has been carried out against him)—nor with (the Bhikkhus) who have carried it out—³he ought not to accept from a regular Bhikkhu reverence, or

¹ As this chapter, containing the sammâ-vattanâ or right conduct, differs from the corresponding chapters of the preceding Kammās (chapters 5, 10, 15, and 21), it is here set out in full.

² See the passages quoted above (chapter 5).

³ The passage between these two figures recurs at II, 1, 1.

service, or salutation, or respect, nor allow him to provide a seat, or a sleeping-place, or water for the feet, or a foot-stool⁴, or a foot-towel⁵ for him, nor to carry his bowl or his robe, nor to shampoo him³—he ought not to harass a regular Bhikkhu with a complaint that he has failed in morality, or in conduct, or in doctrine, or in the mode of obtaining a livelihood—he ought not to cause division between a Bhikkhu and the Bhikkhus—he ought not to wear the outward signs of being a layman, or of being a follower of some other doctrine⁶—he ought not to follow the professors of other doctrines—he ought to follow the Bhikkhus—he ought to train himself in the training of the Bhikkhus—he ought not to dwell under one and the same roof with a regular Bhikkhu, whether in a place formally declared to be a residence, or to be not a residence, or in a place which is neither the one nor the other,—on seeing a regular Bhikkhu he ought to rise from his seat—he ought not to touch⁷ a regular Bhikkhu, either inside or outside (of the residence)—he ought not to raise objections against a regular Bhikkhu's taking part in the Uposatha ceremony⁸—or in the Pavâraṇâ

⁴ At II, 1, 1. Buddhaghosa explains this word as confined to a stool on which to place feet that have been washed (*dhota-pâda-~~th~~apanakam*).

⁵ Buddhaghosa says on the same expression in II, 1, 1, *pâda-kathaliyan* (sic) *ti adhota-pâda-~~th~~apanakam pâda-ghamsanam vâ*.

⁶ The Samanta Pâsâdikâ says, *Na titthiya-dhago ti kusaṭṭi-râdim na dhâretabbam*. Compare the use of *arahad-dhagam* at *Gâtaka* I, 65.

⁷ The Samanta Pâsâdikâ says, *Na âsâdetabbo ti na pâsâdetabbo* (compare the use of *âsâdesi*, *Gâtaka* I, 481). *Anto vâ bhi vâ ti vihârassa anto vâ bhi vâ*.

⁸ On this and the following sentences compare the passages quoted above, chapter 5.

ceremony—he ought not to issue command (to a junior, inhibiting him from going beyond the bounds, or summoning him to appear before the elders)—he ought not to set on foot a censure against any other Bhikkhu—he ought not to ask another Bhikkhu to give him leave (to rebuke that Bhikkhu)—he ought not to warn (another Bhikkhu whom he supposes to be offending)—he ought not to remind (another Bhikkhu of a law against which he supposes that Bhikkhu to be offending)—and he ought not to associate with the Bhikkhus.’

Here end the forty-three duties which follow on an Ukkhepaniya-kamma for not acknowledging a fault.

28.

1. So the *Samgha* carried out against *K'hanna* the Bhikkhu the Ukkhepaniya-kamma for not acknowledging a fault to the effect that he should not eat or dwell together with the *Samgha*. And after he had been subjected by the *Samgha* to the Ukkhepaniya-kamma for not acknowledging his fault he went from that residence to another residence. And the Bhikkhus there did no reverence to him, rose not from their seats to welcome him, rendered him not service, offered him not salutation, paid not respect to him, offered him not hospitality, nor esteemed him, nor honoured him, nor supported him. And when he received from the Bhikkhus neither hospitality, nor welcome, nor esteem, nor honour, nor

support, he went from that residence to another residence. And the Bhikkhus there did no reverence to him, rose not from their seats to welcome him, rendered him not service (&c., as before, down to :) he went from that residence to another residence. And when he received no hospitality he returned back again even to Kosambi. Then he conducted himself aright, and he became subdued, and he sought for release, and going up to the Bhikkhus he spake as follows: 'I, Sirs, having been subjected by the *Samgha* to the *Ukkhepaniya-kamma* am conducting myself aright in accordance thereto, and I am become subdued, and I seek for release. What now should I do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Then, O Bhikkhus, let the *Samgha* revoke the *Ukkhepaniya-kamma* for not acknowledging his fault carried out against *Khanna* the Bhikkhu.

2. 'There are five things, O Bhikkhus, [&c., the rest of this section bearing the same relation to the last, which chapter 6, § 2, does to chapter 5.]'

Here end the forty-three cases [in which an *Ukkhepaniya-kamma* for not acknowledging a fault is not to be revoked].

29.

'There are five things, O Bhikkhus, [&c., as in chapter 7. This chapter being the exact opposite of chapter 28.]

Here end the forty-three cases [in which an *Ukkhepaniya-kamma* for not acknowledging a fault ought to be revoked].

30.

‘And thus, O Bhikkhus, should the revocation be carried out [&c., as before, in chapters 8, 12, &c.]’

Here ends the fifth Kamma, namely, the Ukkhepaniya-kamma for not acknowledging a fault.

31.

Now at that time the Blessed Buddha was dwelling at Kosambī, in the Ghosita Ārāma. And at that time the venerable Kāṇva, when he had committed a fault, was not willing to atone for that fault [&c., the proceeding in this case being the same, and laid down in the same words as the proceeding in the last case, chapters 25–30].

Here ends the sixth Kamma; namely, the Ukkhepaniya-kamma on not atoning for a fault¹.

¹ It will be seen from the above chapters, and especially from chapter 27, that the Ukkhepaniya-kamma is an Act, not of expulsion, but only of suspension. The ten cases in which a member of the Order could be expelled are those given above in Mahāvagga I, 60; and the technical word for ‘expel’ is *nāseti*.

VI. THE UKKHEPANIYA-KAMMA for not renouncing a sinful doctrine.

32.

1. Now at that time the Blessed Buddha was staying at Sāvattthi, in the *Getavana*, the grove of *Anāthapindika*. And at that time a certain Bhikkhu by name *Arittha*, who had formerly been a vulture tormentor¹, had fallen into a sinful belief of this kind; (that is to say), 'In this wise do I understand the Dhamma preached by the Blessed One, that to him who practises those things which have been declared by the Blessed One to be impediments²,

¹ In his commentary on the *Pāṭittiya*, quoted by Oldenberg in his note on this passage, Buddhaghosa explains this expression to mean 'born in a family of vulture slayers.' This does not help us much, vulture slaying as a regular occupation being somewhat incomprehensible, and not referred to elsewhere. Whatever its meaning, the occupation referred to is perhaps the origin of, or should at least be compared with, the statement of Ktesias (circa B. C. 400) in his 'Indika' (ed. C. Müller, Fragment xiii), that the Indians used not dogs but vultures, which they trained for that purpose, in hunting hares and foxes. Lassen in his 'Indische Alterthumskunde,' II, 638, 639, thinks this statement not incredible, very fairly comparing the use of falcons in Europe in the Middle Ages. It is not impossible that the correct rendering here should be 'vulture-catcher,' or 'vulture-trainer;' but we prefer to be literal.

² The only one of such things (*Dhammā*) known to us elsewhere in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* itself is deliberate falsehood. This is stated in *Mahāvagga* II, 3, 3 to be an impediment, which is explained by the Old Commentator, at *Mahāvagga* II, 3, 7, to mean an impediment to the attainment of the *Ghāṇas*, and other things of similar nature.

there will arise no impediment sufficient (to prevent his acquiring spiritual gifts)¹.

Now many Bhikkhus heard that *Arittha*, who had formerly (&c., as before, down to :) to be impediments. And those Bhikkhus went up to the place where *Arittha* the Bhikkhu, who had formerly been a vulture tormentor, was; and on arriving there they asked *Arittha* the Bhikkhu, who had formerly been a vulture tormentor, 'Is it true, friend *Arittha*, as they say, that you have fallen into a sinful belief (&c., as above, down to) spiritual gifts?'

'Certainly²! I do so understand the Dhamma preached by the Blessed One (&c., as before).'

2. 'Say not so, friend *Arittha*. Bear not false-witness against the Blessed One. For neither is it seemly to bring a false accusation against the Blessed One, nor could the Blessed One have spoken so. By many a figure, friend *Arittha*, have the things which are impediments been declared to be impediments by the Blessed One, and also to be sufficient to prevent him who cultivates them (from attaining to spiritual gifts)³. Lusts have been declared by the Blessed One to be of short taste⁴, full of pain, and full of despair, things wherein the danger is great. Lusts have been declared by the Blessed One to be like the bones of a skeleton, full of pain, and full of despair, things wherein the danger is

¹ This is word for word the same speech as that which is condemned in the 68th and 70th *Pâkittiyas*.

² Byâ is only known to us as an intensive particle occurring in passages like the present one.

³ So far this section is word for word the same as the 68th and the 70th *Pâkittiyas*.

⁴ Quoted at *Dhammapada*, ver. 186.

great. Lusts have been declared by the Blessed One to be like lumps of raw meat, full (&c., as before, down to :) is great. Lusts have been declared by the Blessed One to be like torches made of a wisp of hay . . . , like a pit full of live coals¹ . . . , like the visions of a dream . . . , like a beggar's portion . . . , like the fruits of trees . . . , like the sword and the slaughter-house . . . , like darts and clubs . . . , like snakes and creeping things, full of pain, and full of despair, things wherein the danger is great.'

Yet notwithstanding that Bhikkhu *Arittha*, who had formerly been a vulture tormentor, when thus being addressed by the Bhikkhus, remained steadfastly adhering, in the very same way, and with violence, to that sinful doctrine, declaring, 'Verily I do so understand the Dhamma preached by the Blessed One (&c., as before, in § 1).'

3. Then since those Bhikkhus were unable to move *Arittha* the Bhikkhu, who had formerly been a vulture tormentor, from that sinful doctrine, they went up to the place where the Blessed One was; and when they had come there, they told this thing to the Blessed One.

And the Blessed One on that occasion, and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, and asked *Arittha* the Bhikkhu, who had formerly been a vulture tormentor, 'Is it true, as they say, *Arittha*, that you have fallen into a sinful doctrine of such a kind (&c., as before, in § 1)?'

'Certainly, Lord! I do so understand (&c., as before, in § 1).'

¹ Compare *Gâtaka* I, 231, 232.

‘How can you, O foolish one, so understand the Dhamma preached by me? Have I not, by many a figure, O foolish one, declared the things which are impediments to be impediments, and sufficient to prevent him who cultivates them (from attaining to spiritual gifts)? Have not lusts been by me declared to be of short taste (&c., as above, down to :) like snakes and creeping things, full of danger, full of despair, things wherein the danger is great? Yet now you, O foolish one, by your having grasped that doctrine wrongly¹, are not only bearing false-witness against us, but you are also rooting yourself up, and are giving rise to much demerit, the which will be to you for a long time for an evil and a woe. This will not conduce, O foolish one, either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted; but rather to those who are unconverted not being converted, and to the turning back of those who have been converted².’

When he had thus rebuked him, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: ‘Let therefore the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, carry out against *Arittha* the Bhikkhu, who was formerly a vulture tormentor, the *Ukkhepaniya-kamma* for not renouncing a sinful doctrine, to the intent that he shall not eat or dwell together with the *Samgha*.’

4. ‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be carried out. In the first place the Bhikkhu *Arittha* ought

¹ Compare Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta IV, 8-11.

² Up to this point the whole chapter recurs as the Introductory Story in the Sutta-vibhaṅga on the 68th Pâṭṭiya.

to be warned [&c., as in chapter 25, down to the end of the Kammavāṭṭa, including the supplementary sentence as to the proclamation].’

33.

[Here follow the twelve cases in which the Kamma is against the law, the twelve cases in which it is according to law, the six permissive cases in which it can be carried out if the Saṃgha likes, and the eighteen divisions of the right conduct for the convicted Bhikkhu to pursue, precisely as in chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5, reading ‘Ukkhepaniya-kamma for not renouncing a sinful doctrine,’ instead of ‘Tagganiya-kamma.’]

34.

1. So the Saṃgha carried out against Aritṭha the Bhikkhu, who had formerly been a vulture tormentor, the Ukkhepaniya-kamma for not renouncing a sinful doctrine, to the intent that he should not eat nor dwell with the Saṃgha. And when he had been thus subjected by the Saṃgha to the Ukkhepaniya-kamma for not renouncing a sinful doctrine, he left the Order.

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, ‘How can Aritṭha the Bhikkhu, having been subjected by the Saṃgha to the Ukkhepaniya-kamma for not

renouncing a sinful doctrine, leave the Order?' And those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One on that occasion, and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, and asked the Bhikkhus, 'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say, that Arittha the Bhikkhu, having been subjected (&c., as before, down to) left the Order?'

'It is true, Lord.'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked him, saying, 'How can Arittha the Bhikkhu (&c., as before, down to) leave the Order? This will not conduce either to the conversion of the unconverted, nor to the increase of the converted; but rather to those who have not been converted not being converted, and to the turning back of those who have been converted.'

And when he had rebuked him, and delivered a religious discourse, the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'Let then the Saṃgha, O Bhikkhus, revoke the Ukkhepaniya-kamma for not renouncing a sinful doctrine, which has been carried out against Arittha the Bhikkhu.

'There are five things, O Bhikkhus, [&c., as before, in chapters 6 and 7, down to the end.]'

Here end the eighteen cases in which a revocation of the Ukkhepaniya-kamma on not renouncing a sinful doctrine should be carried out.

35.

‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be carried out,’
&c. [Here follows the Kammavâkâ for the re-
vocation of a Kamma precisely as in chapter 8,
with the necessary alterations.]

Here ends the seventh (Kamma), the Ukkhepaniya-
kamma on not renouncing a sinful doctrine.

Here ends the First Khandhaka, the Khandhaka
on the Kammas.

SECOND KHANDHAKA.

PROBATION AND PENANCE.

1.

1. Now at that time the Blessed Buddha was staying at Sâvatthi, in the *Getavana*, *Anâthapindîka*'s Grove. And at that time Bhikkhus who had been placed on probation¹ used to accept reverence and service and salutation and respect from regular Bhikkhus; and to allow them to provide a seat, or a sleeping-place, or water for the feet, or a foot-stool, or a foot-towel for them; and to carry their bowl or their robe, and to shampoo them².

¹ There are four principal kinds of probation; the first of which was required when the follower of another of the reforming sects was received into the Buddhist Order, and is described in *Mahāvagga* I, 38. The other three, which follow on the commission of a *Samghâdisesa* offence, are more particularly described below in the third Khandhaka. The Pâli names of these four are respectively *apaikkhanna-parivâsa*, *paikkhanna-parivâsa*, *suddhanta-parivâsa*, and *samodhâna-parivâsa*.

No conclusion should be drawn against this statement from the passage above at I, 9, 1; though *Seyyasaka*'s conduct, as there described, would not have rendered him liable to any one of these four principal probationary proceedings. For he is said to have been guilty of many offences (*âpatti-bahulo*). The accompanying enumeration must be taken, not as a description of those offences, but as additional to them. And the probation imposed upon him must have been for concealing one or more of the many offences not particularly specified.

² All these expressions recur above, I, 27, 1.

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, 'How can Bhikkhus who have been placed on probation accept reverence (&c., as above, down to) shampoo them?'

And those Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One on that occasion, and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-samgha, and asked the Bhikkhus: 'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say, that Bhikkhus who have been placed on probation accept reverence (&c., as before, down to) shampoo them?'

'It is true, Lord.'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying, 'How can those Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) shampoo them? This will not conduce, O Bhikkhus (&c., as usual, down to)¹ turning back of those who have been converted.'

And when he had rebuked them, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, saying, 'A Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation ought not to accept reverence (&c., as before, down to) shampoo them. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa offence. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, to those Bhikkhus who have been placed on probation to do [all the courtesies, duties, and services mentioned above²] for one another, according to their seniority. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, five things (as permissible) to Bhikkhus who have been placed on probation,

¹ See I, 1, 2, down to the end.

² That is, in the lists recurring in the previous paragraphs, and given in full at I, 27, 1.

according to their seniority; (that is to say), the Uposatha ceremony, the Pavâraṇâ ceremony, the share in robes for the rainy season, in things dedicated to the Saṃgha¹, and in food.

2. 'Therefore, O Bhikkhus, do I make known to you a rule of conduct for Bhikkhus who have been placed on probation, according to which they ought to conduct themselves aright. And herein this is the right conduct. He ought not to confer the Upasampadâ (&c., as above, in I, 1, 5, down to the end)².

'A Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation ought not, O Bhikkhus, to walk in front of, or to sit down in front of, a regular Bhikkhu. Whichever belonging to that company of Bhikkhus shall be the worst seat³, or the worst sleeping-place, or the worst room⁴, that shall be given to that Bhikkhu, and there-

¹ Onoganam, which the Samanta Pâsâdikâ explains by 'visaganam.' Compare the use of onogesi at Dîpavamsa XIII, 29. The etymology of the word is unknown to us.

² The Samanta Pâsâdikâ has here the following note on savaṇaniyam, which should be compared with the shorter note on the same word given above, I, 1, 5: Na savaṇaniyam kâtabban ti palibodhatthâya pakkosanatthâya vâ savaṇaniyam na kâtabbam. Palibodhatthâya hi karonto, aham âyasmantam imasmim vatthusmim savaṇaniyam karomi, imamhâ âvâsâ ekapadam pi mâ pakkami yâva na tam adhikaranam vûpasantam hotîti; evam karoti. Pakkosanatthâya karonto, aham te savaṇaniyam karomi, ehi mayâ saddhim vinaya-dharânam sammukhibhâvam gaṭṭhâma ti: evam karoti.

³ Buddhaghosa says here, Âsanapariyanto bhattaggâḍḍisu saṃgha-navak-âsanam vuṭṭati, svassa dâtabbo. Pariyanta is used here in the same sense as in the 22nd Nissaggiya.

⁴ Vihâra. In later times this word is no doubt always, or almost always, used to designate the whole of a building in which several or many Bhikkhus resided. In the older literature it always,

with shall he content himself. A Bhikkhu who has been placed under probation ought not, O Bhikkhus, to visit the families who support a regular Bhikkhu (by officiating, in order to do so, as the companion who precedes or follows that regular Bhikkhu)—he ought not to devote himself to a forest life—he ought not to devote himself to living on alms personally received¹—he ought not to cause an alms to be brought out to him with the object of escaping an extension of his probationary term², thinking, “Let them not recognise me” (as one who has been placed under probation)³.

‘A Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation ought, O Bhikkhus, to announce the fact of his having been so placed when he arrives at a residence as an incoming Bhikkhu—he ought to announce the fact to an incoming Bhikkhu—he ought to announce the fact at an Uposatha meeting—he ought to announce the fact at a Paṇḍita meeting—and, if he be sick, he ought to announce the fact at such meetings by means of a messenger⁴.

or almost always, denotes the dwelling-place, the private apartment, of a single Bhikkhu.

¹ That is, to refrain from *salāka-bhatta*, &c.

² The Samanta Pāsādikā says, *Tappaḥkayā 'ti niha/abhatto hutvā vihāren' eva nisīditvā bhuṅganto vattiyo gāyayissāmi gaḥḥato me bhikkhū disvā anāroketassa rattikkhedo* (cap. 2) *siyā 'ti iminā kāraṇena pindapāto na niharāpetabbo*.

³ *Mā mā gānimsū 'ti mā mā ekabhikkhu pi gānātū 'ti ka iminā agghāsayaṇa vihāre sāmānerehi paṭṭapetvā bhuṅgitum labbhati. Gāmaṃ pindāya pavisitabbam eva. Gilānassa pana navakammaṃ ātariyupagghāyakkāpāpasu* (sic) *tassa vā vihāre yeva akkhitum vaṭṭati. Sake pi gāme anekasatā bhikkhū viharanti na sakkā hoti āroketum gāmakāvāsam gantvā sabhāga//hāne vasitum vaṭṭati*.

⁴ This paragraph, it will be seen, is omitted in three out of the four following cases, which are otherwise similar in every respect,

3. 'A Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation ought not, O Bhikkhus, to go away from a residence in which Bhikkhus are living to a residence in which no Bhikkhus are living, unless with a regular Bhikkhu, or in time of danger. A Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation ought not, O Bhikkhus, to go away from a residence in which Bhikkhus are living to a place which is not a residence¹ and where no Bhikkhus are living, unless with a regular Bhikkhu, or in time of danger. A Bhikkhu (&c., as before) ought not to go away from a residence in which Bhikkhus are living, either to a residence or to a place which is not a residence, and where Bhikkhus are not living, unless (&c., as before)². . . . from a place which is not a residence, but where Bhikkhus are living, to a place which is a residence, but where Bhikkhus are not living from a place which is not a residence, but where Bhikkhus are living, to a place which is not a residence and where Bhikkhus are not living from a place which is no residence, but where Bhikkhus are living, either to a place which is not a residence or to a residence where no Bhikkhus are living from a place which is either a residence or not a residence, to a place which is a residence, but where no Bhikkhus are living from a place which is either a residence or no residence, but where Bhikkhus are living, to a place

as regards the right conduct which is laid down for them, to the present case of the Bhikkhus who have been placed on probation.

¹ The Samanta Pāsādikā says, (Abhikkhuko āvāso) na hi tattha vuttharattiyo gāṇanupikā honti. pakatattena pana saddhim vaṭṭati. Anāvāso nāma kētiyagharam bodhigharam sammaṅgani-a/ako dārua/ako pāṇiyamā'o vaṭṭaku' dvārako//hako 'ti evamādi.

² In the text read āvāso vā anāvāso vā.

which is not a residence and where no Bhikkhus are living from a place which is either a residence or not a residence, but where Bhikkhus are living, to a place which is either a residence or not a residence, but where no Bhikkhus are living, unless with a regular Bhikkhu or in time of danger.

‘A Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation ought not, O Bhikkhus, to go away from a residence where Bhikkhus are living to a residence where Bhikkhus are living, but where there may be Bhikkhus of different communities from his own (unless, &c., as before). [The same changes as in the last series are here rung upon this inhibition, down to] from a place which is either a residence or not a residence, but where Bhikkhus are living, to a place which is either a residence or not a residence, and where Bhikkhus are living, but where there may be Bhikkhus of different communities from his own (unless, &c., as before).

‘A Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation ought to go, O Bhikkhus, from a residence where Bhikkhus are living to a residence where Bhikkhus are living, and where there are Bhikkhus of the same community (with himself), if he knows, “This very day I can go there.” [Here follow the same permutations and combinations as in the last two series.]

4. ‘A Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation ought not, O Bhikkhus, to dwell with a regular Bhikkhu in a residence under one and the same roof—nor in a place which is not a residence under one and the same roof—nor in a place which is either a residence or not a residence under one and the same roof. On seeing a regular Bhikkhu he

ought to rise from his seat¹; and he ought to offer his seat to a regular Bhikkhu. He ought not to sit down on one and the same seat with a regular Bhikkhu; when a regular Bhikkhu is seated on a low seat he ought not to sit down on a high seat²; when a regular Bhikkhu is seated on the ground he ought not to sit down on a seat³; he ought not to walk up and down on the same *kaṅkama*⁴ with a regular Bhikkhu; when a regular Bhikkhu is walking up and down on a low *kaṅkama* he ought not to walk up and down on a higher *kaṅkama*; when a regular Bhikkhu is walking up and down on the ground he ought not to walk up and down on a (properly prepared) *kaṅkama*.

‘A Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation ought not, O Bhikkhus, to dwell (&c., all the other acts mentioned in the last paragraph being here repeated down to the end) with a Bhikkhu senior to himself who has been placed on probation . . . with a Bhikkhu who has been thrown back to the commencement of his term of probation . . . with a Bhikkhu who has rendered himself liable to the *Mānatta* discipline⁵ . . . with a Bhikkhu undergoing the *Mānatta* discipline . . . with a Bhikkhu who is in a position to receive rehabilitation⁶.

‘If a meeting of four Bhikkhus, of whom one is

¹ This recurs in Khandhaka I, chapter 27.

² Compare the 69th Sekhiya.

³ Compare the 68th Sekhiya.

⁴ A narrow space of open ground, levelled and cleared of jungle, for the purpose of being used to walk up and down upon when meditating. See our note on Mahāvagga V, 1, 14.

⁵ On these disciplines and on rehabilitation, see the following Khandhaka.

a probationer, should place a Bhikkhu on probation, or throw him back to the beginning of his probationary course, or subject him to the Mānatta discipline—or if a meeting of twenty Bhikkhus, of whom one is a probationer, should rehabilitate a Bhikkhu, that, O Bhikkhus, is an invalid act, and need not be obeyed¹.

Here end the ninety-four duties incumbent on
a probationer.

2.

1. Now the venerable Upāli went up to the place where the Blessed One was; and on arriving there, he saluted the Blessed One, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated the venerable Upāli said to the Blessed One: 'Now in what case, Lord, can there be an interruption of the probationary period of a Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation²?'

'There are three ways of interruption of the probationary period, O Upāli, of a Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation; (that is to say), by

¹ Compare Mahavāgga IX, 4, 1.

² Literally, 'breaking of the nights.' The time of probation was reckoned, not by days, but by nights; and in either of the three cases which follow the reckoning was interrupted, and had to begin afresh.

dwelling together¹, by dwelling alone², and by not announcing³.

‘These are the three ways of interruption to the probationary period, O Upâli, of a Bhikkhu who has been placed under probation.’

3⁴.

1. Now at that time, since there was a great company of the Bhikkhus gathered together at Sâvatthi, those Bhikkhus who had been placed on probation did not know how to carry out their probation correctly.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe to you, O Bhikkhus, to carry out your probation correctly. Now thus, O Bhikkhus, ought you to postpone⁵ the probation. The Bhikkhu who has been placed on probation is to go up to a single Bhikkhu, and arranging his robe on one shoulder, and squatting down on his heels, and stretching forth his hands with the palms together, he is to say: “I postpone my probation.” Then the probation is postponed. Or he is to say: “I postpone

¹ Buddhaghosa explains this to mean when the probationer has done any of the things forbidden in II, 1, 4.

² That is, when the probationer has done any of the things forbidden in II, 1, 3.

³ That is, when the probationer has omitted to make any of the announcements prescribed at the end of II, 1, 2.

⁴ This chapter is repeated below, chap. 8, in reference to Bhikkhus undergoing the Mânatta discipline.

⁵ That is, if it should be impossible during the time immediately succeeding the imposition of probation to fulfil all the thereto necessary duties, then a Bhikkhu might postpone the fulfilment to some more convenient season.

the duties (i. e. of a probationer).” Then also the probation is postponed.’

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were at Sāvattthi went away hither and thither, and the Bhikkhus who had been placed on probation were not able to carry out their probation correctly¹.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe to you, O Bhikkhus, to take upon yourselves again the probation (which had been postponed). Now thus, O Bhikkhus, ought you to take it upon yourselves again. The Bhikkhu who has been placed under probation is to go up to a single Bhikkhu, and arranging his robe on one shoulder, and squatting down on his heels, and stretching forth his hands with the palms together, he is to say: “I take my probation again upon myself.” Then the probation is resumed. Or he is to say: “I take the duties (i. e. of a probationer) upon myself again.” Then also is the probation resumed.’

Here end the duties incumbent on a probationer.

4.

1. Now at that time Bhikkhus, who had rendered themselves liable to be thrown back to the commencement (of their probationary course)², used to

¹ The Samanta Pāsādikā here says, *Evam vattam samādiyivā parivutta-parivāsassa mānattam ganhato puna vatta-samādāna-kikkam n’atthi samādinna-vatto yeva hi esa. Tasmāssa khārattam mānattam dātābham, kinna-mānatto abbhetaḍḍo, evam anāpattiḍḍo hutvā sudhante patiḍḍito tisso sikkhā pūretvā dukkhass’ antam karissatīti.*

² This is fully explained in the next Khandhaka.

accept reverence [&c., as before in chapter I, reading throughout 'Bhikkhus liable to be thrown back to the beginning of their probationary course' for 'Bhikkhus who had been placed on probation¹;' and omitting in chapter 2 the announcements referred to there in our note].

5.

[In this chapter the same rules are laid down, word for word, as in the last, reading throughout for 'Bhikkhus liable to be thrown back to the beginning of their probationary course,' 'Bhikkhus liable to be subjected to the Mânatta discipline'.²]

6.

[In this chapter the same rules for the Mânatta, or Penance, are laid down word for word as those in chapter I, §§ 1, 2, 3, and 4, for the probation, reading throughout 'Bhikkhus who are going through the Mânatta discipline' for 'Bhikkhus who have been placed under probation.' There are, however, one or two minor points of difference, which are as follows:

1. At the end of the announcements (chapter I,

¹ In the text alter the words 'Instead of samghena parivâso dinno hoti read samghena mûlâya paṭikassanâraho kato hoti' into 'Instead of parivâsikâ bhikkhû read mûlâya paṭikassanârahâ bhikkhû.'

² This is fully explained in the next Khandhaka.

§ 2) there is inserted the injunction, 'He ought to announce the fact every day.'

2. In the passages about going from one residence to another (chapter 1, § 3) read 'unless with the *Samgha*' instead of 'unless with a regular *Bhikkhu*.'¹

7.

1. Now the venerable Upâli went up to the place where the Blessed One was; and on arriving there, he saluted the Blessed One, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated the venerable Upâli said to the Blessed One: 'Now in what case, Lord, can there be an interruption of the *Mânatta* discipline² of a *Bhikkhu* who is undergoing that discipline?'

'There are four ways of interruption of the *Mânatta* discipline, O Upâli, of a *Bhikkhu* who is undergoing that discipline; (that is to say), by dwelling together³, by dwelling alone³, by not announcing³, and by living with less than four other *Bhikkhus*⁴. These are the four ways (&c., as before, down to) undergoing that discipline.'

¹ It will be seen, therefore, that there is very little, one might almost say no practical, difference between the *Parivâsa*, which we have rendered 'probation,' and the *Mânatta*, which we have usually left untranslated, and sometimes rendered 'penance.' Neither the one nor the other are at present enforced anywhere among the Buddhists.

² See chapter 2, note 1.

³ See the notes above on chapter 2.

⁴ The *Samanta Pâsâdikâ* says, *ûne gane ti âattâro vâ atirekâ vâ*.

8.

[In this chapter the means of postponing and resuming the Mânatta penance are laid down, word for word, as in chapter 3, reading 'Bhikkhus who are undergoing the Mânatta discipline' for 'Bhikkhus who have been placed on probation.']

9.

[This chapter is word for word the same as chapter 1, reading 'Bhikkhus who have rendered themselves capable of receiving rehabilitation' for 'Bhikkhus who have been placed on probation.']

Here ends the Second Khandhaka, called the
Khandhaka on Probationers, &c.

THIRD KHANDHAKA.

PROBATION AND PENANCE (CONTINUED).

1.

1. Now at that time the Blessed Buddha was staying at Sâvatthi, in the *Getavana*, Anâthapindikâ's Grove. And at that time the venerable Udâyi committed an offence, to wit, the first *Samghâdisesa* offence, and did not conceal it. He told the Bhikkhus, saying, 'I have committed an offence—the first *Samghâdisesa* offence—and do not conceal it. What now shall I do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Then, O Bhikkhus, let the *Samgha* lay the *Mânatta* penalty on Udâyi the Bhikkhu for the space of six days on account of that offence—the first *Samghâdisesa*—which he has not concealed.

2. 'Now thus, O Bhikkhus, ought it to be laid upon him. Udâyi the Bhikkhu ought to go up, O Bhikkhus, before the *Samgha*; and, arranging his robe on one shoulder, he ought to bow down at the feet of the elder Bhikkhus, and squatting down on his heels, and stretching forth his hands with the palms together, he ought to say as follows:

"I, venerable Sirs, have committed an offence—the first *Samghâdisesa*—which I have not concealed. I ask the *Samgha* (to impose upon me) the *Mânatta* penalty for six days on account of this offence—the

first *Samghâdisesa* offence—which I have not concealed.”’

[This speech is repeated three times.]

3. ‘Some discreet and able Bhikkhu should then lay the matter before the *Samgha*, as follows :

“Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. Udâyi the Bhikkhu has committed an offence—the first *Samghâdisesa* offence—which he has not concealed. And he asks the *Samgha* for the *Mânatta* penalty for six days on account of that offence—the first *Samghâdisesa* offence—which he has not concealed.

“If the time seem meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* impose a *Mânatta* of six days’ duration on Udâyi the Bhikkhu for that one offence—the first *Samghâdisesa* offence—which he has not concealed.

“This is the motion (*ñatti*).

“The *Samgha* hereby imposes a *Mânatta* of six days on Udâyi the Bhikkhu for that one offence—the first *Samghâdisesa* offence—which he has not concealed.

“Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the imposition of a *Mânatta* (&c., as in the last paragraph, down to) not concealed, let him remain silent. Whosoever approves not, let him speak.

“A second time I say the same thing (&c., as before in the last two paragraphs). A third time I say the same thing (&c., as before).

“The *Samgha* has imposed a *Mânatta* of six days’ duration (&c., as before, in the words of the motion, down to) not concealed. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”’

2.

1. When he had done the Mânatta he told the Bhikkhus, saying, ' Friends, I committed an offence—the first Samghâdisesa offence—which I had not concealed. And I asked the Samgha for a Mânatta of six days' duration for that offence—the first Samghâdisesa offence—which I had not concealed. The Samgha imposed upon me a Mânatta (&c., as before, down to) not concealed. Now I have accomplished that Mânatta. What now shall I do ?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

' Then, O Bhikkhus, let the Samgha rehabilitate Udâyi the Bhikkhu.

2. ' Now thus, O Bhikkhus, ought he to be rehabilitated.

' Udâyi the Bhikkhu ought to go up (&c., as in chapter 1, § 2, down to) he ought to say as follows :

" I committed, venerable Sirs, an offence—the first Samghâdisesa offence—which I did not conceal. I asked the Samgha (to impose upon me) a Mânatta of six days' duration for that offence—the first Samghâdisesa offence—which I had not concealed. The Samgha imposed upon me a Mânatta of for not concealed. I, having accomplished that Mânatta, ask the Samgha for rehabilitation."

[This speech is repeated three times.]

3. ' Then some discreet and able Bhikkhu [&c., as before in chapter 1, § 2, the rest of the kamma-vâkâ bearing the same relation to the petition as it does there].'

3.

1. Now at that time the venerable Udâyi had committed an offence—the first *Samghâdisesa*—which he had for one day concealed.

He told the Bhikkhus (&c., as before).

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Then, O Bhikkhus, let the *Samgha* impose a probation of one day on Udâyi the Bhikkhu for an offence (&c., as in the first paragraph of this section down to) concealed.

2. ‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, ought it to be imposed—’

[Here follows the *kammavâkâ* precisely as in chapter 1, §§ 2 and 3, with the necessary changes in the wording, a. of the offence, b. of the penalty.]

4.

1. When he had passed through the probation he told the Bhikkhus, saying, ‘I committed, friends, an offence—the first *Samghâdisesa*—which for one day I concealed. I asked the *Samgha* to impose upon me a probation of one day for the offence . . . concealed. The *Samgha* imposed . . . concealed. I have passed through that probation. What now should I do?’

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘Let then the *Samgha* impose upon Udâyi the Bhikkhu a *Mânatta* of six days’ duration.’

2, 3. [Here follows the *kammavâkâ* as in chapter 1, §§ 2, 3, to the end.]

5.

1. When he had accomplished the Mânatta he told the Bhikkhus, saying, 'I committed (&c., as 4. 1, down to) for one day concealed. I asked, &c. . . . The Samgha imposed a probation, &c. . . . When I passed through that probation the Samgha imposed a Mânatta of &c. . . . for &c. . . . I have accomplished that Mânatta. What now shall I do?'

They told that matter to the Blessed One.

'Let then the Samgha, O Bhikkhus, rehabilitate Udâyi the Bhikkhu.'

2, 3. [Here follows the kammavâkâ as in chapter 2, §§ 2, 3, to the end.]

6.

[This chapter is the same as chapter 3, reading 'for two—three—four—five days concealed,' and 'probation of two—three—four—five days.']

7.

1. Whilst he was undergoing that probation, he committed an offence—the first, &c.—which he did not conceal.

He told the Bhikkhus, saying, 'I committed, &c. . . . I asked the Samgha, &c. . . . The Samgha imposed upon me a probation of two—three—four—five days. Whilst I was undergoing that probation, I committed, &c. . . .'

They told that matter to the Blessed One.

‘Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, throw back Udâyi the Bhikkhu to the commencement (of his probationary course).’

2, 3. [Here follows the *kammavâkâ* as in chapter I, with the necessary alterations.]

8.

1. When he had undergone that probation, and was liable to the *Mânatta*, he committed an offence—the first *Samghâdisesa*—which he did not conceal.

He told the Bhikkhus, saying, &c. . . .

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, throw back Udâyi the Bhikkhu to the commencement (of his probationary course).’

2, 3. [Here follows the *kammavâkâ* in the same form as is given in chapter I.]

9.

1. When he had undergone that probation he told, &c. . . .

They told, &c. . . .

‘Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, impose upon Udâyi the Bhikkhu a *Mânatta* of six days’ probation for these offences.’

2, 3. [The *kammavâkâ* as before.]

10.

1. While he was undergoing that *Mânatta* he

committed an offence—the first *Samghâdisesa*—which he did not conceal.

He told the Bhikkhus, saying, ‘I committed, &c. . . . I asked the *Samgha*. . . . The *Samgha* imposed [&c., going through all that had happened, down to the end of the first paragraph in this chapter].

They told, &c.

‘Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, impose upon Udâyi the Bhikkhu a *Mânatta* of six days’ duration, throwing him back to the commencement (of his *Mânatta*).

[The *kammavâkâ* as before.]

11.

1. When he had accomplished that *Mânatta*, and while he was worthy to be rehabilitated, he committed an offence—the first *Samghâdisesa* offence—which he did not conceal.

He told the Bhikkhus [all that had happened from chapter 6 onwards down to this last offence].

They told, &c.

‘Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, impose upon Udâyi the Bhikkhu a *Mânatta* of six days’ duration, for that he when he had (&c., as in first paragraph down to) not conceal, throwing him back to the commencement (of his *Mânatta*).

‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, [here follows the *kammavâkâ* as before.]

12.

1. When he had accomplished that Mânatta he told the Bhikkhus [all that had happened].

They told, &c.

‘Let then the Saṃgha, O Bhikkhus, rehabilitate Udâyi the Bhikkhu.

‘Now thus [here follows the kammavâkâ as before].

13.

1. Now at that time the venerable Udâyi committed an offence—the first Saṃghâdisesa—and for half a month he concealed it.

[The rest of this chapter is precisely the same as chapter 3, reading ‘for half a month’ instead of ‘for one day.’]

14.

1. Whilst he was undergoing that probation he committed an offence—the first Saṃghâdisesa—which for five days he concealed.

He told, &c. . . . ‘I committed, &c. . . . I asked, &c. . . . The Saṃgha imposed a probation of half a month, &c. . . . Whilst I was undergoing, &c. . . . What now shall I do?’

They told, &c.

‘Let then the Saṃgha, O Bhikkhus, for that whilst (&c., as in the first paragraph) throw Udâyi the Bhikkhu back to the beginning of his probationary

term, and impose upon him an inclusive probation (to include his new offence together) with the former offence¹.

‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, [here follow two kammavâḥās, one for the throwing back, and one for the additional probation, each of them as in chapter 1.]’

15.

1. When he had undergone that probation, and while he was liable to the Mānatta, he committed an offence—the first Samghādisesa—which for five days he concealed.

He told, &c. . . . [all that happened, from chapter 13 downwards].

They told, &c.

‘Let then the Saṃgha, O Bhikkhus, for that he when he had (&c., as in the first paragraph) throw Udāyi the Bhikkhu back to the commencement of

¹ Samodhāna-parivāsa. It is clear from the next chapter that this probation did not affect the Mānatta to which he was liable for that first offence. The Mānatta always lasted six days, and was preceded by a probation equal in length to the time during which the offence had been concealed. If now, during that probation, another offence was committed and concealed, the penalties for this new offence and for the old one were not accumulative but concurrent. The offender lost the advantage of the probation he had already undergone, he was thrown back to the commencement of his term of probation, and had to begin again. But the new term of probation—equal in length to whichever was the longest of the two periods during which he had concealed the two offences—satisfied both the concealments, and the Mānatta which still, as it would have done before, followed at the end of the probation, satisfied both the offences. See our note below on chapter 20.

his probationary term, and impose upon him an inclusive probation (for this and) for the former offence.

‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, [here follow two kam-mavâkâs, as in the last chapter.]’

16.

1. When he had undergone that probation he told the Bhikkhus, &c. [all that had happened since chapter 13].

They told, &c.

‘Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, impose upon Udâyi the Bhikkhu a *Mânatta* of six days’ duration for these offences¹.

‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, [here follows one kam-mavâkâ in the form given in chapter 1.]’

17.

1. While he was undergoing that *Mânatta* he committed an offence—the first *Samghâdisesa*—which he for four days concealed.

He told, &c. . . . [all that had happened, from chapter 13 downwards].

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, for that while (&c., as in the first paragraph) throw Udâyi the Bhikkhu back to the commencement (of the probationary term he had already undergone), and impose

¹ As in chapter 9.

upon him an inclusive probation (for this and) for the first offence, and also a Mânatta of six days' duration.

'Now thus, O Bhikkhus, [here follow three kammavâkâs, one for the throwing back, one for the inclusive probation, and one for the new Mânatta, each of them on the same form as that given in chapter 1.]'

18.

1. When he had accomplished that Mânatta, and while he was worthy to be rehabilitated, he committed an offence—the first Samghâdisesa—which for five days he concealed.

He told, &c. [all that happened, from chapter 13 downwards].

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'Let then the Samgha, O Bhikkhus, for that when he had (&c., as in the first paragraph) throw Udâyi the Bhikkhu back to the commencement (of the probationary term he had already undergone) and impose upon him an inclusive probation for this and for the first offence, and a Mânatta of six days' duration.

'Now thus, &c. . . . [Here follow three kammavâkâs as in chapter 17.]'

19.

1. When he had accomplished the Mânatta he told the Bhikkhus [all that happened, from chapter 13 downwards].

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘Let then the *Samgha* rehabilitate Udāyi the Bhikkhu.

‘Now thus, O Bhikkhus, [here follows the *kammavāḱā* as in chapter 5.]’

Here end the proceedings on the breach of the
first *Samghādisesa*.

20.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had committed numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, one of which he had concealed for one day, one for two days, one for three days, [and so on down to] and one for ten days.

He told the Bhikkhus, saying, 'I have committed, (&c., as before, down to) and one for ten days. What now shall I do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, impose upon that Bhikkhu an inclusive probation according to one of those offences which has been concealed for ten days¹.'

'Now thus, O Bhikkhus, ought it to be imposed.'

¹ From this and what follows it is clear that however many are the offences, and however various the periods of concealment, the probation is only to last for the same period as the longest of the concealments has lasted. Thus the *Samanta Pâsâdikâ* says here : *agghasamodhâno nâma sambahulâsu âpattisu yâ ekâ vâ dve vâ tisso vâ sambahulâ vâ âpattiyo sabba~~kirapa~~ti~~kk~~hannâyo tâsam agghena samodhâya tâsam rattipari~~kk~~hedavasena avasesânam ânatarapati~~kk~~hannânam âpattinam parivâso diyyati. Yassa pana satam âpattiyo dasâhapati~~kk~~hannâ, aparam pi satam âpattiyo dasâhapati~~kk~~hannâ ti, evam dasakkhattum katvâ âpattisahassam divasasatapati~~kk~~hannam hoti, tena kim kâtabban ti? Sabbam samodhâpetvâ dasa divase parivāsītābham, evam eken' eva dasâhena divasasatam pi parivāsītā eva hoti. Vuttam pi k' etam :*

*dasasatam rattisatam âpattiyo kkhâdayitvâna
dasarattiyo vasitvâna mukkeyya parivāsiko.*

[Here follows the *kammavâkâ* in the form given at chapter I, §§ 2, 3, to the end.]

21.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had committed numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, one of which he had concealed for one day, two for two days, three for three days, [and so on down to] and ten for ten days.

He told, &c.

They told, &c.

‘Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, impose upon that Bhikkhu an inclusive probation equal in duration to the longest time during which he has concealed any one or more of those offences¹.’

[Then follows the *kammavâkâ* as before.]

22.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had committed two *Samghâdisesa* offences which he had concealed for two months. And it occurred to him, ‘Lo! I have committed two *Samghâdisesa* offences which I have concealed for two months. Let me now ask the *Samgha* for a probation of two months for one offence concealed for two months.’ And he asked the *Samgha* for a probation of two months for

¹ Literally, ‘according to the value of whichever offences among those offences have been the longest concealed.’

one offence concealed for two months. And the *Samgha* imposed upon him a probation (&c., as before, down to) for two months. Whilst he was undergoing that probation, shame overcame him in that he thought, 'I have committed, &c. . . . And it occurred to me, &c. . . . And I asked, &c. . . . And the *Samgha* imposed And whilst I was undergoing (&c., as before, down to) for two months.'

'Let me now ask the *Samgha* for a probation of two months for the other offence concealed for two months.'

2. He told the Bhikkhus [all that had happened]. They told this thing to the Blessed One.

3. 'Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, impose upon that Bhikkhu a probation of two months for that other offence concealed for two months.'

[Here follows the *kammavâkâ* as before.]

'Then that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, should undergo probation for two months from that date¹.'

23.

1. 'Now in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu have committed two *Samghâdisesa* offences [&c., as before, in the first paragraph of the last chapter down to the end]. And he asks the *Samgha* for a probation of two months for that other offence concealed for two months. And the *Samgha* imposes upon him a probation of two months for that other offence

¹ *Tadupâdâya*; see chapters 23. 1 and 2, 24. 3.

concealed for two months¹. That Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, ought to continue on probation for two months from that date.

2. 'Now in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu have committed two *Samghâdisesa* offences, which he has concealed for two months. And he is aware of one offence, but of the other offence he is not aware. And he asks the *Samgha* for a two months' probation for that offence of which he is aware, concealed for two months. And the *Samgha* gives him a probation of two months for an offence concealed for two months. And whilst he is undergoing that probation he becomes aware of the other offence. Then it occurs to him,

"Lo! I have committed two *Samghâdisesa* offences (&c., as in the last paragraph, down to) I became aware of the other offence. Let me now ask the *Samgha* for a probation of two months for that other offence concealed for two months."

'And he asks the *Samgha* for a probation of two months for that other offence concealed for two months. And the *Samgha* imposes upon him a probation of &c. . . . for &c. . . . That Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, ought to continue on probation for two months from that date.

3. 'Now in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu commit two *Samghâdisesa* offences, which he conceals for two months; and one offence he recollects, but the other offence he does not recollect. And he asks the *Samgha* (&c., as in the last section, down to the end, reading "recollect" for "be aware of").

¹ This is merely repeated to lay a basis for the following variations. See below, chapter 25.

4. 'Now in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu commit two *Samghâdisesa* offences, which he conceals for two months; and of one offence he is not doubtful¹, but of the other offence he is doubtful. And he asks the *Samgha* (&c., as in the last section, reading "is doubtful" for "does not recollect").

5. 'Now in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu commit two *Samghâdisesa* offences, which he conceals for two months; and one offence he conceals wittingly, but the other offence he conceals unwittingly. And he asks the *Samgha* for a probation of two months for those two offences concealed for two months. And the *Samgha* imposes upon him a probation of two months for those two offences concealed for two months. And whilst he is undergoing that probation there arrives a Bhikkhu who is versed in the traditions, acquainted with the tradition, a custodian of the Dhamma, of the Vinaya, and of the *Mâtikâs*², clever, discreet, wise, modest, sensitive, willing to learn. And he speaks thus:

"What has this Bhikkhu, O friends, been guilty of, and why is he on probation?"

'And they reply: "This Bhikkhu, O friend, has committed two *Samghâdisesa* offences, which he concealed for two months; and one offence he concealed wittingly, and one offence he concealed unwittingly. He asked the *Samgha* for a probation of two months for those two offences concealed for two months. And the *Samgha* imposed upon him a probation of two months for those two offences con-

¹ In chapter 34, § 1, *di//hî*, instead of *nibbematiko*, is put in opposition to *vematiko*.

² See our note above, on *Mahāvagga* II, 21, 2, and compare VII, 1, 7; VIII, 32, 1; X, 1, 2; *Kullavagga* I, 11, 1.

cealed for two months. Therein, O friend, is this Bhikkhu guilty, and therefore is he on probation."

'And he rejoins: "The offence which he wittingly concealed, O friends, for that the imposition of a probation is valid, and by reason of its validity it takes effect¹. But the offence which he unwittingly concealed, O friends, for that the imposition of a probation is invalid, and by reason of its invalidity it does not take effect. For this offence, O friends, the Bhikkhu is liable to a Mânatta."

6. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu commit two Samghâdisesa offences, which he conceals for two months. And one offence he conceals recollecting it, but the other offence he conceals without recollecting it.'

[Here follow the same remarks as in the last section, down to the end, reading 'recollecting it' for 'wittingly.']

24.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu committed two Samghâdisesa offences which he concealed for two months. And it occurred to him, 'Lo! I have committed, &c. . . for two months. Let me now ask the Samgha for a probation of one month for &c. . . ' He asked the Samgha for a probation of one month for &c. . . The Samgha imposed upon him a probation of one month for &c. . . Whilst he was undergoing that probation, shame (for the way

¹ This expression recurs below, chaps. 25, 27, &c. Compare the use of rūhati at Mahāvagga VI, 14, 5.

in which he had acted) overcame him. 'Let me now ask the *Samgha* for a (further) probation of one month for the two *Samghâdisesa* offences concealed for two months.'

2. He told the *Bhikkhus* [all that had happened, in the words of § 1, and asked them], 'What now shall I do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

3. 'Let then the *Samgha*, O *Bhikkhus*, impose upon that *Bhikkhu* a probation for a further month for those two *Samghâdisesa* offences concealed for two months.'

[Here follows the *kammavâkâ* in the form given in chapter 1, §§ 2, 3.]

'Thus that *Bhikkhu*, O *Bhikkhus*, should undergo probation for two months from that date¹.'

25.

1. 'In case, O *Bhikkhus*, a *Bhikkhu* commit two *Samghâdisesa* offences which he conceals for two months. And it occurs to him (&c., as in last chapter). . . . And he asks And the *Samgha* imposes And whilst he is undergoing that probation, shame (&c.) overcomes him, &c. . . . And he asks the *Samgha* for a probation of a further month for those two *Samghâdisesa* offences concealed for two months. And the *Samgha* imposes upon him a further probation, &c. . . . Then, O *Bhikkhus*, that *Bhikkhu* should from that date undergo that further

¹ See above, chap. 22. 3.

probation of one month for those two *Samghâdisesa* offences concealed for two months¹.

2, 3. 'Now in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu have committed two *Samghâdisesa* offences, which he conceals for two months. And of one month he is aware, but of the other month he is not aware . . . one month he recollects, but the other month he does not recollect . . . one month he wittingly conceals, but the other month he unwittingly conceals.'

[This chapter is word for word the same as chapter 23, reading 'month' for 'offence.']

26.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had committed numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences; but he was not aware of the degree of the offences², and was not aware of the duration of the times²; or he did not recollect the degree of the offences, and did not recollect the duration of the times; or he was uncertain as to the degree of the offences, and was uncertain as to the duration of the times.

He told the Bhikkhus, saying, 'I have committed, &c. . . but I am not aware, &c. . . I do not recollect, &c. . . I am uncertain, &c. . . What now shall I do?'

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'Then let the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, impose upon that Bhikkhu a probation of complete purifi-

¹ This repetition of the last chapter is again only to afford a basis for the succeeding variations, as above, in chap. 23.

² That these are plurals, and not singulars, is clear from § 3, below.

cation (that is to say, a probation for as many days as have elapsed since the date of his upasampadâ)¹.

2. 'Now thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be imposed.'...

[Here follows the *kammavâḥā* in the same form as is given in chapter 1.]

3. 'In the following cases, O Bhikkhus, is the probation of complete purification to be imposed; and in the following cases is the (ordinary) probation to be imposed. Now in what cases is the probation of complete purification to be imposed? When he is not aware of the degree of the offences, nor of the duration of the times; when he does not recollect the degree of the offences, nor the duration of the times; and when he is not certain as to the degree of the offences, nor as to the duration of the times—then is the probation of complete purification to be imposed.

'When he is aware of the degree of the offences, but not of the duration of the times; when he does recollect the degree of the offences, but not the duration of the times; when he is certain as to the degree of the offences, but not as to the duration of the times—then is the probation of complete purification to be imposed.

'When he is aware.... recollects.... is certain.... of the degree of some, but not of others of the offences, and is not aware of.... does not recollect.... is not certain of the duration of the times²—then &c.

'When he is not aware.... does not recollect....

¹ *Suddhanta-parivâso*. The *Samanta Pâsâdikâ* says, *Tam gahetvâ gahita-divasato yâva upasampadâ-divaso tâva rattiyo gahetvâ parivasitabbam*.

² This and the following sentences are given in the text in full, as in the last paragraph.

is not certain of the degree of the offences, and is aware recollects is certain of the times of some, but not of the times of the others—then, &c.

‘When he is aware recollects is certain of the degree of the offences, and is aware recollects is certain of the times of some, but not of the times of others—then, &c.

‘When he is aware recollects is certain of the degrees of some of the offences, but not of others ; and is aware recollects is certain of the times of some, but not of the times of others—then, &c.

‘In these cases, O Bhikkhus, is the probation of complete purification to be imposed.

4. ‘And in what cases, O Bhikkhus, is the (ordinary) probation to be imposed? When he is aware recollects is certain of the degree of the offences, but is not aware does not recollect is not certain of the duration of the times—then is the (ordinary) probation to be imposed.

‘When he is not aware does not recollect is not certain of the degree of the offences, but is aware recollects is certain of the duration of the times—then &c. . . .

‘When he is aware recollects is certain of the degree of some of the offences, but not of others ; and is aware recollects is certain of the duration of the times—then &c. . . .

‘In these cases, O Bhikkhus, is the (ordinary) probation to be imposed¹.’

Here ends the probation.

¹ That is to say, shortly ; if the guilty Bhikkhu can determine the time during which the offence has been concealed (on which the length of the probation depends), then he is to undergo the

27.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu, whilst he was under probation, threw off the robes. Afterwards he came back again, and asked the Bhikkhus for upasampadâ. They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu throws off the robes whilst he is under probation, there can follow no probation to him, O Bhikkhus, so long as he is out of the Order. If he afterwards receive the upasampadâ, the original probation (previously imposed upon him, still remains obligatory) upon him. A probation once imposed, is imposed for good; a probation once undergone, is undergone for good; if any (portion of the time) remain over, the probation must be again undergone (from the beginning).

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu, whilst he is undergoing probation, becomes a Sâmanera. There can happen no probation to him, O Bhikkhus, so long as he is a Sâmanera. If he afterwards receives the upasampadâ (&c., as in the last paragraph, down to the end).

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu, whilst he is undergoing probation, goes out of his mind . . . becomes weak in his mind . . . diseased in his sensations . . . is suspended for not acknowledging an

corresponding probation. If not, he is to undergo the so-called ‘probation of complete purification,’ which, as it is computed from the date of his ordination, is quite certain to be as long as the time of the longest concealment of any offence.

offence for not atoning for an offence for not recanting a sinful doctrine¹—there can happen no probation to him, O Bhikkhus, so long as he is out of his mind weak in his mind suspended, &c. If he afterwards becomes not out of his mind becomes not weak in his mind is restored from the suspension, the original probation is still obligatory upon him. A probation once imposed (&c., as in the first paragraph, down to the end).

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu, whilst he is liable to be thrown back to the commencement of his probation, throws off the robes (&c., as in all the paragraphs of section 1, reading "liable to be thrown back," for "undergoing probation").'

3. [The same for a Bhikkhu who throws off the robes, or becomes any of the seven things specified, whilst he is liable to be subjected to the Mānatta discipline;

4. Or is undergoing the Mānatta discipline;

5. Or is fit to be rehabilitated.]

Here end the forty² cases (of interruption to a major disciplinary proceeding from a change of state in the person undergoing that discipline).

28.

1. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, whilst a Bhikkhu is undergoing probation, he commit numerous *Samghâ-*

¹ The text has a separate paragraph for each of these cases.

² That is, on any of the above eight events occurring in any of the above five cases.

disesa offences, definite¹, but not concealed, that Bhikkhu is to be thrown back to the commencement of his probation.

2. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, whilst a Bhikkhu is undergoing probation, he commit numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, definite, and concealed, that Bhikkhu is to be thrown back to the commencement of his probation, and an inclusive probation is to be imposed upon him according to the duration of time since the first of the offences which he has thus concealed.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, whilst a Bhikkhu is undergoing probation, he commit numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, grievous, and some of them concealed, some of them not concealed, that Bhikkhu must (as in the last paragraph to the end).

'In case, O Bhikkhus, whilst a Bhikkhu is undergoing probation, he commit numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, not definite, and not concealed . . . not definite, and concealed² . . . not grievous, and some of them concealed, others not concealed . . . some definite, and some not definite and not concealed . . . some definite, and some not definite and (all) concealed . . . some definite, and some not definite, some concealed, some not concealed—then that Bhikkhu is to be thrown back, and an inclusive probation is to be imposed upon him, according to the duration of

¹ *Parimâṇā*, the meaning of which is open to much doubt. The *Samanta Pāsādikā* merely says, *Antarā sambāhulā āpattiyo āpaggati parimāṇā paṭikkhannāyo ti ādisu āpatti-parikkheda-vase parimāṇāyo k'eva appaṭikkhannāyo k'ā'ti attho*. The only conclusion to be drawn from this is that the word is acc. fem. plur., and not an adverb. Compare chap. 33, below.

² The text has a full paragraph for each of these cases.

the time since the first of the offences which he had concealed.'

[The same if the offences are committed whilst he is liable to the Mânatta discipline, or undergoing the Mânatta discipline, or pending his rehabilitation.]

Here end the thirty-six cases (of fresh offences being committed whilst under probation)¹.

29.

1. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has committed numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, but has not concealed them, throw off the robes, and he, having afterwards again received the *upasampadâ*, does not conceal them. A Mânatta, O Bhikkhus, is to be imposed upon that Bhikkhu.

'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu (&c., as before, down to) throw off the robes, and he, having afterwards again received the *upasampadâ*, does conceal them,—on that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, a probation is to be imposed according to the duration of the time during which he has concealed any offence in the batch of offences thus afterwards concealed²; and after that a Mânatta is to be imposed.

¹ This chapter is repeated below, chap. 33, for the cases in which a new ordination has followed after the offences have been committed.

² The Samanta Pâsâdikâ says, *Pakkhimasmim âpattikkhandhe ti eko 'va so âpattikkhandho, paññâditattâ pana pakkhimasmim âpattikkhandhe ti vuttam. Purimasmin ti ethâpi es'eva nayo.*

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has committed numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, and has concealed them, throw off the robes, and he, after having again received the *upasampadâ*, does not conceal them,—on that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, a probation is to be imposed according to the duration of the time during which he has concealed any offence in the batch of offences thus previously concealed¹; and after that a *Mânatta* is to be imposed upon him.

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has committed numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, and has concealed them, throw off the robes, and, after again receiving the *upasampadâ*, he does conceal them,—on that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, a probation is to be imposed corresponding to the duration of the time during which he has concealed any offence either in the first or in the batch of offences thus afterwards concealed; and after that a *Mânatta* is to be imposed upon him.

²2. ‘[In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu have com-

¹ See the close of the last note.

² This section should correspond to chap. 31, section 2, but as noted by H. O. in his edition of the text, p. 312, there is very great confusion in the MSS. We ought to have four cases of which the distinctions are as under. Those offences

1	{ concealed before	are afterwards not concealed	}	+	—
	{ not concealed before	„ not „	}	—	—
2	{ concealed before	„ not „	}	+	—
	{ not concealed before	„ concealed	}	—	+
3	{ concealed before	„ concealed	}	+	+
	{ not concealed before	„ not concealed	}	—	—
4	{ concealed before	„ concealed	}	+	+
	{ not concealed before	„ concealed	}	—	+

All these four cases are required to make up the one hundred

mitted numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, and some of his offences have been concealed, and some not concealed; and he, having thrown off the robes, and again received the *upasampadâ*, does not afterwards conceal those offences which he had previously concealed, and does not afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had not concealed,—on that Bhikkhu [the penalty is to be the same as in section 1, paragraph 4].]

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu [&c., as in last paragraph, down to] does not afterwards conceal those offences which he had previously concealed, and does conceal those offences which previously he had not concealed,—on that Bhikkhu [the penalty is to be the same as in section 1, paragraph 4].

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu (&c., as in last paragraph, down to) does afterwards conceal those offences which he had previously concealed, and does not afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had not concealed,—on that Bhikkhu [the penalty is to be the same as in section 1, paragraph 4].

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu (&c., as in last paragraph, down to) does afterwards conceal those offences which he had previously concealed, and does afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had not concealed,—on that Bhikkhu [the penalty is to be the same as in section 1, paragraph 4].

3. ‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu have committed numerous *Samghâdisesa* offences, and of some

cases mentioned in the title at the close of chap. 30; but the first is altogether omitted in the text, and the others are not properly discriminated. We have supplied the first in brackets, and corrected the others accordingly.

of them he is aware, but of some of them he is not aware; and he conceals those offences of which he is aware, but does not conceal those offences of which he is not aware; after having thrown off the robes, and again received the upasampadâ, those offences of which he had previously been aware, and which he did then conceal, of them, afterwards, he is still aware, and he does not conceal them; and those offences of which previously he had not been aware and did not then conceal, of them, afterwards, he becomes aware, and does not conceal them,—on that Bhikkhu [the penalty is the same as in section 1, paragraph 3].

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu (&c., as in the last paragraph, down to) and again received the upasampadâ, those offences of which he had previously been aware, and which he did then conceal, of them, afterwards, he is still aware, and he does not conceal them; and those offences of which previously he had not been aware, and did not then conceal, of them, afterwards, he becomes aware, and does conceal them,—on that Bhikkhu [the penalty is the same as in section 1, paragraph 4].

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu (&c., as in the last paragraph, down to) which he did then conceal, of them, afterwards, he is still aware, and does conceal them; and of those offences of which previously he had not been aware, and did not then conceal, of them, afterwards, he becomes aware, and does not conceal them,—on that Bhikkhu [the penalty is the same as in section 1, paragraph 4].

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu (&c., as in the last paragraph, down to) which he did then conceal, of them, afterwards, he is still aware, and does conceal

them; and of those offences of which previously he had not been aware, and did not then conceal, of them, afterwards, he becomes aware, and does conceal them,—on that Bhikkhu [the penalty is the same as in section 1, paragraph 4].'

4. [This section is the same as the last, reading 'he recollects' for 'he is aware,' and 'he does not recollect' for 'he is not aware.']

5. [This section is again the same as section 3, reading 'he is certain' for 'he is aware,' and 'he is not certain' for 'he is not aware.']

30.

1. [The whole of the last chapter is repeated in the case of a Bhikkhu who, having committed offences, becomes a Sāmañera, goes out of his mind, or becomes weak in his mind¹, and the text then goes on] 'He becomes diseased in his sensations. His offences are some of them concealed, some not concealed. Of some offences he is aware, of some he is not aware. Some offences he recollects, some he does not recollect. Of some offences he is certain, of some he is not certain. Those offences of which he was not certain, those he conceals; those offences of which he was certain, those he does not conceal. Then he becomes diseased in his sensations. When he has recovered power over his sensations, those offences of which he previously had been certain and had concealed, of those he is afterwards still certain, but does not conceal them; and those offences of which he previously had been

¹ See above, chap. 27, and Mahāvagga II, 22, 3; IX, 4, 7.

uncertain and had not concealed, of those he became certain but did not conceal them. Those offences of which he previously had been certain and had concealed, of those he was afterwards still certain and did not conceal; while those offences of which he previously had been uncertain, and had not concealed, of those offences he afterwards became certain and did conceal them. Those offences of which previously he had been certain, and had concealed, of those offences he was afterwards still certain and did conceal them; while those offences of which he previously had been uncertain and had not concealed, of those offences he afterwards became certain, and did not conceal them. Those offences of which he previously had been certain, and had concealed them, of those offences he was afterwards still certain and did conceal them; whilst those offences of which he previously had been uncertain and did not conceal them, of those offences he afterwards became certain and did conceal them,—on that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, [the same penalty is to be imposed as in chapter 29, section 1, paragraph 4.]'

Here end the hundred cases¹ in which a Mānatta
(is to be imposed after a change of state
in the guilty Bhikkhu).

¹ The hundred cases are made up thus: Chap. 29, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 contain each of them four cases (after our correction of 29. 2); so that chap. 29 gives altogether twenty cases. Then in chap. 30, each of these twenty cases is repeated in the four other cases there given; so that chap. 30 gives altogether eighty cases. Of these eighty cases, as usual, at the end of a répétition, the last (four cases) are set out in full.

31.

1. 'In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who is undergoing probation is guilty meanwhile of a number of *Samghâdisesa* offences, and without concealing them then throws off the robes, and he, when he has again received the *upasampadâ*, does not conceal those offences—that Bhikkhu ought to be thrown back to the commencement (of his term of probation).

'And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu (&c., as before, down to) and he, when he has again received the *upasampadâ*, does conceal those offences—that Bhikkhu ought to be thrown back to the commencement (of his term of probation), and an inclusive probation ought to be imposed upon him (corresponding to the time which has elapsed since) the first offence among those offences which he has concealed.

'And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who is undergoing probation is guilty meanwhile of a number of *Samghâdisesa* offences, and, concealing them, throws off the robes; and he, when he has again received the *upasampadâ*, does not conceal those offences—that Bhikkhu ought to be thrown back to the commencement of his term of probation, and an inclusive probation ought to be imposed upon him (corresponding to the period which has elapsed since) the first offence among those offences which he has concealed.'

[The same judgment if he has concealed the offences before he throws off the robes, and also after he has again received the *upasampadâ*.]¹

¹ This section corresponds to chap. 29, section 1.

2. 'And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who is undergoing probation is guilty meanwhile of a number of *Samghâdisesa* offences, and some of them he has concealed and some of them he has not concealed; and after he has thrown off the robes and again received the *upasampadâ*, he does not afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had concealed, and he does not afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had not concealed—[the judgment is the same as in the last paragraph of § 1].'

[In the same case down to] he does not afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had concealed, and he does afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had not concealed [the judgment is the same].

[In the same case, down to] he does afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had concealed, and he does not afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had not concealed [the judgment is the same].

[In the same case, down to] he does afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had concealed, and he does afterwards conceal those offences which previously he had not concealed [the judgment is the same]¹.

3. 'And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who is undergoing probation is guilty meanwhile of a number of *Samghâdisesa* offences, and he is aware of some of those offences, and not aware of others; and he conceals those offences of which he is aware, but does not conceal those offences of which he is

¹ This section corresponds to chap. 29, section 2.

not aware. After having thrown off the robes and again received the upasampadâ, those offences of which he had previously [&c., as in chapter 29, section 3, down to] on that Bhikkhu [the penalty is the same as in the last section, chapter 31, § 2].'

[The rest of this chapter corresponds exactly to chapter 29, §§ 4, 5, and chapter 30; the penalty being always the same.]

32.

1. 'And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who has rendered himself liable to the Mânatta discipline, or is undergoing the Mânatta discipline, or is fit to be rehabilitated, is guilty meanwhile of a number of Samghâdisesa offences which he does not conceal; and he then throws off the robes, and again receives the upasampadâ,—then with regard to the Bhikkhu so liable to the Mânatta discipline, or undergoing the Mânatta discipline, or fit to be rehabilitated, the same rules are to apply as in the case of a Bhikkhu so acting while undergoing probation¹.

'And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu who is fit to be rehabilitated² is guilty meanwhile of a number of Samghâdisesa offences which he does not conceal; and he then becomes a Sâmañera, goes out of his mind, becomes weak in his mind, or becomes diseased in his sensations; his offences are some of them

¹ As laid down in chap. 31.

² This includes, of course, the two other cases of a Bhikkhu who has rendered himself liable to, or is undergoing the Mânatta discipline.

concealed, some of them not concealed . . . [and so on, as in chapter 30, down to the end, excepting that the penalty is here the same as it is in the previous chapters 31 and 32].'

33.

1. 'And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu is guilty of a number of *Samghâdisesa* offences, definite, and not concealed—not definite, and not concealed—of one designation, and not concealed—of various designations, and not concealed—similar, and not concealed—dissimilar, and not concealed—connected¹, and not concealed—disconnected, and not concealed—and then throws off the robes². . .

¹ On the opposition of *vavatt hita* and *sambhinna*, compare Minayeff *Pâtimokkha*, p. 29, where these two expressions are used of language.

² The chapter is translated as it stands. To supply the implications involved, the words 'a Bhikkhu' at the beginning should be understood as 'a Bhikkhu undergoing probation, or liable to the *Mânatta* discipline, or undergoing the *Mânatta* discipline, or fit to be rehabilitated.' And the conclusion should be supplied as in chap. 28, except that the penalty in each case is not an additional probation, but a probation corresponding in length to the period which has elapsed since the first of those offences which the re-ordained Bhikkhu has concealed (either before or after the second ordination). The details are only worked out, in chap. 28, of the first of the several pairs here enumerated, and are intended to be supplied here for each of the other pairs in a similar way. All the pairs recur in chaps. 35, 36.

34.

1. 'Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a *Samghâdisesa* offence, and as touching that *Samghâdisesa* offence they are of opinion that it is a *Samghâdisesa* offence¹. One of them conceals, the other does not conceal it. He who has concealed it should be compelled to confess himself guilty of a *dukkata* offence, and a probation corresponding to the period during which he has concealed it having been imposed upon him, a *Mânatta* should be imposed upon them both.

'Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a *Samghâdisesa* offence, and as touching that *Samghâdisesa* offence they are in doubt. One of them conceals, the other does not conceal it. [The penalty is the same.]²

'Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a *Samghâdisesa* offence, and as touching that *Samghâdisesa* offence they are of opinion that it is a mixed offence³. One of them conceals, the other does not conceal it. [The penalty is the same.]²

'Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a mixed offence, and as touching that mixed offence they are of opinion that it is a *Samghâdisesa* offence. One of

¹ Compare chap. 23, § 4.

² The concluding words of the last paragraph are here repeated.

³ The Samanta Pâsâdikâ says, *Missakan ti thullakkayâdhi missitam*; that is an act which involves not only a *Samghâdisesa*, but also some one or other of the lesser offences. Compare the use of *missaka* at *Gâtaka* II, 420, 433, and at *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta*, ed. Childers, p. 22.

them conceals, the other does not conceal it. [The penalty is the same.]¹

‘Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a mixed offence, and as touching that mixed offence they are of opinion that it is a mixed offence. One of them conceals, the other does not conceal it. [The penalty is the same.]

‘Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a minor offence²; and as regarding that minor offence they are of opinion that it is a *Samghâdisesa* offence. One of them conceals, the other does not conceal it. He who has concealed it should be compelled to confess himself guilty of a *dukkata* offence, and both of them should be dealt with according to law.

‘Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a minor offence, and as touching that minor offence they are of opinion that it is a minor offence. One of them conceals, the other does not conceal it. He who has concealed it should be compelled to confess himself guilty of a *dukkata* offence, and both of them should be dealt with according to law.

2. ‘Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a *Samghâdisesa* offence, and as touching that *Samghâdisesa* offence they are of opinion that it is a *Samghâdisesa*. One of them thinks: “I will tell (the *Samgha* of it).” The other thinks: “I will not tell (the *Samgha* of it);” and during the first watch of the night he conceals it, and during the second watch of the night he conceals

¹ The concluding words of the last paragraph are here repeated.

² That is, any offence less than a *Samghâdisesa*. The *Samanta Pâsâdikâ* says, *Suddhakan ti Samghâdisesam vinâ lahukâpattik-khandham eva*.

it, and during the third watch of the night he conceals it. After the sun has arisen the offence is a concealed one. He who has concealed it [&c.; the penalty is the same as in section 1, paragraph 1].

‘Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a *Samghâdisesa* offence, and as touching that *Samghâdisesa* offence they are of opinion that it is a *Samghâdisesa* offence. They set out, intending to tell (the *Samgha* of it). On the way there springs up in one of them a desire to conceal it; and during the first watch of the night he conceals it, and during the second watch of the night he conceals it, and during the third watch of the night he conceals it. After the sun has arisen the offence is a concealed one. He who has concealed it [&c.; the penalty is the same as before].’

‘Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a *Samghâdisesa* offence, and as touching that *Samghâdisesa* offence they are of opinion that it is a *Samghâdisesa* offence. They go out of their mind; and afterwards when they have recovered their senses one of them conceals, the other does not conceal it. He who has concealed it [&c.; the penalty is the same as before]¹.

‘Two Bhikkhus have been guilty of a *Samghâdisesa* offence. When the *Pâtimokkha* is being recited they say thus: “Now do we come to perceive it; for this rule they say has been handed down in the *Suttas*, is contained in the *Suttas*, and comes into recitation every half month.” As touching that *Samghâdisesa* offence, they (thus) come to be of

¹ It is probably to be understood that a like rule is to apply in the other similar cases mentioned in the last paragraph of chap. 32.

opinion that it is a *Samghâdisesa* offence. One of them conceals, the other does not conceal it. He who has concealed it [&c.; the penalty is the same as before].'

35.

1. 'And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu is guilty of a number of *Samghâdisesa* offences—definite, and not definite—of one designation, and of various designations—similar to each other, and dissimilar—connected with each other, and disconnected¹. He asks the *Samgha* for an inclusive probation on account of those offences². The *Samgha* imposes upon him an inclusive probation on account of those offences. He undergoing that probation is guilty meanwhile of a number of *Samghâdisesa* offences, definite ones, which he does not conceal. He asks the *Samgha* to throw him back on account of those intervening offences to the commencement (of his term of probation). The *Samgha* [does so] by a lawful proceeding that cannot be quashed³, and fit

¹ See chap. 33 for this list.

² In accordance with the rule laid down in chap. 28, which shows that by 'a Bhikkhu' must be understood 'a Bhikkhu who is under probation;' and the offences he has committed must have been concealed by him.

³ *Akuppa*. The technical term *kammaṃ kopeti* is not to revoke the valid decision of a *kamma* regularly held, but to show that the *kamma* by reason of some irregularity was no real *kamma*, and its whole proceedings therefore void. One may compare *akuppā me kēto-vimutti* spoken by the Buddha immediately after he had attained *Nirvāṇa* under the Bo Tree (*Ariya-pariyosāna Sutta* in H. O.'s 'Buddha,' p. 429) and the opposite idea in *Sutta Nipāta* IV, 3, 5.

for the occasion; and it also imposes a Mānatta upon him, but by an unlawful proceeding, and then by an unlawful proceeding rehabilitates him. That Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, is not purified from those offences.

‘And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu is guilty of a number of Samghādisesa offences—definite, and not definite—of one designation, and of various designations—similar to each other, and dissimilar—connected with each other, and disconnected. And he asks the Samgha for an inclusive probation on account of those offences. The Samgha imposes upon him an inclusive probation on account of those offences. He undergoing that probation is guilty meanwhile of a number of Samghādisesa offences, definite ones, which he does conceal. He asks the Samgha to throw him back on account of those intervening offences to the commencement (of his term of probation). The Samgha [does so] by a lawful proceeding that cannot be quashed, and fit for the occasion; and it also imposes upon him an inclusive probation by a lawful proceeding, and imposes upon him a Mānatta, but by an unlawful proceeding, and by an unlawful proceeding it rehabilitates him. That Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, is not purified from those offences.’

[The same decision is given if, of the intervening offences, all of which are definite, some have been concealed, and some not concealed.]

2. [The same if the intervening offences have been not definite and not concealed, or not definite and concealed, or all not definite but some concealed and some not concealed, or all not concealed but some definite and some not definite, or all concealed

but some definite and some not definite, or some definite and some not definite and some concealed and some not concealed.]

Here end the nine principal cases (which serve as a basis for the variations in the following chapter) in which a Bhikkhu is not purified (by undergoing a term of probation).

36.

1. [The same nine cases of the throwing back is carried by unlawful proceeding, though the Mānatta and the rehabilitation are by a lawful proceeding.]

2. ' And in case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu is guilty of a number of Samghādisesa offences—definite, and not definite—of one designation, and of various designations—similar to each other, and dissimilar—connected with each other, and disconnected¹. He asks the Samgha for an inclusive probation on account of those offences. The Samgha imposes upon him an additional probation on account of those offences. He undergoing that probation is guilty meanwhile of a number of Samghādisesa offences, definite ones, which he does conceal. He asks the Samgha to throw him back on account

¹ These offences must be understood to be offences committed while under probation, and concealed. See the note on chap. 35, § 1.

of those intervening offences to the commencement of his term of probation. The *Samgha* [does so] by an unlawful proceeding that is liable to be quashed, and unfit for the occasion; and it also imposes an inclusive probation upon him, but by an unlawful proceeding. He thinking, "I am undergoing that probation," is guilty meanwhile of a number of *Samghâdisesa* offences, definite ones, which he does conceal. When he has arrived at this condition he calls to mind the other offences committed while the first offences were being committed, and he calls to mind also the other offences committed while the latter offences were being committed.

'Then it occurs to him, "I have been guilty of a number of *Samghâdisesa* offences (&c., as in the whole of the section from the beginning to the end of the last paragraph, down to) and I called to mind also the other offences committed while the latter offences were being committed. Let me now ask the *Samgha* to throw me back on account of those offences committed while the former offences, and while the latter offences, were being committed, to the commencement of my term of probation, by a lawful proceeding that cannot be quashed, and is fit for the occasion; and let me ask for an inclusive probation to be imposed by a lawful proceeding, and for a *Mânatta* to be imposed by a lawful proceeding, and then for rehabilitation by a lawful proceeding."

'And he asks the *Samgha* [accordingly], and the *Samgha* [does so]. That *Bhikkhu*, O *Bhikkhus*, is purified from those offences.'

[The same if some of the offences in each case have been concealed and some not concealed.]

3, 4. [The Bhikkhu is not purified from such intervening and remembered offences as are specified in the last section, if the *Samgha* has proceeded, as in the first section of this chapter, by an unlawful proceeding.]

Here ends the Third Khandhaka, on the
Accumulation of Offences.

NOTE ON ABHIHATTHUM.

In the 7th Nissaggiya, in the 34th Pākittiya, and in the 36th Pākittiya there occurs the phrase *abhiha//hum pavāreyya*, regarding the correct translation of which, as will be seen from the note on the first passage, we were in doubt. The connection is always 'if A should offer B,' &c.; and the only difficulty is the force of the word *abhiha//hum* which precedes the 'should offer,' and in some way qualifies it. In all three passages the Old Commentary preserved in the Sutta-Vibhaṅga explains the two words *abhiha//hum pavāreyya* by 'Take just as much as you want' (*yāvatakam ikkhasi tāvatakam gaṇhāhi*), which does not solve the difficulty. On the following words of the third passage, however, the Old Commentary (see H. O., 'Vinaya Pitakam,' vol. iv, p. 84) uses the word *abhiharati* in its usual sense of 'he brings up to, offers to, hands over to,' as practically equivalent to *abhiha//hum pavāreti*; and Buddhaghosa, in the Samanta Pāsādikā on the 7th Nissaggiya, uses *abhiharitvā* as directly equivalent to *abhiha//hum*.

Now in a passage quoted from the Thera-gāthā in H. O.'s 'Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, und seine Gemeinde' (p. 425, note 1), *nikkhamitumna* occurs as the gerund of *nikkhamati* instead of *nikkhamitvāna*. The existence in Prākṛit of corresponding gerunds in -tu, -tum for -tvā, and in -tūna, -tuāna for -tvāna, is laid down in Hemakandra II, 146 (Pischel, vol. i, p. 62). And Professor Weber has given corresponding forms (*āha//tu, ka//tu, &c.*) from the Gain dialect in his Bhagavatī I, p. 433.

What we have in the phrase in question is therefore simply a gerund in -tum, and the two words taken together mean, 'if A should lay before and offer to B,' &c. The thing offered in one case is robes, in the other two cases food; and *abhiharati* is the usual word in Pāli for serving food, laying it before another person. Compare *thāli-pāka-satāni abhihari* at Gātaka I, 186; and the phrase *bhattābhihāro abhihāriyittha* constantly repeated in the Mahā-sudassana Sutta (Rh. D., 'Buddhist Suttas,' in the last paragraph of chap. II, §§ 12, 29, 31, 33, 37).

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	k
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𐬖	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	kh
3 Media	g	.	.	ग	𐬔	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	.
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𐬕	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	.
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	𐬖	.	.	.	.	.	.
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	.	.	ङ	{ 𐬕 (ng) 𐬕 (n) 𐬕 (h)	.	.	.	.	.
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	ह	.	.	.	.	.	h, hs
8 " lenis	,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
11 " asper fricatus	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
12 " lenis fricatus	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	k
14 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𐬖	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	kh
15 Media	g	.	.	ग	𐬔	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	.
16 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𐬕	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	.
17 " Nasalis	h	.	.	ह	𐬕	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	.

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	𐬨	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(ḡ)								
20 " lenis		(ḡ)								
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑	𐬑		
22 " lenis assibilatus		z								z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th			थ	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	ת	th
25 " assibilata			TH							
26 Media	d			ड	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖		
27 " aspirata	dh									
28 " assibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l				𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l								
32 " mollis 2			L							
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	ש	s
34 " asper 2			S							
35 " lenis	z								ז	z
36 " asperimus 1			Z (z)							
37 " asperimus 2			Z (z)						ז	zh

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	o									ǎ
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ë									..
3 " labialis	ö									..
4 Gutturalis brevis	a					fin.	ـ	ا	א	a
5 " longa	ā	(a)				init.	ـ	ا	א	ā
6 Palatalis brevis	i									i
7 " longa	ī	(i)								ī
8 Dentalis brevis	ê									..
9 " longa	ē									..
10 Lingualis brevis	ri									..
11 " longa	rī									..
12 Labialis brevis	u									..
13 " longa	ū	(u)								u
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e									û
15 " longa	é (ai)	(e)								e
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	âi	(ai)								ê
17 " "	ei (éi)									ei, éi
18 " "	oi (öu)									..
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o									o
20 " longa	ô (au)	(o)								..
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	âu	(au)								âu
22 " "	eu (ëu)									..
23 " "	ou (öu)									..
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä									..
25 Palatalis fracta	ï									..
26 Labialis fracta	ü									..
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö									ü



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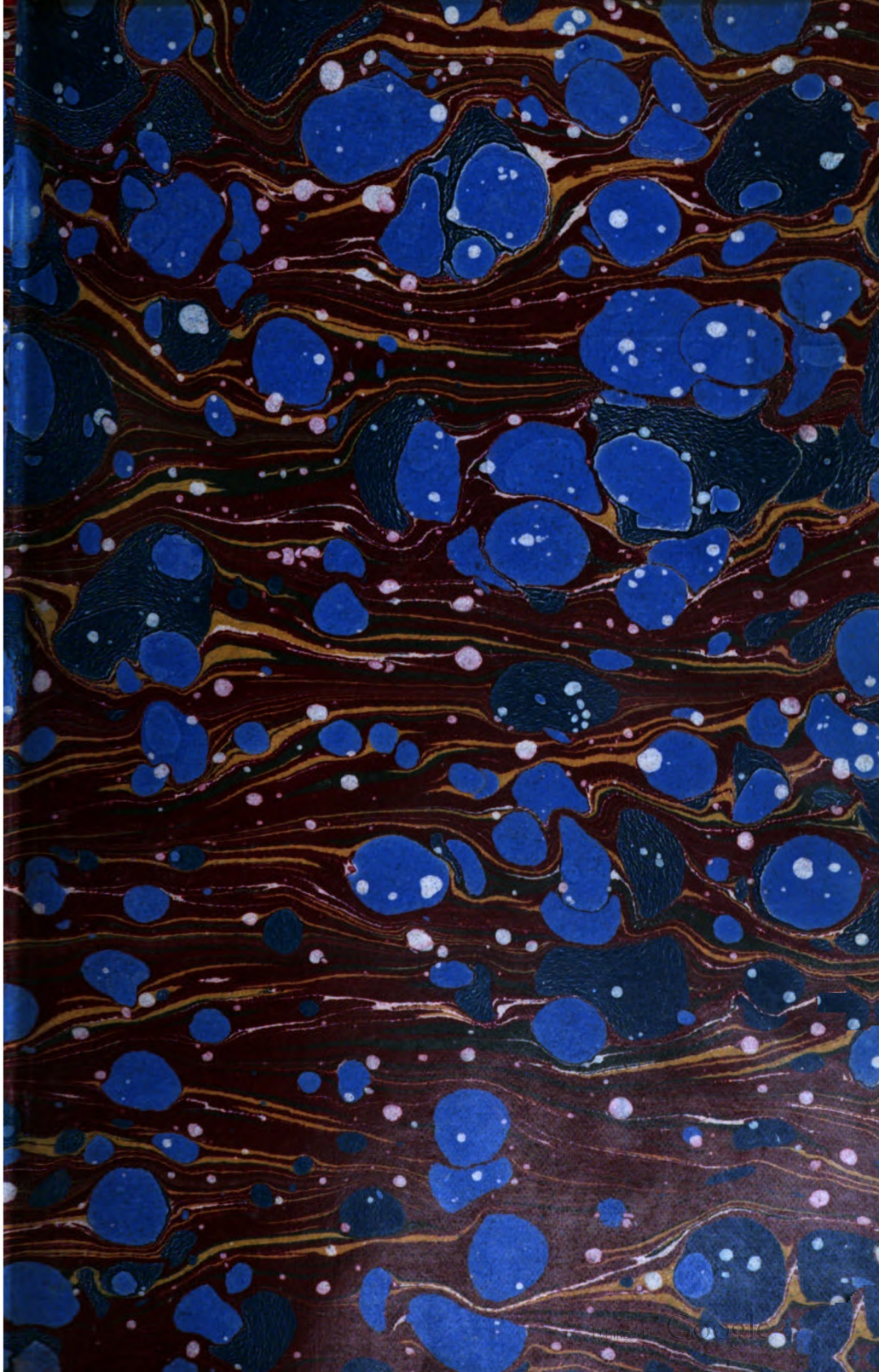
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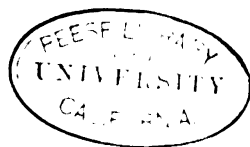
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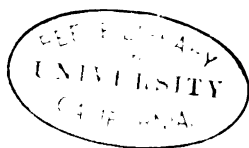
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1.

VINAYA TEXTS

TRANSLATED FROM THE PĀLI

BY

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS

AND

HERMANN OLDENBERG

PART III

THE KULLAVAGGA, IV—XII



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KULLAVAGGA.

FOURTH KHANDHAKA.

THE SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES AMONG THE FRATERNITY.

1.

1. Now at that time the Blessed Buddha was dwelling at Sāvatti, in the Ārāma of Anāthapindika. And at that time the *Khābbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to carry out the formal Acts—the *Tagganiya*, and the *Nissaya*, and the *Pabbāganiya*, and the *Patissāraṇiya*, and the *Ukkhepaniya*—against Bhikkhus who were not present.

Then those Bhikkhus who were modest were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, 'How can the *Khābbaggiya* Bhikkhus [act thus]?' And those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say, that the *Khābbaggiya* Bhikkhus carry out the (aforesaid)¹ formal Acts against Bhikkhus who are not present?'

'It is true, Lord!'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying, 'This is improper (&c., as in I, 1, 2, down to the end).'

And when he had thus rebuked them, and had

¹ The words above are repeated.

delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said : ' The formal Acts, O Bhikkhus, the Tagganiya-, the Nissaya-, the Pabbāganiya-, the Patissāraṇiya-, and the Ukkhepaniya-kammās, ought not to be carried out against Bhikkhus who are not present. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa offence.'

2.

1. The single Bhikkhu who speaks not in accordance with the right, the many who speak not in accordance with the right, the Saṃgha which speaks not in accordance with the right. The single Bhikkhu who speaks in accordance with the right, the many who speak in accordance with the right, the Saṃgha which speaks in accordance with the right¹.

Now (it may happen that) the one Bhikkhu who speaks not in accordance with the right may point out (the right course) to a single Bhikkhu who speaks in accordance with the right, or gives him to understand what it is², or urges him to see or consider the matter in that light³, or teaches him, or

¹ This short enumeration of the different categories occurring in the subsequent paragraphs is quite in the style of the Abhidhamma texts, in which such lists are accustomed to be called *mâtikâ*; compare the expression *mâtikâ-dharo* as applied to a learned Bhikkhu in the stock phrase at Mahāvagga X, 2, 1; Kullavagga I, 11; IV, 14, 25, &c.

² The Samanta Pāsādikā here says: *nigghāpetīti yathā so tam attham nigghāyati oloketi evam karoti*.

³ *Pekkhethi anupekkhetīti yathā so tam attham pekkhati k' eva punappunañ ka pekkhati evam karoti*. (Samanta Pāsādikā.)

instructs him, saying, 'This is the Dhamma, this the Vinaya, this the teaching of the Master. Accept this, and approve this.' If the dispute should be thus settled, it is settled contrary to the Dhamma, and with a mere counterfeit of the Vinaya rule of procedure (that cases of dispute must be settled before a duly constituted meeting of the *Samgha*, and in the presence of the accused person)¹.

[And in like manner, if he instruct the many, or the *Samgha*, who speak according to the right;—or if the many or the *Samgha* who speak not according to the right instruct the one, or the many, or the *Samgha* who speak according to the right;—then the dispute is settled contrary to the Dhamma (&c., as before).]

End of the nine cases in which the wrong
side decides.

3.

[This chapter is the contrary of the last; the cases put being those in which the three last members of

¹ *Sammukhâ-vinaya-paṭirûpakena*. The rule of procedure, called *Sammukhâ-vinaya*, hereafter rendered 'Proceeding in Presence,' is one of the seven modes of settling disputes already referred to in the closing chapter of the *Pāṭimokkha* ('Vinaya Texts,' vol. i, p. 68), and is more fully described below in *Kullavagga* IV, 14, 16, and following sections.

It will be seen below, from §§ IV, 14, 27–30, that it is involved in, or rather is supposed to accompany, each of the other Proceedings mentioned in this chapter.

the *mâtikâ* in the first paragraph of chapter 2 instruct, &c., the three first members.]

End of the nine cases in which the right
side decides.

4¹.

1. Now at that time the Blessed Buddha was staying at Râgagaha, in the Kalandaka Nivâpa, in the Bamboo Grove.

Now at that time the venerable Dabba the Mallian, who had realised Arahatsip when he was seven years old, had entered into possession of every (spiritual gift) which can be acquired by a disciple; there was nothing left that he ought still to do, nothing left that he ought to gather up of the fruit of his past labour². And when the venerable Dabba the Mallian had retired into solitude, and was sunk in thought, the following consideration presented itself to his mind: 'Arahatsip had I

¹ The whole of the following story of Dabba down to the end of section 9 (except the last sentence) recurs in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* as the Introductory Story to the Eighth *Samghâdisesa*. The *Samanta Pâsâdikâ* has therefore no commentary upon it here, and the few extracts that we give from it are taken from the notes of that work on the corresponding passage in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*. The stupidity of Udâyi, who once supplanted Dabba the Mallian in the performance of his duty as *bhattuddesaka*, forms the burthen of the Introductory Story to the *Gâtaka* on 'the Measure of Rice' (No. 5 in the *Gâtaka* book; 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 172 and following).

² On this phrase compare *Mahâvagga* V, 1, 21, and the verses at V, 1, 27.

acquired when I was seven years old. I have gained everything that a learner can reach to. There is nothing further left for me to do, nothing to gather up of the fruit of that which I have done. What service is it possible for me to render to the *Samgha*?' And it occurred to the venerable Dabba the Mallian: 'It would be a good thing for me to regulate the lodging-places for the *Samgha*, and to apportion the rations of food.'

2. And when, at eventide, the venerable Dabba the Mallian had arisen from his meditations, he went to the place where the Blessed One was; and when he had come there he saluted the Blessed One, and took his seat on one side; and when he was so seated the venerable Dabba the Mallian spake thus to the Blessed One:

'When I had retired, Lord, into solitude and was sunk in thought, the following consideration presented itself to my mind (&c., as before, down to) It would be a good thing for me to regulate the lodging-places for the *Samgha*, and to apportion the rations of food. I desire, Lord, [so to do].'

'Very good, Dabba. Do you then regulate the lodging-places for the *Samgha*, and apportion the rations of food!'

'It is well, Lord,' said the venerable Dabba the Mallian, accepting the word of the Blessed One.

3. And the Blessed One on that occasion and in that connection, when he had delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said:

'Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, appoint Dabba the Mallian as the regulator of lodging-places, and as the apportioner of rations. And thus, O Bhikkhus, should the appointment be made.'

‘First Dabba should be asked (whether he is willing to undertake the office). When he has been asked, some able and discreet Bhikkhu should lay the resolution before the *Samgha*, saying,

“Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me.

“If it be convenient to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* appoint Dabba the Mallian as regulator of lodging-places, and as apportioner of rations.

“This is the resolution (*ñatti*).

“Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me.

“The *Samgha* appoints the venerable Dabba the Mallian as regulator of lodging-places, and as apportioner of rations. Whosoever of the venerable ones agrees that Dabba should be so appointed, let him remain silent; whosoever does not agree, let him speak. The venerable Dabba is appointed by the *Samgha* as regulator of the lodging-places, and as apportioner of rations. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”’

4. And the venerable Dabba the Mallian, being so chosen, appointed one lodging-place in the same place for the Bhikkhus who belonged to the same division. For those Bhikkhus who were repeaters of the Suttantas he appointed a lodging-place together, thinking, ‘They will be able to chant over the Suttantas to one another.’ For those Bhikkhus who were in charge of the Vinaya he appointed a lodging-place together, thinking, ‘They will be able to discuss the Vinaya one with another.’ For those Bhikkhus who were preachers of the Dhamma he appointed a lodging-place together, thinking, ‘They will be able to talk over the Dhamma one with another.’ For those Bhikkhus who were given to

meditation ¹ he appointed one lodging-place together, thinking, 'They will not disturb one another.' For those Bhikkhus who were wise in worldly lore, and abounding in bodily vigour ², he appointed one lodging-place together, thinking, 'These venerable ones, too, will thus remain settled according to their pleasure.' And for such Bhikkhus as came in late, for them he caught fire ³, and by the light of the flame thereof he pointed out to them a lodging-place.

So much so ⁴ that Bhikkhus of set purpose would come in late, thinking, 'We shall thus behold the power of the Iddhi of the venerable Dabba the Mallian.' And they went up to the venerable Dabba the Mallian, and said: 'Appoint us, O venerable Dabba, a lodging-place.'

And to them the venerable Dabba the Mallian would speak thus: 'Where do the venerable ones desire to rest? Where shall I appoint it?'

And they of set purpose would designate some place afar, saying, 'May the venerable Dabba appoint us a lodging-place on the Vulture's Peak; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging-place at the Robber's Cliff; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging-place at the Black Rock on the Isigili Passa; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging on the Vebhâra Passa; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging-place in the Sattapanni Cave; may the

¹ *Ghâyino* possibly used with the technical connotation of being addicted to the practice of the Four *Ghâna* meditations; but compare *Mahāvagga* I, 1, 3, 5, 7.

² See the comment as quoted by H. O.

³ Compare the use of *tegodhâtum samâpaggitvâ* at *Mahāvagga* I, 15, 4.

⁴ Compare *api ssu* at *Kullavagga* I, 9, 1.

venerable one appoint us a lodging-place in the mountain cave of the Snake's Pool in Sîta's Wood; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging-place in the Gomata Grotto; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging-place in the cave of the Tinduka Tree; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging-place at the Tapoda Ghât; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging-place in the Tapoda Ârâma; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging-place in Gtvaka's Mango Grove; may the venerable one appoint us a lodging-place in the deer-park at Maddakukki.

And the venerable Dabba the Mallian would burst into flame, and walk on in front of them with his finger burning, and they by the light thereof would follow close upon the venerable Dabba the Mallian. And the venerable Dabba the Mallian would appoint them a lodging-place, saying, 'This is the couch, and this the stool, and this the mat, and this the pillow, and this the privy place, and this the drinking-water¹, and this the water for washing, and this the staff², and this the form of (the result of) the consultation of the Samgha³, that at such and such a time are you to enter thereon, and at such and such a time are you to depart therefrom⁴.' And when the

¹ That *paribhoganiyam* does not mean drinking-water, as Childers renders it, is clear from VIII, 1, 2, where it is implied that it is to be used for washing feet. Our translation of *Mahāvagga* II, 20, 5 should be corrected accordingly.

² Compare below, VIII, 6, 3.

³ *Katika-saṃhānam*. Compare *Gâtaka* I, 81, and *Mahāvagga* VIII, 32, and *Kullavagga* VIII, 1, 2.

⁴ That this is the correct rendering of this otherwise doubtful

venerable Dabba the Mallian had thus appointed unto them their lodging-place, he would return back again to the Bamboo Grove.

5. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka¹ had been but recently received into the *Samgha*, and were wanting in merit, and such among the lodging-places appertaining to the *Samgha* as were inferior fell to their lot, and the inferior rations².

Now at that time the people of Râgagaha were desirous of presenting to the Thera Bhikkhus a wishing-gift³, to wit, ghee and oil and dainty bits⁴; while to the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka they used to give an ordinary gift according to their ability, to wit, scraps of food and sour gruel with it⁵.

passage is clear from the closing words of VIII, 1, 2, where most of these phrases recur. In the text, for the last word *nikkhi-pitabbam* read *nikkhamitabbam*, as pointed out in the note at p. 363 of the edition of the text.

¹ These were two of the six leaders of the notorious *Khabbaggiya Bhikkhus*.

² Compare the 22nd *Nissaggiya*.

³ *Abhisamkhârikam*; that is, a gift by the giving of which the donor expressly wished that a particular result (as, for instance, that the donor should be re-born as a king or queen, or should enter the paths, or have opportunity to hear a Buddha preach) should be brought about by the normal effect of that good act in a future birth. There are not a few instances of such wishes, and of their fulfilment, recorded in various parts of the sacred literature.

⁴ *Uttaribhaṅgam*. See the passages quoted in the note on *Mahāvagga* VI, 14, 3. These three things are also mentioned together at VIII, 4, 4.

⁵ These expressions recur at *Gâtaka* I, 228. The *Samanta Pâsâdikâ* says merely *kaṇḍâgakan ti sakuntaka-bhattam*. *Bilaṅga-dutiyan ti kaṇḍika-dutiyaṃ*.

When they had returned from their receipt of alms, and had eaten their meal, they asked the Thera Bhikkhus, 'What did you get, Sirs, at the place of alms; what did you get?'

Some of the Theras answered, 'We had ghee, Sirs; we had oil; we had dainty bits.'

The Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka replied: 'We got nothing at all, Sirs; just an ordinary gift such as they could manage, scraps of food, and sour gruel with it.'

6. Now at that time a certain householder, possessed of good food¹, used to give a perpetual alms to the *Samgha*, a meal for four Bhikkhus. He with his wife and children used to stand at the place of alms and serve; and offer to some Bhikkhus boiled rice, and to some congey, and to some oil, and to some dainty bits.

Now at that time the meal for the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka had been fixed for the morrow at the house of this prosperous householder. And the prosperous householder went to the *Ârâma* for some business or other, and went up to the place where the venerable Dabba the Mallian was. And when he had come there, he saluted the venerable Dabba the Mallian, and took his seat on one side. And him so seated did the venerable Dabba instruct, and arouse, and gladden, and incite with religious discourse.

And when the prosperous householder had thus been instructed, and aroused, and gladdened, and incited by the venerable Dabba the Mallian with

¹ The *Samanta Pāsādikā* says simply *kalyāṇam bhattam assā ti kalyāṇa-bhattiko*.

religious discourse, he said to the venerable Dabba the Mallian: 'For whom, Sir, has the meal been appointed to-morrow at our house?'

'The meal has been appointed, my friend, at your house to-morrow for those Bhikkhus who are followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka.'

Then the prosperous householder was ill-pleased, thinking, 'How can bad Bhikkhus enjoy themselves at our house?' And going home he gave command to the slave-girl: 'For those who come to-morrow for the meal, spread out the mats in the entrance hall¹, and serve them with scraps of food, and with sour gruel with it!'

'Even so, Sir!' said the slave-girl, accepting the word of the householder.

7. Then the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka spake one to another: 'Yesterday a meal has been appointed for us at the house of the prosperous householder. To-morrow he, with his wife and children, will attend upon us at the place of alms, and serve us. And he will offer to some of us boiled rice, and to some congey, and to some oil, and to some dainty bits.' And through joy thereat they slept uneasily that night.

Then the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka, having robed themselves in the early morning, went duly bowled and robed to the dwelling-place of the prosperous householder. And that slave-girl saw the Bhikkhus who were followers

¹ *Koṭṭhake*, which means the battlemented gateway which formed the entrance to an important house; and in which there was a room. See *Gâtaka* I, 227.

of Mettiya and Bhummagaka approaching from afar; and spreading out the mats in the entrance hall, she said to them, 'Be seated, Sirs.'

And the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka thought: 'For a certainty the meal cannot yet be ready, since we are told to take our seats in the entrance.'

Then the slave-girl coming up with scraps of food, and sour gruel with it, said to them, 'Eat, Sirs!'

'We, sister, are of those for whom perpetual meals are provided.'

'I know, Sirs, that you are so. But only yesterday I received command from the householder that for them who should come to-morrow for the meal I was to spread out the mats in the entrance hall, and serve them with scraps of food, and some gruel with it. Eat, Sirs!'

Then the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka thought: 'It was yesterday that the householder, the prosperous one, came to the Ârâma to visit Dabba the Mallian. For a certainty the householder must have been set against us by Dabba the Mallian.' And through sorrow thereat they ate uneasily. And the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka, when they had finished their meal, returned from the receipt of alms, went to the Ârâma, and laid aside their bowls and their robes, and sat down outside the porch of the Ârâma, squatting against their waist cloths¹,

¹ *Samghâsi-pallatthikâya*. There is a misprint in the text ('ttikâya). On this curious expression, see below, V, 28, 2.

silent, and ashamed, with fallen hearts¹, and sunken faces, moody, and bewildered².

8. Now the Bhikkhuni Mettiyā came up to the place where the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka were: and when she had come there she said to them: 'My salutation to you, Sirs³!'

When she had so said the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka did not speak to her. So a second time she said to them: 'My salutation to you, Sirs!' and they did not speak. And a third time she said to them: 'My salutation to you, Sirs!' Still the third time the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka did not speak. And she said: 'Wherein have I offended you, Sirs? Wherefore do you not speak to me?'

'Are you then so indifferent⁴, sister, when we are tormented by Dabba the Mallian?'

'But what can I do, Sirs?'

¹ Pattakkhandhā, which the Samanta Pāsādikā explains by patitakkhandhā. Khandhā here seems to mean 'faculties.' Compare the use of Dhammā in a similar connection at Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta II, 32 = Mahāvagga V, 13, 9; and see Buddhaghosa's commentary on that passage, quoted by Rh. D. in 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,' p. 36.

² Appaṭibhāṇā. Paṭibhāṇam is the rapid suggestion of an idea in a case of doubt or difficulty, an illumination; so that paṭibhāṇako, the man of ready wit, may be compared with upāyākusalo, the man fertile in resource. 'Absent-minded' would be an incorrect rendering; they had no idea what to think or do, and the appearance of the nun on the scene (in the next paragraph) supplied the want. Till then they hesitated, drifted.

³ The following narrative, down to § 9, is repeated almost word for word in V, 20, only that the person there persuaded to bring the false accusation is different.

⁴ Aggahupekkhati. Compare Gātaka I, 147.

‘If you like, sister, you could this very day make the Blessed One expel the venerable Dabba the Mallian.’

‘But what shall I do, Sirs? What is it that it is in my power to do?’

‘Come now, sister; do you go to the place where the Blessed One is, and when you have come there say as follows: “This, Lord, is neither fit nor proper that the very quarter of the heavens which should be safe, secure, and free from danger, that from that very quarter should come danger, calamity, and distress—that where one might expect a calm, one should meet a gale. Methinks the very water has taken fire. I have been defiled, Lord, by Dabba the Mallian!”’

‘Very well, Sirs!’ said the Bhikkhuni Mettiyā, accepting the word of the followers of Mettiyā and Bhummagāka. And she went to the Blessed One [and spake even as she had been directed].

9. Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Saṃgha, and asked the venerable Dabba the Mallian:

‘Are you conscious¹, Dabba, of having done such a thing as this Bhikkhuni says?’

‘Even as my Lord, the Blessed One, knows me.’ [And a second and a third time the Blessed One asked the same question, and received the same reply.]

¹ Literally, ‘Do you recollect?’ But it is quite clear from the technical words at the close of this section that the verb *sarati* had already acquired the secondary meaning ‘to be conscious of.’ The whole story is peculiarly valuable as illustrating the growth of the connotation of the verb and its allied meanings, and indirectly the origin and growth of the idea of ‘conscience’ which has played so great a part in theological and ethical speculation.

Then said the Blessed One: 'The Dabbas, O Dabba, do not thus repudiate¹. If you have done it, say so. If you have not done it, say you have not.'

'Since I was born, Lord, I cannot call to mind² that I have practised sexual intercourse even in a dream, much less when I was awake!'

And the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'Expel then, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhuni Mettiyâ, and examine those Bhikkhus about it.' And so saying he rose from his seat and entered into the Vihâra.

Then those Bhikkhus expelled the Bhikkhuni Mettiyâ. But the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka said to those Bhikkhus: 'Do not, Sirs, expel the Bhikkhuni Mettiyâ. She has not committed any offence. She has been set on by us with angry and bitter intentions of causing his fall.'

'What then, Sirs? is it you who are thus harassing the venerable Dabba the Mallian with a groundless charge and breach of morality?'

'That is true, Sirs.'

Then those Bhikkhus who were moderate were indignant and annoyed and complained, saying, 'How can these Bhikkhus the followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka harass the venerable Dabba the Mallian with a groundless charge of breach of

¹ That is, 'Men of character and standing such as yours, O Dabba, are not in the habit of repudiating a charge in so indirect a manner by adverting merely to their standing and known character.'

² Here the word used is abhigânâmi.

morality?' And they told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Is this true, O Bhikkhus?'

'It is true, Lord.'

Then he rebuked them, and when he had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said:

'Let then the *Samgha* grant to Dabba the Mallian, whose conscience in respect of this matter is quite clear, the Proceeding for the consciously innocent¹.

10. 'And thus, O Bhikkhus, is it to be granted.

'Let that Dabba the Mallian go before the *Samgha*, and having arranged his robe over one shoulder, let him bow down at the feet of the senior Bhikkhus, and crouching down², let him stretch

¹ Dabbassa sati-vepulla-ppattassa sati-vinayam detu. The explanation of the compound sati-vepulla-ppatto given by Childers, though it rests on so good an authority as that of *Vigesiṃha* Mudaliar, cannot be right. He makes it mean 'a man of great intellectual development.' But sati must here refer to the fact that Dabba has been formally called upon to remember (*sârito*) whether he did or did not commit the offence. And though the exact sense of the compound is subject to some doubt, the general sense of the clause must be very much as we have conjecturally rendered it. On this formal appeal to the conscience, or memory (*sati*), of a Bhikkhu charged with an offence, or supposed to have offended, see *Kullavagga* I, 2, and 5 at the end; and X, 20.

² *Ukku/ikam nisīditvâ*. This verb does not mean 'to sit on the hams,' as rendered by Childers. The exact posture, unknown in Europe, is to crouch down on the feet (keeping both toes and heels on the ground) in such a way that the hams do not touch the ground, but come within an inch or two of it. Europeans find it very difficult to retain this posture for any length of time, but the natives of India find it easy, and it is regarded in the *Piṭakas* as a posture of humility.

forth his hands with the palms joined together, and let him say, "These Bhikkhus, Sirs, the followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka, are harassing me by a groundless charge of breach of morality. But I, Sirs, in respect thereof have a clear conscience, and I ask the *Samgha* for the acquittal to be accorded to those who are conscious of innocence." Then some able and discreet Bhikkhu is thus to lay the resolution (*ñatti*) before the *Samgha*. "Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. These Bhikkhus, Sirs, the followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka, are harassing the venerable Dabba the Mallian with a groundless charge of a breach of morality, and the venerable Dabba the Mallian has in respect thereof a conscience that is clear, and asks the *Samgha* for the acquittal of those who are conscious of innocence. If the time is convenient to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* accord to the venerable Dabba the Mallian the acquittal of those who are conscious of innocence. This is the resolution. Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. These Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) asks the *Samgha* for the acquittal of those who are conscious of innocence. The *Samgha* accords to the venerable Dabba the Mallian the acquittal of those who are consciously innocent. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the grant to Dabba the Mallian of the acquittal of those who are conscious of innocence, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. And a second time I say the same thing. And a third time I say the same thing. Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. These Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) let him speak. The acquittal of those who are conscious of innocence has been

granted by the *Samgha* to Dabba the Mallian. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand¹.”

11. ‘There are five things which make a grant of acquittal to those who are conscious of innocence to be according to law. The Bhikkhu must be innocent and without offence, others must have censured him, he must ask the *Samgha* for acquittal as being conscious of innocence, the *Samgha* must grant it, the *Samgha* must be duly held and duly constituted. These, O Bhikkhus, are the five things which make a grant of the acquittal of those who are conscious of innocence to be according to law.’

5².

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhu Gagga was insane and out of his mind; and by him, when so insane and out of his mind, many things unworthy of a *samāna* had been committed, as well in speech as in act³. The Bhikkhus warned the Bhikkhu Gagga of a fault so committed by him when insane and out of his mind, saying, ‘Does the venerable one call to

¹ This section is repeated below, chap. 14, § 27, with the necessary alterations for a general rule instead of a particular case.

² The particular decision given in this chapter for the particular case is elaborated in chap. 14, § 28 below into a general rule for every similar case.

³ Buddhaghosa explains this word as follows: ‘*Bhâsitaparikantan ti vâkâya bhâsitam kâyena parikkantam parikkametvâ katan ti attho.*’ The similar word *Parikantam*, which occurs in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, *Pârâgika* IV, 1, 2, in the sense of lacerated, is from the root *krînt*.

mind that he has committed such and such an offence?’

He replied, ‘I, my friends, was insane and out of my mind. (No doubt) many things unworthy of a *samāna*, as well in speech as in act, may have been committed by me when so insane and out of my mind. But I do not recollect it. It was done by me by reason of my insanity.’

But though they received that answer from him¹, they warned him still, saying, ‘Does the venerable one call to mind that he has committed such and such an offence?’

‘Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, “How can those Bhikkhus warn the Bhikkhu Gagga . . . saying . . . such and such an offence?” And when he replies, “I, my friends, was insane . . . by reason of my insanity”—how can those Bhikkhus still warn him, saying . . . of such and such an offence?’

And those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘Is it true, O Bhikkhus, that those Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to) such and such an offence?’

‘It is true, Lord.’

Then he rebuked them, and when he had delivered a religious discourse he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said:

‘Let then the *Samgha* grant to Gagga the

¹ *Nam* in the text is correct. It is identical with the *nam* so frequently found in Jain Prakrit; on which see Weber in his *Bhagavatī* ‘Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie,’ 1865, pp. 422 and foll.

Bhikkhu who is now sane the dispensation for those who are no longer insane.

2. 'And thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be granted.

'Let that Bhikkhu Gagga [here follow the words of the formal request, of the resolution, and of the grant by decision of the *Samgha*, exactly in the same way as in the last case, chapter 4, § 10].'

6.

1. 'There are three cases, O Bhikkhus, in which grants of dispensation for those who are no longer insane are not valid : and three cases in which such grants are valid.

'What are the three cases in which grants of dispensation for those who are no longer insane are not valid ?

'In the first place, O Bhikkhus, in case a Bhikkhu have committed an offence : and in respect thereof either the *Samgha*, or a number of Bhikkhus, or a single Bhikkhu, warn him, saying, "Does the venerable one call to mind that he has been guilty of such and such an offence?" And he, notwithstanding that he does remember it, says, "I do not remember, Sirs, that I have been guilty of such and such an offence." Then if the *Samgha* grant him the dispensation of those who are no longer insane, that grant is not valid.

'Again, O Bhikkhus, in case a Bhikkhu (&c., as before, down to) And he, notwithstanding that he does remember it, says, "I remember it, Sirs, but as if in a dream." Then if the *Samgha* grant him

the dispensation of those who are no longer insane, that grant is not valid.

‘Again, O Bhikkhus, in case a Bhikkhu have committed an offence, and in respect thereof either the Saṃgha, or a number of Bhikkhus, or a single Bhikkhu, warn him, saying, “Does the venerable one call to mind that he has been guilty of such and such an offence?” And he, though he is not insane, acts in the (deceptive) way of an insane person¹, saying, “I act so, and you act so likewise. It beseems me, and it likewise beseems you.” Then if the Saṃgha grant him the dispensation of those who are no longer insane, that grant is not valid.

‘These are the three cases, O Bhikkhus, in which a grant of the dispensation for those who are no longer insane is not valid.

2. ‘What are the three cases in which grants of dispensation for those who are no longer insane are valid ?

‘In the first place, O Bhikkhus, in case a Bhikkhu be insane and out of his mind ; and by him, when so insane and out of his mind, many things unworthy of a samāna have been committed, as well in speech as in act. And either the Saṃgha, or a number of Bhikkhus, or a single Bhikkhu, warns him in respect thereof, saying, “Does the venerable one call to mind that he has committed such and such an offence?” And he really not remembering it, answers, “I do not remember, Sirs, that I have been guilty of such and such an offence.” Then if the Saṃgha grants him the dispensation for those who are no longer insane, that grant is valid.

¹ Ummattakālayam karoti, on which Buddhaghosa says nothing. The word recurs in the following section.

‘Again, O Bhikkhus, in case a Bhikkhu be insane and out of his mind (&c., as before, down to) And he, not really remembering it, answers, “I remember it, Sirs, but as if in a dream.” Then if the *Samgha* grants him the dispensation for those who are no longer insane, that grant is valid.

‘Again, O Bhikkhus, in case a Bhikkhu be insane and out of his mind (&c., as before, down to) “Does the venerable one call to mind that he has been guilty of such and such an offence?” And he, being still insane, acts in the way of an insane person, saying, “I act so, and you act so likewise. It beseems me, and it likewise beseems you.” Then if the *Samgha* (afterwards) grant him the dispensation for those who are no longer insane, that grant is valid.

‘These are the three cases, O Bhikkhus, in which the grant of the dispensation for those who are no longer insane is valid.’

7.

1. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus carried out official acts against Bhikkhus who had not confessed themselves guilty—the *Tagganiya-kamma*, or the *Nissaya-kamma*, or the *Pabbāganiya-kamma*, or the *Paṭisāraṇiya-kamma*, or the *Ukkhepaniya-kamma*.

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, ‘How can the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus (&c., as before).’ And those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘Is it true, O Bhikkhus, that the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus do so?’

‘It is true, Lord.’

Then he rebuked them, and when he had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said:

‘No official act, O Bhikkhus,—whether the *Tagganiya-kamma*, or the *Nissaya-kamma*, or the *Pabbâganiya-kamma*, or the *Paṭisâraṇiya-kamma*, or the *Ukkhepaniya-kamma*,—is to be carried out against Bhikkhus who have not confessed themselves guilty¹. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa* offence.’

8.

1. ‘Now, O Bhikkhus, an official act carried out against a Bhikkhu who has confessed himself guilty is invalid as follows, and is valid as follows. And how does such an official act become invalid? In case a Bhikkhu have committed a *Pârâgika* offence, and in respect thereof either the *Samgha*, or a number of Bhikkhus, or a single Bhikkhu warns him, saying, “The venerable one has been guilty of a *Pârâgika*.” And he replies thus, “I have not, Sirs, been guilty of a *Pârâgika*. I have been guilty of a *Samghâdisesa*.” And in respect thereof the *Samgha* deals with him for a *Samghâdisesa*. Then that official act is invalid.’

¹ The mode in which such a confession ought to be made is set out in full in IV, 14, 30-34.

[And so also if on being warned of any one of the seven offences¹ he confesses himself to be guilty of any one of the offences different from the one charged, then the official act is invalid.]

2. 'And when, O Bhikkhus, is such an official act valid? In case a Bhikkhu have committed a Pârâgika offence, and in respect thereof the *Samgha*, or a number of Bhikkhus, or a single Bhikkhu warns him, saying, "The venerable one has been guilty of a Pârâgika." And he replies, "Yea, Sirs, I have been guilty of a Pârâgika." And in respect thereof the *Samgha* deals with him for a Pârâgika. Then that official act is valid².'

[And so for each of the other offences mentioned in § 1, the whole of § 2 is repeated.]

9³.

Now at that time the Bhikkhus in chapter (*Samgha*) assembled, since they became violent, quarrelsome, and disputatious, and kept on wounding one another with sharp words⁴, were unable

¹ The same, namely, as those in the list given at Mahāvagga IV, 16, 12, &c.

² In other words, if a Bhikkhu confesses an offence different from that with which he has been charged, the confession cannot be used against him even as regards a decision with respect to the offence confessed.

³ On this chapter, see further below, IV, 14, 16.

⁴ *Aññamaññam mukhaisattfhi vitudantâ viharanti*. Literally, 'with mouth-javelins.' Vitudati, and not vitûdati as Childers gives, is the right spelling. So Fausböll reads at *Gâtaka* II, 185, 186.

to settle the disputed question (that was brought before them).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

¹ 'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to settle such a dispute by the vote of the majority. A Bhikkhu who shall be possessed of five qualifications shall be appointed as taker of the voting tickets—one who does not walk in partiality, one who does not walk in malice, one who does not walk in folly, one who does not walk in fear², one who knows what (votes) have been taken and what have not been taken.

' And thus shall he be appointed.

' First the Bhikkhu is to be requested (whether he will undertake the office). Then some able and discreet Bhikkhu is to bring the matter before the *Samgha*, saying,

"Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* appoint a Bhikkhu of such and such a name as taker of the voting tickets.

" This is the motion (*ñatti*).

"Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. The *Samgha* appoints a Bhikkhu of such and such a name as taker of the tickets. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the Bhikkhu of such and such a name being appointed as taker of the

¹ From here to the end of the chapter recurs in IV, 14, 24.

² These are the qualifications always ascribed to one who rightly fills any judicial office, and are called the four *Agatis*. They are the especial attributes of a good king sitting as judge, and are mentioned elsewhere (*Samghâdisesa* XIII; *Mahāvagga* VIII, 5, 2; VIII, 6, 1; and below, VI, 11, 2) of other officials of the order with duties similar to those in the text.

tickets, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. The Bhikkhu of such and such a name is appointed by the *Samgha* as taker of the voting tickets. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.'"

10¹.

1. 'There are ten cases, O Bhikkhus, in which the taking of votes is invalid; and ten in which the taking of votes is valid.

'Which are the ten in which the taking of votes is invalid? When the matter in dispute is trivial²—when the case has not run its course (that is, when the necessary preliminaries of submission to arbitration have not been carried out³)—when regarding the matter in dispute the Bhikkhus have not formally remembered, or been formally called upon to remember, the offence⁴—when the taker of votes⁵ knows that those whose opinions are not in accordance with the law will be in the majority,

¹ On this chapter, see further below, IV, 14, 24-26.

² *Oramattakam*. Compare the English law maxim, *De minimis non curat lex*.

³ *Buddhaghosa* says, *Na ka gatigatan ti dve tayo âvâse na gatam, tattha tatth' eva vâ dvitikkhattum avinikkhitam*. See on these proceedings above.

⁴ *Buddhaghosa* says, *Na ka sarita-sâritan ti dvitikkhattum tehi bhikkhûhi sayam saritam va aññehi sâritam vâ na hoti*.

⁵ *Gânâtî ti salâkam gâhento gânâti*. (S. P.)

or probably¹ may be in the majority—when he knows that the voting will result in a schism in the *Samgha*—when he is in doubt whether the voting will result in a schism in the *Samgha*—when the votes are irregularly given²—when all do not vote equally³—and when they do not vote in accordance with the view (which they really hold). These are the ten cases in which the voting is invalid⁴.

2. 'And which are the ten cases in which the voting is valid?'

[The ten cases are precisely the reverse of the other ten.]

11.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhu Uvāḥa⁵, being examined in the midst of the *Samgha* with an offence, when he had denied then confessed it, when he had confessed it then denied it, made

¹ App eva nāma. That this phrase does not merely mean 'perhaps' is clear from its use in § 2.

² Adhammena gaṇhantī ti adhammavādino evaṃ mayam bahū bhavissāma ti dve dve salākāyo gaṇhanti. (S. P.)

³ On vaggā, here = vi + agga, compare our note on the 21st Pāṭiṭiya, and Kullavagga I, 2, 1. Buddhaghosa here says, Vaggā gaṇhantī ti dve dhammavādino ekaṃ dhammavādisalākāṃ gaṇhanti evaṃ dhammavādino na bahū bhavissantī ti maññamānā.

⁴ With this chapter the 26th section of chapter 14 should be compared, where very curious means are inculcated for avoiding some of the votes here stated to be invalid.

⁵ In the Burmese MSS. the name of this monk is written Upavāla.

counter-charges¹, and spoke lies which he knew to be such².

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, 'How can the Bhikkhu Uvâ/a do so?' And they told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say that the Bhikkhu [&c., as before].'

'It is true, Lord.'

Then he rebuked him, and when he had delivered a religious discourse he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'Then, O Bhikkhus, let the *Samgha* carry out the *Tassa-pâpiyyasikâ-kamma* (the Proceeding in the case of the obstinately wrong)³.'

2. 'And thus, O Bhikkhus, is it to be carried out. In the first place the Bhikkhu Uvâ/a must have been warned ; when he had been warned, he must have been called upon to remember (whether he has, or has not, consciously committed the offence) ; when he had been called upon to remember, he must have been caused (by being put on his trial with respect to the offence) to bring upon himself a new

¹ *Aññena aññam paṭikarati*. We follow Wijesimha Mudaliyar's interpretation of this phrase as given by Childers (s. v. *tassa-pâpiyyasikâ*).

² Chapter 14, section 29 below, is in fact an elaboration of this paragraph, giving instances of the kind of prevarication here intended to be referred to.

³ The exact meaning of the phrase is somewhat doubtful, owing to the ambiguity of the *tassa*. It should probably be analysed 'the proceeding against one who is more sinful (*pâpiyo*) than that (*tassa*) ;' that is, who adds sin to sin. Childers gives a long note on the Proceeding drawn by Wijesimha Mudaliyar from this chapter, but does not analyse the word.

offence (namely, of obstinacy or prevarication); when he has brought upon himself this new offence, some discreet and able Bhikkhu ought to lay the matter before the *Samgha*, saying,

“Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. This Bhikkhu *Uvāḷa*, being examined in the midst of the *Samgha* with an offence, when he has denied it then confesses it, when he has confessed it then denies it, makes counter-charges, and speaks lies which he knows to be such. If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* carry out the *Tassa-pāpiyyasikā-kamma* against the Bhikkhu *Uvāḷa*.

“This is the motion.

“Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. This Bhikkhu *Uvāḷa* (&c., as before). The *Samgha* carries out the *Tassa-pāpiyyasikā-kamma* against *Uvāḷa* the Bhikkhu. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the *Tassa-pāpiyyasikā-kamma* being carried out against *Uvāḷa* the Bhikkhu, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

“A second time I say the same thing. This Bhikkhu *Uvāḷa* (&c., as before, down to) let him speak. A third time I say the same thing (&c., as before, down to) let him speak.

“The *Tassa-pāpiyyasikā-kamma* has been carried out by the *Samgha* against *Uvāḷa* the Bhikkhu. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand¹.”

¹ This *Kammavâḥā* is precisely the same as is laid down in *Kullavagga* I, 1, 4, &c. in the case of all the other penal *Kamma*s.

12.

1. 'There are five things, O Bhikkhus, which are necessary to the valid carrying out of the Tassa-pâpiyyasikâ-kamma. To wit—he is impure, he is shameless—a censure has been set on foot against him¹—the Samgha carries out the Kamma—it carries it out lawfully, and in a full quorum.

2. 'There are three things, O Bhikkhus, by which, when a Tassa-pâpiyyasikâ-kamma is characterised, it is against the Dhamma, and against the Vinaya, and difficult to be settled; (that is to say), when it has not been carried out in a full assembly of properly qualified persons, according to law and justice, and in the presence of the litigant parties—when it has been carried out without the accused person having been heard—when it has been carried out without the accused person having confessed himself guilty.

'These are the three things, O Bhikkhus, by which, when a Tassa-pâpiyyasikâ-kamma is characterised, it is against the Dhamma, and against the Vinaya, and difficult to be settled.

'There are three things by which (and as in last paragraph) it is in accordance with the Dhamma, and in accordance with the Vinaya, and easy to be settled; (that is to say), when it has been [&c., the rest of this paragraph is the reverse of the last]².'

¹ Compare the use of anuvâdo in *Kullavagga* I, 5.

² These paragraphs exactly correspond to paragraphs at *Kullavagga* I, 2. It is probably merely owing to this repetition that it is here also prescribed that the accused person must confess

3. [This paragraph exactly corresponds to *Kullavagga* I, 4, paragraph 1, as to the three cases in which the *Samgha*, if it likes, may carry out the *Tassa-pâpiyyasikâ-kamma* against a *Bhikkhu*.]

4. [In this paragraph the 'right conduct' for a *Bhikkhu* who has been subjected to this *Kamma* is laid down precisely as in I, 5 for a *Bhikkhu* subjected to the *Tagganiya-kamma*.]

Then the *Samgha* carried out the *Tassa-pâpiyyasikâ-kamma* against *Uvâla* the *Bhikkhu*.

13¹.

1. Now at that time, while the *Bhikkhus* were continuing in quarrels, strifes, and disputes, they had been guilty of many things unworthy of a *Samaṇa*, as well in word as in deed, and it occurred to the *Bhikkhus*, 'Whilst we were continuing, &c. . . . we have been guilty, &c. . . . as well in word as in deed. If we now deal one with another for those offences, it may happen that that proceeding may result in harshness, in ill-feeling, in divisions. How now should we manage?'

And they told the matter to the Blessed One.

'In case, O *Bhikkhus*, whilst the *Bhikkhus* are continuing, &c. . . . they are guilty, &c. . . . as well in word as in deed. And it occurs to them, "Whilst we were continuing, &c. . . . we have been guilty, &c. . . . If we now deal, &c. . . . How now shall

himself guilty, as it must be evident from the Introductory Story, that he will not do so.

¹ The whole of this chapter recurs below, IV, 14, 33.

we manage?" I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to settle a matter of this kind by *Tinavattthâraka* (the Covering over as with grass)¹.

2. 'And thus, O Bhikkhus, is it to be settled. All are to meet together in one spot. When they have met together some able and discreet Bhikkhu is to bring the matter before the *Samgha*, saying,

"Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. While we were continuing, &c. . . . we have been guilty, &c. . . . as well in word as in deed. And it occurred to us (&c., down to) If we now deal one with another, &c. . . . it may result in harshness, in ill-feeling, in divisions. If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* settle this matter by the Covering over as with grass—except only as regards serious offences², and as regards those things in which the laity have been concerned."

'Then some discreet and able Bhikkhu among those Bhikkhus who belong to the one party is to bring the matter before his own party, saying,

"May the venerable ones hear me. While we were continuing, &c. . . . we have been guilty, &c. . . . as well in word as in deed. And it occurred to us, &c. . . . (down to) in divisions. If the time seems meet to you, venerable Sirs, I would confess in the midst of the *Samgha*, both on your behalf, venerable Sirs, and on my own behalf, both such offence as is yours, venerable Sirs, and such offence

¹ Buddhaghosa's commentary on this expression will be found in the notes to H. O.'s edition of the text, pp. 313, 314.

² Buddhaghosa (H. O. loc. cit.) explains this as meaning either *Pârâgika* or *Samghâdisesa* offences. So also he explains *Duṭṭhullâ âpatti* at Mahāvagga X, 5, 4.

as is mine own, to the end that it may be covered over as with grass, except only as regards serious offences, and as regards those things in which the laity have been concerned."

'And some discreet and able Bhikkhu among the Bhikkhus belonging to the other party is to bring the matter before his own party, saying, "May the venerable ones hear me [&c., as before in the last paragraph, down to the end]."

'Then the discreet and able Bhikkhu among the Bhikkhus belonging to the one party is to bring the matter before the *Samgha*, saying, "May the venerable *Samgha* hear me. While we (&c., as before, down to) in divisions. If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, I would confess¹ in the midst of the *Samgha*, both on behalf of these venerable ones and on my own behalf, both such offence as is theirs and such offence as is mine own, to the end that it may be covered over as with grass, except only as regards serious offences, and as regards those things in which the laity have been concerned. This is the motion (*ñatti*). May the venerable *Samgha* hear me. While we (&c., as before, down to) in divisions. I confess (&c., as before, down to) in which the laity have been concerned. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the confession of these our offences, to the end that they may so be covered over as with grass, except as before mentioned, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. These our offences are confessed in the midst of the *Samgha*, to the end that they may be covered over as with grass, except

¹ *Deseyyam*. Compare IV, 14, 33, at the end.

as before mentioned. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand."

'And the discreet and able Bhikkhu among the Bhikkhus belonging to the other party is to bring the matter before the *Samgha*, saying, "Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me (&c., as before in the last paragraph, down to the end)."

'Then thus, O Bhikkhus, those Bhikkhus are absolved of those offences, except as regards serious offences, and as regards those things in which the laity have been concerned, and except also as regards those who express their disapproval of the proceedings, or who are not present at them¹.'

14.

1. Now at that time Bhikkhus had disputes with Bhikkhus, and Bhikkhunts with Bhikkhus. And the Bhikkhu *Khanna*², forcing his way (into the apartments) of the Bhikkhunts³, took the part of the Bhikkhunts and disputed with the Bhikkhus.

¹ On these phrases Buddhaghosa has the following note :
Di//hâvikamman ti ye pana na me tam khamatî ti aññamaññâ di//hâvikammam karonti tehi vâ saddhim âpattim âpaggitvâ pi, tattha anâgatâ âgantvâ vâ khandam datvâ parivenâdisu nisinnâ, te âpattihi na vu//hahanti. This is more an exegesis on the rule than an explanation of the words *Di//hâvikammam /hapetvâ*, the exact meaning of which remains doubtful. The literal rendering would be 'except as regards the manifestation of opinion.'

² It was with reference to this conduct of *Khanna* that the Buddha is stated in the *Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta* VI, 4 to have imposed a penalty upon him. He is also mentioned above, I, 25-31, and below, XI, 1, 12-14.

³ Compare the 16th and 43rd *Pâṭṭiyas*. Buddhaghosa says here, *Bhikkhunīnam anupakhaggâ ti bhikkhunīnam anto-pavisitvâ*.

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were indignant, &c. . . . told the Blessed One, &c. . . . he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

2. 'There are, O Bhikkhus, the following four kinds of legal questions that require formal settlement by the *Samgha* ; (that is to say), legal questions arising out of disputes, legal questions arising out of censure, legal questions arising out of offences, legal questions arising out of business ¹.

'Among these, what is a legal question arising out of dispute ? This, O Bhikkhus, is when Bhikkhus dispute, saying, "This is Dhamma," or "This is not Dhamma," or "This is Vinaya," or "This is not Vinaya," or "This is taught and spoken by the Tathâgata," or "This is not taught nor spoken by the Tathâgata," or "This has been practised by the Tathâgata," or "This has not been practised by the Tathâgata," or "This has been ordained by the Tathâgata," or "This has not been ordained by the Tathâgata," or "This is an offence," or "This is not an offence," or "This is a slight offence," or "This is a grievous offence," or "This is an offence which can be done away," or "This is an offence which cannot be done away ²," or "This is a most grave offence," or "This is not a most grave

¹ The various ways of settling these four kinds of legal questions are recapitulated in §§ 27-34 of this chapter.

² *Sâvasesâ-anavasesâ-âpatti*. The *Parivâra* IX, 1, 10 says, *Yâ sâ âpatti anavasesâ sâ âpatti na katamena adhikarâna na katamamhi /hâne na katamena samathena sammati*. It is practically equivalent therefore to *Pârâgikâ*. Those offences which can be done away, but only by the *Samgha*, are called accordingly in the Buddhist Sanskrit *Samghâvâresha*, which corresponds to the Pâli *Samghâdisesa*. The translation and note at *Mahâvagga* X, 2, 4 should be altered accordingly.

offence." Whatsoever quarrel, strife, controversy, difference of opinion, contradiction, opposition, cantankerousness¹, or contention there may be on such a matter, this is called a legal question arising out of dispute.

'And among these, which is a legal question arising out of censure? This, O Bhikkhus, is when Bhikkhus charge a Bhikkhu with a fault of morality, or of conduct, or of opinion, or of means of livelihood. Whatsoever charge, censure, incrimination², admonition², candid opinion³, making of excuses⁴ for a person, or making fun of him, there may be, that is called a legal question arising out of censure.

'And among these, what is a legal question arising out of offence? The five groups of offences⁵ are subjects of legal questions of offences, and the seven groups of offences⁶ are subjects of legal questions of offence. This is what is called a legal question arising out of offence.

'And among these, what is a legal question of business? Whatsoever is to the *Samgha* a matter which ought to be done, an obligation, a matter for which leave ought to be formally asked, the pro-

¹ *Vipaṭṭatāya vohāro ti kitta-dukkhatthāya vohāro pharusa-vaṭṭanan ti attho* (S. P.).

² *Anullapanā anubhaṇanā ti ubhayam anuvadana-vevaṭṭana-mattam eva* (S. P.).

³ *Anusampavaṇkatā ti punappunam kāya-kittam vāṭṭhi tatth' eva sampavaṇkatā anuvadanabhāvo ti attho* (S. P.).

⁴ *Abbhussahanatā ti kasmā evam na upavadissāmi upavadiṣāmi yevā ti ussāham katvā anuvadanā* (S. P.).

⁵ That is to say, *Pārāgika*, *Samghādisesa*, *Pāṭittiya*, *Pāṭidesaniya*, and *Dukkata*, as below, in IV, 14, 14; IX, 3, 3.

⁶ That is to say, the five mentioned in the last note, and besides them, *Thullaṭṭaya* and *Dubbhāsita*.

posal of a resolution¹, the proceeding by *ñattidutiya-kamma*², or by *ñatti-katuttha-kamma*², that is called a legal question of business.

3. 'What is that which gives rise to a legal question of dispute? There are six causes of dispute that give rise to legal questions of dispute. And there are three causes of wrong-doing that give rise to legal questions of dispute, and three causes of right-doing that give rise to legal questions of dispute. And which are these six?

'In the first place, O Bhikkhus, there is the Bhikkhu who is angry, and who bears enmity in his heart. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, is such an angry man bearing enmity in his heart, he remains without reverence for, and without delight in the Teacher, the Dhamma, and the *Samgha*, and does not fulfil all the duties of a disciple. And whatsoever Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, remains without reverence for, and without delight in the Teacher, the Dhamma, and the *Samgha*, and does not fulfil all the duties of a disciple, he causes disputes to arise in the *Samgha*, and such a dispute becomes a cause

¹ *Apalokana-kamman ti-âdi pana tass' eva pabheda-vañanam. Tattha apalokana-kammam nâma sîma//hakam samgham so-dhetvâ khandârahânam khandam âharitvâ samaggassa anumatiyâ tikkhattum sâvetvâ kâtabba-kammam* (S. P.).

² See our note at Mahâvagga I, 28, 3. The Samanta Pâsâdikâ here says, *ñattidutiya-kammam pana apaloketvâ kattabbam pi atthi akattabbam pi atthi. Tattha sîmasammuti sîmasamûhananâ kathinadânam kathinubbhâro kû'avatthudesanâ vihâravatthudesanâ 'ti imâni kha kammâni garukâni apaloketvâ kâtum na va//ati, ñattidutiya-kammavâkam sâvetvâ 'va kâtabbâni, avasesâ terasa sammutiyo senâsanagâhakamataka (? patta) kîvaradânâti (°di° ?)-sammutiyo kâ 'ti evarûpâni lahukakammâni apaloketvâ pi kâtum va//anti.*

of woe, and of want, and of disaster to the great multitudes, of woe and of want to gods and men. If you, therefore, O Bhikkhus, perceive such a one, a root of disputes both internal and external, do you exert yourselves, O Bhikkhus, to put away from you so evil a person, the root of those disputes. If you perceive, O Bhikkhus, no such person, take pains lest any such evil root of disputes should thereafter arise among you. Thus will so evil a root of disputes be put away from you, and thus will no such evil person, the root of disputes, arise hereafter among you.

‘Again, O Bhikkhus, there is the Bhikkhu, who is a hypocrite¹, and who hides his faults; who is envious and jealous; who is crafty and treacherous; who has sinful desires and false beliefs; who is tarnished by love of worldly gain, devoted to getting and taking, for whom to renounce a thing is hard. Whatsoever Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, is thus a hypocrite, who hides his faults, he remains [&c., as before, the whole of the last paragraph down to the end being repeated in each of the cases here enumerated].

4. ‘And which are the three causes of wrong-doing which give rise to legal questions of dispute?’

‘Herein, O Bhikkhus, men of greedy mind are given to dispute, men of evil mind are given to dispute, men of foolish mind are given to dispute, saying, “This is Dhamma,” or “This is not Dhamma” [&c., as before, in § 2, down to] or “This is not a

¹ Palâsî; no doubt connected with the primary meaning of the word ‘leaf,’ as is also its use in the sense of ‘covering, lining,’ in eka-palâsikâ upâhanâ at Mahāvagga V, 1, 29. The expression forms the subject of Puggala II, 2. See also Gâtaka III, 259.

most grave offence." These are the three causes of wrong-doing which give rise to legal questions of dispute.

'And which are the three causes of right-doing which give rise to legal questions of dispute ?

'In the first place, O Bhikkhus, men not of greedy mind [&c., as in the last paragraph, inserting the word "not"].

5. 'And what is that, O Bhikkhus, which gives rise to legal questions of censure? There are six causes of censure that give rise to legal questions of censure. And there are three causes of wrong-doing that give rise to legal questions of censure. And there are three causes of right-doing that give rise to legal questions of censure. And the body gives rise to legal questions of censure, and speech gives rise to legal questions of censure.'

[The six are word for word the same as in the last section, reading 'censure' for 'dispute.']

'And which are the three causes of wrong-doing that give rise to legal questions of censure ?

'Herein, O Bhikkhus, men of greedy mind are given to censure, men of evil mind are given to censure, men of foolish mind are given to censure, accusing others of breaches of morality, or of behaviour, or of error in doctrine, or of adopting a wrong means of livelihood. These are the three causes of wrong-doing that give rise to legal questions of censure.'

[There follow the three causes of right-doing, reading 'men not of greedy mind,' &c., as before, end of § 4.]

'And how does the body give rise to legal questions of censure? In case a man be ill-favoured,

or ugly, or a dwarf¹, or diseased, or blind of one eye, or lame, or humpbacked, or crippled, people find fault with him on that account. This is how the body gives rise to legal questions of censure.

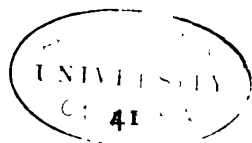
‘And how does speech give rise to legal questions of censure? In case a man have a bad voice, or be indistinct, or harsh in speech², then people find fault with him on that account. This is how speech gives rise to legal questions of censure.

6. ‘And what is it that gives rise to legal questions of offence? There are six origins of offence that give rise to legal questions of offence. There is an offence that originates in deed, but not in word nor in thought. There is an offence that originates in word, but not in deed nor in thought. There is an offence that originates in deed and in word, but not in thought. There is an offence that originates in deed and in thought, but not in word. There is an offence that originates in word and in thought, but not in deed. There is an offence that originates in deed and in word and in thought. These are the six (&c.)

7. ‘And what is that which gives rise to legal questions of business? There is one thing that gives rise to legal questions of business, that is to say, the *Samgha*.

¹ Buddhaghosa has no explanation of these terms here, but on *Anguttara Nikāya* III, 2, 3, where the whole list recurs, he says (as Dr. Morris is good enough to inform us) that *oko/imako* is equal to *lakun/ako*; and the same explanation is given by the commentary on *Puggala* IV, 19. Compare the use in English of ‘a mere dot of a man,’ in a similar sense.

² These three epithets of the voice are no doubt intended to be the opposites of the three in *Mahāvagga* V, 13, 9.



8. 'Legal questions of dispute. Right. Wrong. Undetermined'¹.

'A legal question arising out of dispute may be right, and it may be wrong, and it may be undetermined. Of these, which is the legal question arising out of dispute which is right ?

'In case, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhu of right mind discuss, saying, "This is the Dhamma," or "This is not the Dhamma" (&c., as before, in § 2, down to) or "This is not a most grave offence." Whatsoever quarrel, strife, contention, difference of opinion, contradiction, opposition, cantankerousness, or contention there may be in such a discussion is called a legal question arising out of dispute that is right.'

[And so when the Bhikkhus have a wrong mind, or an undetermined mind, the legal question arising out of such dispute is respectively a legal question arising out of dispute that is wrong or undetermined.]

9. 'Legal questions of censure. Right. Wrong. Undetermined.'

[It may be either of the three, according as the Bhikkhus censuring (as in § 5) have a right, wrong, or an undetermined mind. The form of the paragraph corresponds to § 8 throughout.]

10. 'Legal questions of offence. Right. Wrong. Undetermined.'

'There may be a legal question whether an offence is wrong, and there may be a legal question

¹ We have already pointed out (above, IV, 1, 2) that this mode of the commencement of a discussion by setting out a list of the points to be discussed and compared is found also in some of the Abhidhamma books. There it was only the objects themselves, here we have all the predicates which it is proposed to apply (as in § 8), or to declare inapplicable to the object (as in § 10), which are set out, but the principle is the same.

whether an offence is undetermined. There is no legal question whether an offence be right.

‘Of these, which is a legal question whether an offence be wrong? Whatsoever transgression be committed knowingly, consciously, and deliberately, this is called a legal question whether an offence be wrong.

‘And of these, which is a legal question whether an offence be undetermined? Whatsoever transgression be committed not knowingly, not consciously, not deliberately, this is called a legal question whether an offence be undetermined.

11. ‘Legal questions of business. Right. Wrong. Undetermined.’

[It may be all three, according as the Bhikkhus performing the business specified, as in § 2, are right-minded, wrong-minded, or of undetermined mind. The form of the paragraph as in § 8 throughout.]

12. ‘Disputes, legal questions arising out of disputes. Dispute which is no legal question. Legal question which is no dispute. Matter which is both legal question and dispute.

‘There may be a dispute which is a legal question of dispute. There may be a dispute which is no legal question. There may be such a legal question which is no dispute. There may be such a legal question and also a dispute.

‘Of these, which is the dispute which is a legal question of dispute requiring formal settlement? In case Bhikkhus discuss, saying, “This is Dhamma” [&c., as before, in § 2], or “This is not a most grave offence.” Whatsoever quarrel, strife [&c., as in § 2] there may be on such a matter is a dispute which is a legal question of dispute requiring formal settlement.

‘And of these, which is a dispute which is not a legal question requiring formal settlement? When a mother disputes with her son, or a son with his mother, or a father with his son, or a son with his father, or a brother with a brother, or a brother with a sister, or a sister with a brother, or a friend with a friend. Such a dispute is not a legal question requiring formal settlement by the *Samgha*.

‘And of these, which is a legal question that is not a dispute? A legal question of censure, or a legal question of offence, or a legal question of business. This is a legal question which is not a dispute.

‘And of these, which is a legal question requiring formal settlement which is also a dispute? A legal question of dispute that requires formal settlement by the *Samgha* is both such a legal question and also a dispute.’

13. [The same distinction drawn between censure, and a legal question of censure requiring formal settlement.]

14. ‘Offence. Legal question arising out of an offence. Offence which is not subject of a legal question. Legal question and no offence. Legal question and offence too.

‘There may be an offence which is subject of a legal question of offence. There may be an offence and no legal question. There may be legal question and no offence. There may be legal question and offence too.

‘Of these, which is the offence which may be subject of a legal question? The five groups of offences are subjects of legal questions of offence; the seven groups of offences are subjects of legal questions of offence. These are offences which may be subject of a legal question.

‘And of these, which is an offence (Âpatti) which is not subject of a legal question? Conversion, higher attainment (sot-âpatti, sam-âpatti), these are âpattis which are not subjects of a legal question¹. These are âpattis not subjects of a legal question.

‘And of these, what is the legal question where there is no offence? A legal question of official duty, a legal question of censure, a legal question of dispute. These are legal questions where there may be no offence.

‘And of these, which is the case in which there is both a legal question and an offence too? A legal question regarding an offence is a case in which there is both a legal question and an offence too.

15. ‘Official duty which is subject of a legal question of business. Duty and no legal question. Legal question and no duty. Legal question and duty too.

‘There may be [each of these four].

‘Of these, which is official duty which is subject of a legal question? Whatsoever is to the Samgha a thing which ought to be done, an obligation, a matter for which leave ought to be formally asked, the proposal of a resolution, the proceeding by ñatti-dutiya-kamma, or by ñatti-*katuttha*-kamma, that is official duty which may be the subject of a legal question of business.

¹ This is merely a play upon words. Âpatti is literally ‘attainment to.’ Standing alone it is always used with the connotation of ‘attainment to guilt, sin, offence,’ so that its etymological meaning is always lost sight of. Sotâpatti is the ‘attainment to,’ the ‘entering upon’ the stream, that is, the course of the Excellent Way. The Samâpattis, literally, ‘complete, or higher, attainments,’ are eight successive states of ecstatic insight or meditation practised by Arahats and other men of advanced spiritual culture. The question stated is in fact a riddle, like so many of the questions stated in the Parivâra and the Puggala-paññatti.

‘And of these, which is the official duty which is not subject of legal question? The duties of an *âkariya*, of an *upagghâya*, of a fellow pupil under the same *upagghâya* or *âkariya*, that is business, but not subject of a legal question of business.

‘And of these, which is a legal question but not official duty? A legal question arising out of dispute, a legal question arising out of censure, a legal question arising out of offence. This is a legal question of business, but not official duty.

‘And of these, which is both legal question and official duty too? A legal question arising out of official business is both legal question of business and official duty too¹.

16. ‘But by what kind of settlements is a legal question arising out of dispute brought to settlement? By two kinds of settlement, by the Proceeding in presence², and by the Proceeding by majority of the *Samgha*³.

‘If one should ask, “Can it be that a legal question arising out of dispute without recourse having been had to the one mode of settlement—to wit, the Proceeding by majority of the *Samgha*—can it be that it may be settled by the other mode of settlement, to wit, by the Proceeding in presence?” He should be told “Yes, it can.” (If he should say), “How may that be?” the answer should be as follows: “In

¹ Here again the whole section depends upon a play upon the various meanings of the word *kikkam*. In the technical phrase *kikkâdhikaranam*, the word means solely the business or the agenda at the formal meetings of the *Samgha* (compare above, § 7). In the problems or riddles of this section its more common meaning of ‘duty’ is brought into play.

² *Sammukhâ-vinayena*. See above, chapter 2.

³ *Yebhuyyasikena*. See above, chapter 9.

the case when the Bhikkhus dispute, saying, 'This is the Dhamma,' or 'This is not the Dhamma' (&c., as before, in § 2, down to), or 'This is not a most grave offence.'” If, O Bhikkhus, those Bhikkhus, are able to settle their own dispute, that is called, O Bhikkhus, the settlement of the dispute.

‘¹ And how has it been settled? By the Proceeding in presence.

‘And what must there be in such a Proceeding in presence? There must be the presence of the *Samgha*, the presence of the Dhamma, the presence of the Vinaya, and the presence of the particular person.

‘And therein, what is the presence of the *Samgha*? As many Bhikkhus as are capable of taking part in the proceeding², they must be present. The formal consent must be produced of those who are in a fit state to convey their consent³. Those who are present must have lodged no objection (against any one of them taking part in the proceeding)⁴. This is the “presence” in such a matter of the *Samgha*.

‘And of these, what is the presence of the Dhamma, and the presence of the Vinaya? The Dhamma, and the Vinaya, and the teaching of the Master by the aid of which that legal question is settled. That is the “presence” in such a matter of the Dhamma, and of the Vinaya.

‘And of these, what is the presence of the par-

¹ The following five paragraphs recur in IV, 14, §§ 24, 27, and four of them in IV, 14, 21, 30.

² *Kammappattā*. See *Parivāra* XIX, 1, 7, et seq.

³ See above, *Mahāvagga* II, 23.

⁴ Or rather, perhaps, ‘against the proceedings which are being carried out.’

ticular person? He who disputes, and he with whom he disputes—both friends and foes—must be present. That is the “presence” in such a matter of the particular person.

‘When a legal question, O Bhikkhus, has been thus settled, if a disputant re-open the question, such re-opening of the question is a Pāḷittiya¹. If one who has conveyed his consent complain of the decision, such complaint is a Pāḷittiya².

17. ‘If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, are not able to settle the legal question within their own residence (Āvâsa), those Bhikkhus should go, O Bhikkhus, to some residence in which there are a larger number of Bhikkhus. Then if those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, should succeed, whilst on their way to that residence, in settling the legal question, that, O Bhikkhus, is called a settlement of it. And how has it been settled? (&c., as in the last paragraph of the previous section, down to the end.)

18. ‘If those Bhikkhus are not able, O Bhikkhus, to settle the legal question whilst they are on their way to that residence, then those Bhikkhus, on their arrival at that residence, are to address the Bhikkhus at that residence thus: “Such and such a legal question, Sirs, has arisen thus, and has been carried on thus amongst us. It would be well if you, Sirs, would settle that legal question for us according to the Dhamma, and according to the Vinaya, and according to the teaching of the Master, to the end that that legal question may be thoroughly settled.” If the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence

¹ This is the 63rd Pāḷittiya.

² This is the 79th Pāḷittiya. The whole paragraph is repeated several times below in this chapter.

are the senior, and the incoming Bhikkhus are junior, then the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence are, O Bhikkhus, to address the incoming Bhikkhus thus : " Pray, Sirs, rest a moment apart until we take counsel together ! " If, on the other hand, the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence are junior, and the incoming Bhikkhus are senior, then the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence are, O Bhikkhus, to address the incoming Bhikkhus thus : " Then remain here, Sirs, a moment until we take counsel together. " Then if, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence should, on consideration, think thus : " We shall not be able to settle this legal question according to the Dhamma, and according to the Vinaya, and according to the teaching of the Master, " then that dispute is not to be entrusted to them. If, on the other hand, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence should, on consideration, think thus : " We shall be able to settle this legal question in accordance with the Dhamma, and in accordance with the Vinaya, and in accordance with the teaching of the Master, " then, O Bhikkhus, the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence are to address the incoming Bhikkhus thus : " If you, Sirs, let us know about this legal question, how it arose, and how it was carried on, and if you agree that in the manner in which we may settle the legal question according to the Dhamma, and according to the Vinaya, and according to the teaching of the Master, in that manner it shall be settled, then we will thus accept the legal question at your hands. But if not (&c., the whole being repeated), then we will not accept it. " When they have thus, O Bhikkhus, brought

it about that the proper way of putting the legal question (the point at issue) has been settled, the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence should undertake that legal question. And then the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence should be addressed, O Bhikkhus, by the incoming Bhikkhus thus: "We inform you, Sirs, how this legal question arose and how it was carried on. If you, Sirs, are able in such and such a time¹ to settle this legal question according to the Dhamma, and according to the Vinaya, and according to the teaching of the Master, then will we entrust this legal question to you. But if you, Sirs, should not be able to do so, then will we ourselves retain the custody of the case." Thus, O Bhikkhus, is that legal question to be entrusted by the incoming Bhikkhus to the Bhikkhus dwelling in that residence, causing them duly to accept it. If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, are able to settle the case, that, O Bhikkhus, is called a settlement of the legal question. And how has it been settled? (&c., as in last paragraph of § 16, down to the end.)

19. 'If, O Bhikkhus, whilst the case is being enquired into by those Bhikkhus, pointless speeches are brought forth, and the sense of any single utterance is not clear², I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to settle the case by referring it (to a jury or commission)³.

¹ Ettakena vâ antarena, on which Buddhaghosa has nothing. On vâ = eva, see Böhtlingk-Roth s. v. vâ, No. 4.

² These words recur at XII, 2, 7, where an instance occurs of the mode of proceeding here laid down.

³ Ubbâhikâya. Childers has quite misunderstood both the meaning and the derivation of this term. It must be derived

‘A Bhikkhu to be chosen on such a jury must be possessed of ten qualities—he must be virtuous—he must be living enclosed by the restraint of the rules of the Pâtimokkha—he must be upright in life, trained according to the precepts, taking them upon himself with a sense of the danger in the least offence¹—he must be versed in the tradition, a custodian of the tradition, a storehouse of the tradition—whatsoever truths, lovely in their origin, lovely in their progress, lovely in their consummation, set forth the higher life, both in its spirit and in its letter, in all its purity and in all its perfectness², in such truths must he be well versed, of such must he be full, they must be laid up in his words³, and dwelt on in his heart, being penetrated throughout through right insight⁴—both the Pâtimokkhas must have

from ud+vah; and means simply ‘reference’—the turning over of a difficult or intricate case from the general Samgha to a special committee, as was done at Vesâli (below, XII, 2, 7).

¹ With this passage (so far) compare the Âkaṅkheyya Sutta, § 2 (translated in Rh. D.’s ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 210), where the wording is somewhat different. See, however, the various readings here.

² We prefer to translate, in accordance with IX, 5, 1 below, *sâttham savyañṅanam* as given in the corrections to the text on p. 303; thus making the phrase ‘in the spirit and in the letter’ refer to the *brahma-kariyam*, and not to the *dhammâ*. But it should be pointed out that the parallel passage in the stock description of a Buddha (for instance in *Tevigga Sutta* I, 46, translated in Rh. D.’s ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 187) would support the reading given here in the text, referring the phrase in question to the *dhammâ*, and not to the *brahma-kariyam*.

³ See the various readings, and compare *Sigâlovâda Sutta*, p. 301; *Gâtaka* II, 247, 293; *Mahâvagga* VI, 25, 1.

⁴ Though *diṭṭhi* is usually found in its bad sense of ‘delusion’ (it never means ‘heresy,’ as Childers renders it), it is also used, especially in older texts, in the good sense of ‘insight.’ Compare the ‘Book of the Great Decease,’ I, 11.

been completely handed down to him in their full extent, he must have well divided them, well established them, well investigated them, both sutta by sutta and in every detail¹—further he must be an expert in the Vinaya, irrefutable therein²—he must be competent to point out (the right course) to both friends and foes, to get them to understand a thing, get them to see it and recognise it³, able to pacify them—he must be clever (in judging) both as to the origin and as to the settlement of disputes—he must understand legal questions, the origin thereof, the close thereof, and the way that leads to the close thereof.

‘I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to appoint on the jury a Bhikkhu possessed of these ten qualities⁴.

20. ‘And thus, O Bhikkhus, is he to be appointed. First, the Bhikkhu should be asked (whether he be willing to undertake the office). Then some discreet and able Bhikkhu should address the *Samgha* thus :

“May the venerable *Samgha* hear me. Whilst this case was being enquired into pointless speeches were brought forth amongst us, and the sense of no single utterance was clear. If the time seems meet

¹ Perhaps this may mean ‘both as to the Suttas themselves and as to the Old Commentary upon them’—*suttato anuvyañganaso*. See ‘*Vinaya Texts*,’ vol. i, p. xviii, and note 2, p. xxix.

² *Vinaye kḥeko hoti asamhîro*. Compare on the use of these words, *Gâtaka* I, 290; II, 161; *Sutta Nipâta* V, 18, 26.

³ On all these terms, which have occurred above at IV, 2, 1, see the commentary as there quoted in the notes.

⁴ It is of course to be understood that the committee or jury does not consist of only one such Bhikkhu. In the instance already referred to as occurring in XII, 2, 7, four are chosen from each side.

to the venerable *Samgha*, let it appoint Bhikkhus of such and such a name, and of such and such a name on a committee. This is the motion.

“Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. Whilst (&c., . . . down to) no single utterance was clear. The *Samgha* appoints Bhikkhus of such and such names on a committee to settle this case. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the appointment of such and such Bhikkhus on the committee for the settlement of this case, let him be silent. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

“Such and such a Bhikkhu is appointed by the *Samgha* on the committee for the settlement of this case. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”

21. ‘If then, O Bhikkhus, those Bhikkhus are able on the reference (or on the committee) to settle the case, that, O Bhikkhus, is called a case that is settled. And how is it settled? By the Proceeding in Presence¹. And what therein is meant by the Proceeding in Presence? The Dhamma is represented, and the Vinaya is represented, and the particular person is represented².

‘And of these, what is the presence of the Dhamma (&c., as in § 16, down to the end).

‘If a dispute, O Bhikkhus, has been thus settled, if a disputant re-open the question, such re-opening is a *Pākittiya*³.

22. ‘If, O Bhikkhus, whilst the case is being

¹ *Sammukhâ-vinayena*. See chapter 2.

² This is the same as in § 16 of this chapter, except that ‘the presence of the *Samgha*’ is omitted.

³ See the 63rd *Pākittiya*, and § 17 above.

enquired into by those Bhikkhus, there should be there a Bhikkhu who is a preacher of the Dhamma, but neither has the Sutta¹ been handed down to him nor the Sutta-vibhaṅga, and he not regarding the point of the case, reject the sense for the shadow of the letter, then should the matter be laid before those Bhikkhus by some discreet and able Bhikkhu thus :

“Let the venerable ones hear me. This Bhikkhu of such and such a name is a preacher of the Dhamma, but neither has the Sutta been handed down to him nor the Sutta-vibhaṅga. And he, not regarding the point of the case, is rejecting the sense for the shadow of the letter. If the time seems meet to the venerable ones, let them send away² the Bhikkhu of such and such a name, and let the rest of us settle this case.”

‘If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, should be able, after having sent away that Bhikkhu, to settle the case, that is called a case that is settled. And how has it been settled ? By the Proceeding in Presence (&c., as in last section, down to the end).’

23. (The same decision if the Sutta has been handed down to him, but not the Sutta-vibhaṅga.)

24. ‘If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, are not able by the committee to settle that case, those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, ought to hand over the case to the Saṃgha, saying, “We, Sirs, are not able by a committee to settle this case, let the Saṃgha settle it.” I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to settle such a case by vote of the majority (&c., as in chapter 9 to the

¹ That is, the Pâtimokkha.

² Literally, ‘cause him to arise.’

end, as to the appointment of a taker of the voting tickets). By that Bhikkhu, the taker of the voting tickets, are the votes to be collected. And according as the larger number of Bhikkhus who are guided by the Dhamma shall speak, so shall the case be decided. This, O Bhikkhus, is called a legal question that has been settled.

‘And how has it been settled? By the Proceeding in Presence and by the vote of the majority. And what herein is meant by Proceeding in Presence? The presence of the *Samgha*, and the presence of the Dhamma, and the presence of the Vinaya, and the presence of the particular person. And of these, what is the presence of the *Samgha*? (&c., as in § 16, down to) That is the presence in such a matter of the particular person.

‘And what herein is meant by the vote of the majority? The carrying out of, the accomplishment of, the proceeding by, the undertaking of, the acceptance of, the pacification by the official act (the *Kamma*) by the vote of the majority¹. That is what is meant herein by the vote of the majority.

‘When a legal question, O Bhikkhus, has been thus settled, if a disputant re-open the question, such re-opening is a *Pâkittiya*. If one who has conveyed his consent complain of the decision, such complaint is a *Pâkittiya*².’

25. Now at that time a certain legal question had arisen in such and such a manner, and had grown up in such and such a manner at Sâvatthi. And those

¹ This sentence is also used of the other modes of settlement below, §§ 27, 29.

² So also above, § 16; and below, §§ 27-29.

Bhikkhus were discontented with the settlement of the case by the *Samgha* at *Sâvatthi*. And they heard that in a certain residence there were dwelling a number of Theras versed in the traditions ; men to whom the *Âgamas*¹ had been handed down ; reciters of the Dhamma, of the Vinaya, and of the *Mâtikâs*², learned, discreet, wise, modest, conscientious, anxious to learn. And they thought, 'If those Theras would settle this case according to the Dhamma, and according to the Vinaya, and according to the teaching of the Master, then would this case be indeed well settled.' So those Bhikkhus went to that residence, and spake to those Theras thus : 'This legal question, Sirs, has arisen in such and such a manner, and has grown up in such and such a manner. It would be well if the venerable Theras would settle the case according to the Dhamma, and according to the Vinaya, and according to the teaching of the Master!' Then those Theras, saying, 'Even as the case has been settled by the *Samgha* at *Sâvatthi*, so is it well settled!' decided the case in the same way. Then those Bhikkhus who had been discontented with the decision of the *Samgha* at *Sâvatthi* were discontented with the decision of the number of Theras.

[The paragraph is repeated with the necessary alterations of consecutive applications to three, two, and one Thera with the same result.]

Then those Bhikkhus, discontented with the decision of the *Samgha* at *Sâvatthi*, discontented with the decision of the number of Theras, dis-

¹ That is, the Four *Nikâyas*, now forming the *Sutta Piṭaka*.

² See our note above on *Kullavagga* IV, 1, 2.

contented with the decision of the three Theras, discontented with the decision of the two Theras, discontented with the decision of the single Thera, went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘This case, O Bhikkhus, is done with; having been once settled, it is settled for good.

26¹. ‘I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, three ways of taking votes, in order to appease such Bhikkhus²—the secret method, the whispering method, and the open method.

‘And how, O Bhikkhus, is the secret method of taking votes? The Bhikkhu who is the teller of the votes is to make the voting tickets of different colours, and as each Bhikkhu comes up to him he is to say to him thus: “This is the ticket for the man of such an opinion; this the ticket for the man of such an opinion. Take whichever you like.” When he has chosen (he is to add), “Don’t show it to anybody.” If he ascertains that those whose opinion is against the Dhamma are in the majority, he is to reject the vote as wrongly taken. If he ascertains that those whose opinion is in accordance with the Dhamma are in the majority, he is to report the vote as well taken. This, O Bhikkhus, is the secret method of taking the votes.

‘And how, O Bhikkhus, is the whispering method of taking votes? The Bhikkhu who is the teller of the votes is to whisper in each Bhikkhu’s ear, “This is the ticket of those of such an opinion; this is the ticket of those of such an opinion. Take whichever

¹ On the following section, compare chapters 9 and 10 above.

² On *Saññattiyâ*, see our note below on VII, 4, 1.

you like." When he has chosen (he is to add), "Don't tell anybody (which way you have voted)." If he ascertains that those whose opinion is against the Dhamma are in the majority, he is to reject the vote as wrongly taken. If he ascertains that those whose opinion is in accordance with the Dhamma are in the majority, he is to report the vote as well taken. Thus, O Bhikkhus, is the whispering method of taking the votes.

'And how, O Bhikkhus, is the open method of taking votes? If he ascertains (beforehand) that those whose opinion is in accordance with the Dhamma are in the majority, the vote is to be taken undisguisedly, openly. Thus, O Bhikkhus, is the open method of taking the votes.

'These, O Bhikkhus, are the three methods of taking the votes¹.'

27. 'By how many kinds of settlement is a legal question arising out of censure settled? A legal question arising out of censure can be settled by four kinds of settlement—by the Proceeding in Presence—by the Proceeding for those who are consciously innocent—by the Proceeding for those who are no longer out of their mind—by the Proceeding for those who are obstinate.

'If one should ask, "Can it be that a legal question arising out of censure, without recourse being had to two modes of settlement—to wit, the Proceeding for those who are no longer out of their mind, and the

¹ This naive chapter would seem to show that the *pia fraus* was not unknown to the Buddhist monks at the time when the *Kullavagga* was composed. Buddhaghosa's note (given at p. 315 of H. O.'s edition of the text) specifies the different occasions when each of the three methods should be used.

Proceeding for those who are obstinate—may be settled by the two other modes of settlement—to wit, the Proceeding in Presence, and the Proceeding for those who are consciously innocent?" he should be told, "Yes, it can." (If he should say), "How may that be?" the answer should be as follows:

'In case the Bhikkhus bring a groundless charge against a Bhikkhu of a breach of morality. In respect thereof, O Bhikkhus, to that Bhikkhu whose memory in regard to the matter is quite clear, the Proceeding for the consciously innocent is to be accorded.

'And thus, O Bhikkhus, is to be granted (&c., as in chapter 4, § 10, down to the end, with the necessary alterations for a general rule instead of a particular case).

'This, O Bhikkhus, is called a legal question that has been settled. And how settled? By the Proceeding in Presence, and by the Proceeding for the consciously innocent. And what therein belongs to the Proceeding in Presence? The presence of the *Samgha*, and the presence of the *Dhamma*, and the presence of the *Vinaya*, and the presence of the particular person. And therein what is the presence of the *Samgha* (&c., as in § 16, down to the end)? And what therein belongs to the Proceeding for the consciously innocent? The carrying out of, the accomplishment of, the proceeding by, the undertaking of, the acceptance of, the pacification of the Proceeding for the consciously innocent¹. That is what belongs herein to the Proceeding for the consciously innocent.'

¹ This clause corresponds to the one above, in § 24, and below, in § 29.

28. [This section bears exactly the same relation to chapter 5 as the last section does to chapter 4, the form of the two sections being exactly the same throughout.]

29¹. 'If one should ask, "Can it be that a legal question arising out of censure, without recourse being had to two modes of settlement—to wit, the Proceeding for those who are consciously innocent, and the Proceeding for those who are no longer out of their mind—may be settled by the two other modes of settlement—to wit, the Proceeding in Presence, and the Proceeding for those who are obstinate?" he should be told, "Yes, it can." If he should say, "How may that be?" the answer should be as follows :

'In case a Bhikkhu warn another Bhikkhu in the midst of the *Samgha* of a grievous offence, and call upon him to recollect (whether he have committed it or not), saying, "Has the venerable one been guilty of such and such a grievous offence—a *Pârâgika* offence, or an offence equivalent to a *Pârâgika* offence?" And he replies thus, "I do not, Sir, call to mind that I have been guilty of such and such a grievous offence—a *Pârâgika* offence, or an offence equivalent to a *Pârâgika* offence." To him thus denying the other insists, saying, "Come now, Sir, ascertain for certain whether you are conscious of having been guilty of such and such a grievous

¹ This section again bears exactly the same relation to chapter 11 as the previous ones have done to chapters 4 and 5 respectively. The outline of the form is the same, but as in the introductory part (containing the description of the offence) the present section is much fuller than the chapter to which it refers, we prefer to give that part of this section in full.

offence—a Pârâgika offence, or an offence equivalent to a Pârâgika offence.” And he replies thus: “I do not, Sir, call to mind that I have been guilty of such and such a grievous offence—a Pârâgika offence, or an offence equivalent to a Pârâgika offence. But I do, Sir, recollect that I was guilty of such and such a trifling offence.” To him thus denying the other insists [as before]. And he replies thus: “Seeing that I am willing, Sir, though you did not ask me, to confess myself guilty of that trifling offence, why should I not confess, when asked, such and such a grievous offence—a Pârâgika offence, or an offence equivalent to a Pârâgika offence?” And the other rejoins, “But you do not confess, Sir, even that trifling offence without being asked. How should you confess, if you were not asked, the commission of such and such a grievous offence—a Pârâgika offence, or one equivalent to a Pârâgika offence? Come now, Sir, ascertain for certain whether you are conscious of having been guilty of such and such a grievous offence—a Pârâgika offence, or one equivalent to a Pârâgika offence?” And he replies, “Yes, I am conscious, Sir, of having committed such and such an offence—a Pârâgika offence, or one equivalent to a Pârâgika offence. In sport did I say, in fun did I say that I was not conscious thereof.”

‘Then, O Bhikkhus, the Proceeding for those who are obstinate should be carried out against that Bhikkhu.

‘And thus should it be carried out (&c., as chapter 11, § 2, down to the end, reading “such and such a Bhikkhu” for “Upavâla,” and “grievous offence” for “offence”).

‘This, O Bhikkhus, is called a legal question that has been settled. And how has it been settled? By the Proceeding in Presence, and by the Proceeding for those who are obstinate. And what therein belongs to the Proceeding in Presence? The Presence of the *Samgha* (&c., as in § 16). And what therein belongs to the Proceeding for those who are obstinate? The carrying out of, the accomplishment of, the proceeding by, the undertaking of, the acceptance of, the pacification of the official act (the *Kamma*) by the Proceeding for those who are obstinate. That is what belongs therein to the Proceeding for those who are obstinate.

‘When a legal question, O Bhikkhus, has been thus settled, if a disputant re-open the question, such re-opening is a *Pākittiya*. If one who has conveyed his consent complain of the decision, such complaint is a *Pākittiya*.

30. ‘By how many modes of settlement is a legal question arising out of offence settled? A legal question arising out of offence is settled by three modes of settlement—to wit, by the Proceeding in Presence, and by the Proceeding on confession of guilt, and by the Proceeding by covering over as with grass.

‘If one should ask, “Can it be that a legal question arising out of offence, without recourse being had to the one mode of settlement—to wit, the Proceeding by covering over as with grass—may be settled by the other two modes—to wit, the Proceeding in Presence, and the Proceeding on confession of guilt?” he should be told, “Yes, it can.” If he should say, “How may that be?” the answer should be as follows :

‘In case a Bhikkhu has been guilty of a minor offence. That Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, should go up to another Bhikkhu, and having arranged his upper robe over one shoulder, and squatted down on his heels, and stretched forth his hands with the palms held together, should speak as follows: “I, Sir, have been guilty of such and such an offence; and that I confess.” He should say, “Do you acknowledge it?” “Yes; I acknowledge it.” “May you restrain yourself in future¹!”

‘This, O Bhikkhus, is called a legal question which has been settled. And how has it been settled? By the Proceeding in Presence, and by the Proceeding on confession of guilt. And what therein belongs to the Proceeding in Presence? The presence of the Dhamma, and the presence of the Vinaya, and the presence of the particular individual. And what therein is the presence of the Dhamma, and of the Vinaya? The Dhamma, and the Vinaya, and the teaching of the Master, by the aid of which that legal question is settled. That is the presence in such a matter of the Dhamma, and of the Vinaya. And what therein is the presence of the particular individual? He who confesses, and he to whom he confesses, both are present. That is the presence of the particular individual in such a proceeding. And what therein belongs to the Proceeding on confession of guilt? The carrying out of, the accomplishment of, the proceeding by, the performance of, the acceptance of, the pacification of the official act (the Kamma) by the Proceeding on confession of

¹ *Āyatim samvareyyāsi*. So again in the next section. Compare V, 20, 5.

guilt. That is what belongs therein to the Proceeding on confession of guilt.

‘When a legal question, O Bhikkhus, has been thus settled, if a disputant re-open the question, such re-opening is a Pāṭittiya¹.

31. ‘If he should thus receive (absolution), it is well. If he should not receive it, that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, should go up to a number of Bhikkhus, and having arranged his upper robe over one shoulder, and bowed down before the elder Bhikkhus, and squatted down on his heels, and stretched forth his two hands with the palms held together, he should speak as follows: “I, Sirs, have been guilty of such and such an offence, and that I confess.” Then some discreet and able Bhikkhu should lay the matter before those Bhikkhus, saying, “Let the venerable ones hear me. This Bhikkhu, of such and such a name, is conscious of an offence; and he discloses it, reveals it, confesses it. If the time seems meet to the venerable ones, I would absolve² that Bhikkhu’s offence.” And he should say, “Do you acknowledge it?” “Yes; I acknowledge it.” “In future may you restrain yourself!”

‘This, O Bhikkhus, is called a legal question which has been settled. And how has it been settled? (&c., as in last section, down to the end.)

32. ‘If he should thus receive absolution, it is well. If he should not receive it, that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, should go before the Saṃgha (&c., as in last section, down to the end, then adding): And if one who has given his consent to the pro-

¹ See §§ 16, 29, &c. of this chapter.

² *Paṭigāḥeyyam*. See V, 20, 5.

ceeding thereafter make complaint thereof, that is a *Pākittiya*.

33. 'If one should ask, "Can it be that a legal question arising out of offence, without recourse being had to the one mode of settlement—to wit, the Proceeding on confession of guilt—may be settled by the other two modes—to wit, by the Proceeding in Presence, and by the Proceeding by covering over as with grass?" he should be told, "Yes, it can." If he should say, "How may that be?" the answer should be as follows:

'If while the Bhikkhus are continuing in quarrels (&c., as in chapter 13, §§ 1, 2, and 3, down to the end).

'This, O Bhikkhus, is called a legal question that has been settled. And how has it been settled? By the Proceeding in Presence, and by the Proceeding by the covering over as with grass.

'And what therein belongs to the Proceeding in Presence? The presence (&c., as in § 16, down to) And what therein is the presence of the particular person? He who confesses, and he to whom the confession is made¹, both are present. This is the presence of the particular individual in such a case.

'And what therein belongs to the Proceeding by covering over as with grass? The carrying out of, the accomplishment of, the proceeding by, the performance of, the acceptance of, the pacification of the official act (the *Kamma*) by the Proceeding by covering over as with grass. That is what belongs therein to the Proceeding by covering over as with grass.

¹ This refers to the technical term of the Proceeding in question, *tiṇavatthārakena deseyyam* (IV, 13, 2); and the singular of course includes the plural, as the confession usually took place before a number of Bhikkhus.

‘When a legal question, O Bhikkhus, has been thus settled, if a disputant re-open the question, such re-opening is a Pākittiya. If one who has conveyed his consent complain of the decision, such complaint is a Pākittiya.

34. ‘By how many modes of settlement is a legal question arising out of business settled? A legal question arising out of business is settled by one mode of settlement only—to wit, by the Proceeding in Presence.’

End of the Fourth Khandhaka, on the Settlement of Legal Questions.

FIFTH KHANDHAKA.

ON THE DAILY LIFE OF THE BHIKKHUS.

1.

1. Now at that time the Blessed One was staying at Râgagaha, in the Bamboo Grove, in the Kalandaka Nivâpa. And at that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus, when bathing, used to rub¹ their bodies—thighs, and arms, and breast, and back—against wood. The people were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying, ‘How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas do so, like wrestlers, boxers, or shampooers?’ The Bhikkhus heard the people so murmuring, &c. ; and they told the matter to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, having convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, asked the Bhikkhus : ‘Is this true, O Bhikkhus, what they say, that the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus, when bathing, rub (&c., as before)?’

‘It is true, Lord.’

¹ Ugghamseti. The simple verb occurs below, V, 9, 2, 4, X, 10, 2, and at Gâtaka, vol. i, p. 190. It is the Sanskrit root gharsh.

² On malla-mu//hikâ Buddhaghosa merely says mu//hika-mallâ. His note on gâma-poddavâ (already given by H. O. at p. 315 of the edition to the text) says, ‘town’s people given to adorning themselves by painting their skin’ (on which compare below, V, 2, 5). But it is difficult to see how that fits in with the connection here.

The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying, 'This is improper, O Bhikkhus (&c., as usual, see I, 1, 2, down to the end).' And when he had rebuked them, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'A Bhikkhu, when bathing, is not, O Bhikkhus, to rub his body against wood. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

2. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, when bathing, used to rub their bodies—thighs, and arms, and breast, and back—against a pillar—against a wall (&c., as in last section, down to the end).

3. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to bathe on an *Attāna* (a sort of shampooing stand¹). The people (&c., as before). The Bhikkhus (&c., as before). Then the Blessed One (&c., as before, down to) addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'You are not to bathe, O Bhikkhus, on an *Attāna*. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

[Paragraphs similar in every respect to the last follow as to

Using a *Gandhabba-hatthaka*² when bathing.

Using a *Kuruvindaka-sutti*³ when bathing.

Rubbing their bodies, when under water, up against each other⁴.

¹ So Buddhaghosa loc. cit.

² A wooden instrument in the shape of a hand, which was first covered with *chunam* (fine lime), and then rubbed over the body. See Buddhaghosa's note at p. 315 of H. O.'s edition of the text.

³ Apparently a string of beads which was first covered with the *chunam* made from *Kuruvindaka* stone (a ruby-coloured stone), and then held at both ends and rubbed over the body. See Buddhaghosa's note loc. cit.

⁴ As Buddhaghosa, loc. cit., explains this by 'rubbing their

Using a Mallaka¹ when bathing.]

4. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had the scab, and he could not bathe with comfort without a Mallaka¹.

They told the matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, to a sick man the use of a Mallaka not (artificially) made².'

5. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu who was weak through old age was not able to shampoo his own body.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of an Uk-kâsika³.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus, (fearing to offend against these rules,) were afraid to shampoo one another.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the ordinary mode of shampooing with the hand⁴.'

2.

1. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus

bodies up against each other⁽¹⁾, *vigayha* has here probably nothing to do with *gâh*, but is simply *vigrihya*.

¹ A kind of back-scratcher, made according to Buddhaghosa, loc. cit., by placing together, by the roots, hooks made of the teeth of crocodiles (*makara-dantaka*; see V, 11, 6; VI, 3, 2), which had previously been split. Such hooks of split crocodiles' teeth are mentioned in the text itself below, V, 9, 2; and pins or hooks made of *nâga*'s teeth at V, 9, 5, and VI, 3, 5 (*nâga-dantaka*), and V, 11, 7 (*nâga-danta*).

² Buddhaghosa, loc. cit., makes this phrase mean only 'made of teeth that had not been previously split.'

³ Buddhaghosa, loc. cit., explains this word by *vattava/i*; which is to us equally unintelligible.

⁴ *Pudhu-pânika* ti *hattha-parikammam vukkati*. *Tasmâ sabbesam hatthena pi//hi-parikammam kâtum va//ti* (B.).

used to wear ear-rings¹, and ear-drops², and strings of beads for the throat, and girdles of beads³, and bangles⁴, and necklaces⁵, and bracelets, and rings.

The people murmured, &c. . . . The Bhikkhus heard, &c. . . . They told the Blessed One (&c., as in V, 1, 1, down to) he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear any of these things. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*.’

2. [A similar paragraph concluding]

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear long hair. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, hair that is two months old, or two inches long.’

3. [Similar paragraph concluding]

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to smooth⁶ the hair

¹ Vallikâ ti *kannato nikkhanta-mutt-olambakâdinam etam adhi-vaṭanam*. Na kevalaṇ *ka* vallikâ eva, *yam kiṇṇi kanna-pilandhanam antamaso tāla-pannam pi na vaṭati* (B.). Compare *sata-vallikam* at V, 29, 4.

² Pāmaṅga. The meaning of which is not clear from Buddhaghosa's note loc. cit. It occurs also at *Dipavamsa* XII, 1, and below in Buddhaghosa's note on *maddavina* at V, 29, 2 (twice).

³ *Kaṭi-suttakam*. This is not mentioned in the similar paragraph at V, 29, 2, where all special kinds of girdles are enumerated. It is forbidden below to the Bhikkhunīs at X, 16.

⁴ *Ovaṭṭika*. This word is explained by Buddhaghosa as the same as *valayam*. *Ovaṭṭiya* occurs, apparently in a different sense, at *Mahāvagga* VII, 1, 5, and the present word in Buddhaghosa on *sata-vallikam* at V, 29, 4.

⁵ *Kāyura*, on which Buddhaghosa, loc. cit., merely says that the meaning of this, and of the following words, is evident. But the *Gātaka* commentary (Fausböll III, 437, 14) says *kāyūran ti givāya pilandhana-pasāḍhanam*.

⁶ *Osāṇheti*. Compare the Sanskrit *ślakṣṇayati*. The art of hair-dressing had, at the time when the *Kullavagga* was com-

with a comb, or with a smoothing instrument shaped like a snake's hood¹, or with the hand used as such an instrument², or with pomade³, or with hair-oil of beeswax³. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

4. [Similar paragraph concluding]

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to look at the image of your faces in a looking-glass, or a bowl of water⁴. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had a sore in his face. He asked the Bhikkhus what kind of a sore he had. 'Such and such a kind of sore,' replied they. He did not believe what they said. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, on account of a disease, to look at your faces in a looking-glass, or in a bowl of water.'

5. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus (&c., down to)

posed, been already carried to a high state of efficiency in the valley of the Ganges, as may reasonably be concluded from the numerous kinds of head-dresses figured in bas-relief on some of the oldest Buddhist sculptures.

¹ *Phañakenā ti dantamayādisu yena kenaṭi* (B.).

² *Hattha-phañakenā ti hatthen' eva phaṇaka-kikkam karonti, aṅgulīhi osañhenti* (B.). It is clear from this last explanation that the *phaṇaka* was a kind of very primitive brush, but without bristles. In passing the fingers through the hair the fingers are naturally held separate, slightly forward, and stiff—precisely as one would hold them if one wished to imitate the hood of a cobra. To make a real brush with bristles was evidently beyond the mechanical appliances of those times, or such an article would certainly have been mentioned in this connection.

³ On the use of *Telaka*, compare *Mahāvagga* VI, 13, 1, and *Sittha-telaka* at *Kullavagga* IV, 3, 1.

⁴ Compare *Kullavagga* X, 10, 4.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to anoint your faces, nor to rub (ointment, &c.) into your faces, nor to put chunam on your faces, nor to smear red arsenic on your faces, nor to paint your bodies, nor to paint your faces¹.’

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had disease in his eyes. They told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, on account of disease, to anoint your faces.’

6². Now at that time there was a festival on the mountain-top³ at Rāgagaha ; and the *K/abbaggiya* Bhikkhus went to see it.

The people murmured, were annoyed, and became indignant, saying, ‘How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas go to see dancing, and singing, and music, like those who are still enjoying the pleasures of the world?’ And they told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to go to see dancing, or singing, or music. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkata.’

¹ All these practices are seriatim forbidden to the Bhikkhuns also in *Kullavagga* X, 10, 3.

² The following section recurs, almost word for word, of the Bhikkhuns, in the Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga, Pāṭiṭṭiya X (*Sutta-vibhaṅga*, vol. ii, p. 267).

³ *Giragga-samagga*. Compare *Dīpavamsa* XXI, 32, and *Mahāvamsa*, p. 214, line 2. It occurs also in the Introductory Story in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* on the 37th Pāṭiṭṭiya, and Buddha-ghosa there explains it as follows: *Giragga-samaggo ti girimhi agga-samaggo girissa vā agga-dese samaggo*. He is evidently in doubt about the word, which is probably connected with ancient local worship or custom, a worship in high-places, as little allied to Vedic Brahmanism as it was to Buddhism.

3.

1. Now at that time the *K/abbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to sing the Dhamma with the abrupt transitions of song-singing.

The people murmured, were annoyed, and became indignant, saying, 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas [do so]?' The Bhikkhus heard (&c., as usual, down to) he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'These five dangers, O Bhikkhus, befall him who sings the Dhamma with the abrupt¹ transitions of song-singing.—He himself becomes captivated with respect to the sound thereof.—Other people become captivated with respect to the sound thereof.—The laymen are shocked.—The meditation of one who strains after accuracy in the sound is broken.—The common people fall into heresy².—These five dangers, O Bhikkhus, befall him who sings the Dhamma with the abrupt transitions of song-singing. The Dhamma is not, O Bhikkhus, to be sung [in that manner]. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*.'

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus were afraid to make use of intoning³. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to intone.'

¹ *Âyatakena gîta-ssarena*. Compare *âyataken'eva papâto* at *Kullavagga IX, 1, 3*.

² Probably this is supposed to result because dhamma being sung and not said is not intelligible to them—a complaint often made against the singing of prayers among Protestant Christians. On *pakkhimâ ganatâ*, compare the closing words of V, 21, 2; and on the rest of the phrase, *Puggala III, 10, 14*. The translation of *sarakutti* is also very doubtful.

³ *Sara-bhaññam*. So in the *Mahāvagga* we hear that *Sona*

4.

1. Now at that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus used to wear woollen cloth with long fleece to it¹.

The people murmured . . . (&c., down to) They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear woollen cloth with long fleece to it. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

5.

1. Now at that time the mangoes were ripe in the park of Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha. And Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, had given command, saying, 'Let the venerable ones have as much fruit as they like.' Then the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus plucked even the young fruits and ate them.

Now Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, wanted a mango; and he gave orders, saying, 'Go,

intoned before the Buddha a chapter from the Sutta Nipāta. The expression there used is *sarena abhāsi*, of which our word is used as the verbal noun, the roots *bhaṇ* and *bhās* being not only synonymous but interchangeable. (See, for instance, Vin. Pit. vol. iv, p. 353.) Perhaps 'recitative' would be a good rendering. I have several times heard the Dhamma thus recited by living Buddhists in accordance with the traditional interpretation of this passage, and their *Sara-bhaṇṇam* was precisely like the intoning of prose passages as practised in our cathedral churches (Rh. D.).

¹ *Bāhira-lomim-unnim*. Literally, 'with the fleece outside.' Compare Mahāvagga V, 10, 4, and the *Magghima Sīla*, § 5 (p. 193 of Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Suttas').

my good men, to the park, and bring me hither a mango.'

'Even so, Lord,' said the men in assent to Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha: and they went to the park, and said to the park-keepers, 'Our lord, good friends, has need of a mango. Give us one!'

'There are no mangoes, Sirs. The Bhikkhus have plucked even the young ones, and eaten them.'

Then those men told the matter to Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, and he said: 'The mangoes have been well used, my good men, by the venerable ones. Notwithstanding it is moderation that has been exalted by the Blessed One.'

The people murmured, were shocked, and were indignant, &c., saying, 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas, knowing no moderation, use up the king's mangoes?' The Bhikkhus heard those men murmuring, shocked, and indignant. Then those Bhikkhus told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to eat mangoes. Who-soever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

2. Now at that time it was the turn of a certain multitude to provide the Saṃgha with a meal. Mango-peal was put into the curry. The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not partake of it.

'Take it, O Bhikkhus, and eat. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to eat the peal of the mango.'

Now at that time it was the turn of a certain multitude to provide the Saṃgha with a meal. They did not get so far as to make (curry with) the peal, but went about in the dining-hall with whole mangoes. The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not accept them.

'Take them, O Bhikkhus, and eat. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to eat fruit which has become allowable to Samanas in any one of these five ways—when it has been injured by fire¹—or by sword²—or by nails—when it has not yet had any seed in it—and fifthly, when it has no more seed in it³. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to eat fruit which has become allowable to Samanas in any one of these five ways.'

64.



1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu died of the bite of a snake. They told the matter to the Blessed One.

¹ Buddhaghosa gives in the Samanta Pāsādikā on the 11th Pāṭiṭiya the following explanations of these terms. Aggi-parigitan ti agginā parigitaṃ abhibhūtaṃ daddhaṃ phuṭṭhaṃ ti attho. The reading parigitaṃ is correct and should be inserted in the text for parikitaṃ.

² Sāttha-parigitan ti sātthena parigitaṃ abhibhūtaṃ khinnaṃ viddhaṃ vā ti attho. Esa nayo nakha-parigite (B., loc. cit.).

³ These last two clauses have already occurred at Mahāvagga VI, 21. The principle of the injunction throughout its five divisions is one and the same—the seed, or the capacity of fructification, must either have never existed, or have passed away, or have been destroyed.

⁴ This ancient legend has been expanded into a Gātaka story, under the title of Khandha-vatta Gātaka, No. 203 in Professor Fausbøll's edition (vol. ii, pp. 144–148), in which recur all the verses here given as a snake-charm. The names of the serpents are derived from the ancient mythology, and are not to be supposed to refer to actual breeds of real snakes. Below, Kullavagga VI, 2, 5, where a Bhikkhu is bitten by a snake, the simple precaution enjoined is the use of a higher bedstead.

‘ Now surely, that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, had not let his love flow out over the four royal breeds of serpents! Had he done so, he would not die of the bite of a snake. And which are the four royal breeds of serpents? The Virûpakkhas are a royal breed. The Erâpathas are a royal breed. The *Khabyâputtas* are a royal breed. The *Kanhâgotamakas* are a royal breed. Now surely that Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, had not let his love flow out over the four royal breeds of serpents! Had he done so, he would not die of the bite of a snake. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make use of a safeguard for yourselves for your security and protection, by letting your love flow out over the four royal breeds of serpents. And thus, O Bhikkhus, are you to do so.

“ I love Virûpakkhas, the Erâpathas I love.

“ I love *Khabyâputtas*, the *Kanhâgotamakas* I love.

“ I love live things that have no feet, the bipeds too I love.

“ I love four-footed creatures, and things with many feet.

“ Let no footless thing do hurt to me, nor thing that has two feet.

“ Let no four-footed creature hurt, nor thing with many feet.

“ Let all creatures, all things that live, all beings of whatever kind,

“ Let all behold good fortune¹, and let none fall into sin.

¹ This phrase occurs in the passage at Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta I, 31, by which Buddhaghosa is so much perplexed.

“Infinite is the Buddha, infinite the Truth, infinite the Order. Finite are creeping things; snakes, scorpions and centipedes, spiders and lizards, rats and mice.

“Made is my safeguard, made my defence. Let living things retreat,

“Whilst I revere the Blessed One, the Buddhas seven supreme¹.”

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to let blood².’

7.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu, tormented by distaste (for meditation, &c.), castrated himself³. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘When one thing wanted cutting off, O Bhikkhus, that foolish fellow has cut off another! You are

¹ This is only one of the many passages from which it is evident that in the oldest Buddhism only the seven Buddhas, from Vipassī down to Gotama inclusive, were known by name to the members of the Buddhist community. Compare Rh. D.’s ‘Hibbert Lectures, 1881,’ p. 142. It is nevertheless probable that, with their ideas as to the infinite number of worlds which had succeeded one another in the past, they considered that the number of previous Buddhas had also been infinite.

² This last injunction, which comes in here so tamely, is omitted in the *Gātaka* story, and is merely a hook on which to hang an excuse for introducing this ancient and evidently favourite prescription into the Vinaya. That it is quite out of place is sufficiently evident from the fact that it has already been laid down in identical terms in the *Mahāvagga* VI, 14, 4, where it is found in its natural connection.

³ *Anabhiratiyā pīlito attano āṅgaḡātam kkhindi*. This *anabhirati* is constantly referred to, and always as the result of falling in love, or in connection with sexual desire.

not, O Bhikkhus, to castrate yourselves. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *thullaḥkaya*.¹

8¹.

1. Now at that time the *Setthi* of Râgagaha had acquired a block² of sandal-wood of the most precious sandal-wood flavour. And the *Setthi* of Râgagaha thought, 'How would it be if I were to have a bowl carved out of this block of sandal-wood, so that the chips³ shall remain my property, and I can give the bowl away?' And the *Setthi* of Râgagaha had a bowl turned out of that block of sandal-wood, and put it in a balance, and had it lifted on to the top of a bamboo⁴, and tying that bamboo at the top of a succession of bamboos, he let it be known, saying, 'If any Samana or Brahman be an Arahat and possessed of Iddhi, let him get down the bowl. It is a gift to him!'

Then Pûrana Kassapa went to the *Setthi* of Râgagaha, and said to him, 'I, O householder, am

¹ A Burmese version of the following legend is translated by Bishop Bigandet in his 'Legend of the Burmese Buddha,' vol. ii, pp. 212-216 (Third Edition).

² *Kandana-gaṇḥikâ* uppannâ hotî ti *kandana-ghaṇḥikâ* uppannâ hoti (B.). Compare *gaṇḥikâ* at *Gâtaka* I, 150 = *gaṇḍikâ* at *ibid.* II, 124, and our note below on that word at V, 29, 3.

³ *Lekham*. It is clear from V, 9, 2, below, and Buddha-ghosa's note there, that *likhitum* is used in the sense of 'to plane' or 'to adze' wood or metal; and the Sinhalese MSS. read here *likham* instead of *lekham*. It cannot be 'to turn,' as the turning lathe is quite a modern invention.

⁴ A similar proceeding is related of a Bhikkhu at 24, 1.

an Arahāt and possessed of Iddhi. Give me the bowl.'

'If, Sir, you are an Arahāt and possessed of Iddhi, let your reverence get down the bowl!'

Then Makkhali Gosāla, and Agita Kesa-kambālī, and Pakudha Kakkāyana, and Saṅgaya Belatthi-putta, and Nigantha Nāta-putta went severally to the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha, [and preferred the same request, and received the same reply.]

Now at that time the venerable Mahā Moggallāna and the venerable Pindola Bhāradvāja, having dressed themselves early in the morning, went into Rāgagaha, duly bowled and robed, for alms. And the venerable Pindola Bhāradvāja said to the venerable Mahā Moggallāna: 'The venerable Mahā Moggallāna is both an Arahāt and possessed of Iddhi. Go, friend Moggallāna, and fetch down this bowl, for this bowl belongs to thee.'

'The venerable Pindola Bhāradvāja also is both an Arahāt and possessed of Iddhi. Go, friend Bhāradvāja, and fetch down the bowl, for this bowl belongs to thee.'

Then the venerable Pindola Bhāradvāja, rising up in the air, took the bowl, and went thrice round Rāgagaha (in the air). And at that time the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha stood in his dwelling-place with his wife and children, and holding up his clasped hands in reverent salutation, he exclaimed, 'May the venerable Bhāradvāja be pleased to descend upon our dwelling-place.' And the venerable Bhāradvāja descended into his dwelling-place. Then the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha took the bowl from the hands of the venerable Bhāradvāja, and filled it with costly food, and presented it to the venerable Bhāradvāja. And

the venerable Bhâradvâga took the bowl, and departed to his Ârâma.

2. Now the people heard, 'The venerable *Pindola Bhâradvâga*, they say, has got down the *Râgagaha Setthi's* bowl.' And those people, with shouts loud and long, followed in the steps of *Pindola Bhâradvâga*. And the Blessed One heard the shouts loud and long, and on hearing them he asked the venerable Ânanda, 'What now, Ânanda, does this so great shouting mean?'

'The venerable *Pindola Bhâradvâga*, Lord, has got down the *Râgagaha Setthi's* bowl; and the people thereof are following in his steps with shouts loud and long.'

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, convened a meeting of the *Bhikkhu-Samgha*, and asked *Pindola Bhâradvâga*, 'Is it true, as they say, that you, *Bhâradvâga*, have got down the *Râgagaha Setthi's* bowl?'

'It is true, Lord.'

The Blessed Buddha rebuked him, saying, 'This is improper, *Bhâradvâga*, not according to rule, unsuitable, unworthy of a *Samana*, unbecoming, and ought not to be done. How can you, *Bhâradvâga*, for the sake of a miserable wooden pot, display before the laity the superhuman quality of your miraculous power of *Iddhi*? Just, *Bhâradvâga*, like a woman who displays herself for the sake of a miserable piece of money¹, have you, for the sake of a miserable

¹ *Mâsaka-rûpassa*. On the *mâsaka*, see Rh. D.'s 'Ancient Coins and Measures, &c.,' p. 13. It is evident from the use of the word *rûpa* here that stamped pieces of money were known in the valley of the Ganges as early as the time when the *Kulla-*

wooden pot displayed before the laity the superhuman quality of your miraculous power of Iddhi. This will not conduce, Bhâradvâga, either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted; but rather to those who have not been converted remaining unconverted, and to the turning back of those who have been converted.'

And when he had rebuked him, and had delivered a religious discourse¹, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to display before the laity the superhuman power of Iddhi. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa². Break to pieces, O Bhikkhus, that wooden bowl; and when you have ground it to powder, give it to the Bhikkhus as perfume for their eye ointments³. And you are not, O Bhikkhus, to use wooden bowls. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa⁴.'

9.

1. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to use bowls of various kinds, made of gold and silver.

The people murmured (&c., as usual, down to) They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to use bowls made

vagga was composed. The word occurs also below at *Kullavagga* XII, 1, 1.

¹ See *Kullavagga* I, 1, 2.

² Compare the 4th *Pârâgika*.

³ The use of sandal-wood for this purpose is allowed by the closing words of *Mahāvagga* VI, 11.

⁴ This injunction is repeated below in the summary at V, 37.

of gold, or made of silver, or set with jewels, or made of beryl (*ve/uriya*¹), or made of crystal, or made of copper, or made of glass², or made of tin, or made of lead, or made of bronze. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, bowls of two kinds,—those made of iron, and those made of clay.'

2. Now at that time the support at the bottom of the bowls wore out³.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use circular (pieces of metal) as the supports for your bowls.'

Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to have various kinds of circular supports to their bowls,—silver ones, and gold ones.

The people murmured (&c., down to) They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to have various kinds of circular supports to your bowls. Whosoever does

¹ It is clear from verses 192–196 of the 13th chapter of the *Rāga-nighaṇṭu*, written by Narahari of Kashmir in the thirteenth century A. D., that at that time *Vaidūrya* meant 'cat's-eye.' But it is uncertain whether that was the only meaning of the word *ve/uriya* at the time when this passage was composed. (See especially V. 124, p. 25, of Dr. Richard Garbe's edition in his work, 'Die Indischen Mineralien,' Leipzig, 1882.) See also Professor Max Müller's interesting note at p. 266 of his 'What can India teach us?'

² *Kākamayo*. There was probably no glass in our modern sense of the word when the *Kullavagga* was written. But *kāka* is a silicious earth, and some sort of glass-like earthenware may very well have been in use. The phrase has already occurred, together with all the others in this passage, at *Mahāvagga* V, 8, 3, of foot-coverings, but is omitted in the list at *Khudda Sikkhā* V. 10.

³ *Ghaṃsīyati*. Literally, 'were rubbed.' See below, § 3, and our note below on V, 9, 2, 4.

so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, two kinds of circular supports to your bowls,—tin ones, and lead ones.’

The thick circular supports could not be inserted¹.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to shape them² (until they get to be the right size to fit in)³.’

They would not stay in (?)⁴.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to split little pieces of crocodiles’ teeth (to fit them in with)⁵.’

Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus had painted circular linings to the bottoms of their bowls, with painted figures scattered over them, or painted in patches of colour⁶, and they used to walk about the streets exhibiting them.

People murmured (&c., down to) They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to have painted circular supports to the bottoms of your bowls, covered

¹ *Akkhūpiyanti*. On the use of this word, compare *Mahāvagga* VIII, 14, 1, where it is used of inserting a slip of cloth in a torn garment.

² See our note above on V, 8, 1. *Buddhaghosa* says here *likhitun ti tanu-karaṇ-atthāy’ etaṃ vuttaṃ*. The ‘shaping’ may be by carving, adzing, or planing.

³ Compare above, V, 8, 1, and see *Buddhaghosa’s* note at p. 316 of the edition of the text.

⁴ The reading is corrupt; and therefore this rendering is merely conjectural. See H. O.’s note at p. 316 of his edition of the text.

⁵ On these split crocodiles’ teeth, see our note above on V, 1, 4.

⁶ *Rūpakokinnāni bhāti-kamma-katāni*. *Buddhaghosa* has nothing on these words. On the second, see below, VI, 2, 7, and H. O.’s note on that passage at p. 321 of the edition of the text. It is most probable that the reading in both passages should be *bhatti-kamma*, ‘patchwork,’ as further explained in our note below on VI, 2, 7; and we have translated accordingly.

with figures, and painted in patches of colour. Whosoever shall do so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, only ordinary linings.'

3. Now at that time the Bhikkhus put away their bowls with water in them, and the bowls were split.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to put away your bowls with water in them. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to dry your bowls in the sunshine¹ before putting them away.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus dried their bowls in the sunshine, with water in them; and the bowls became evil-smelling.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to dry your bowls in the sunshine with water in them. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to empty out the water², and then warm the bowls, before you put them away.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus put their bowls away in a warm place; and the colour of the bowls was spoilt.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to put your bowls away in a warm place. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to dry your bowls for a short time in a warm place, and then to put them away.'

¹ Otâpetvâ. The word has already occurred in Mahāvagga I, 25, 16. Compare Khudda Sikkhâ V. 6.

² Vodakam katvâ. Vodakam bears, of course, the same relation to sa-udakam, used just before, as vagga does to samagga. The expression has occurred already at Mahāvagga I, 25, 13.

4. Now at that time a number of bowls were left in the open air without supports; and the bowls were turned over by a whirlwind¹, and broke.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of supports for your bowls (when they are left out).'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus put their bowls away at the edge of the sleeping-benches in the verandahs², and the bowls fell down and were broken.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to put your bowls away on the edge of the sleeping-benches in the verandah. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkata.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus put their bowls away on the edge of the Paribhanda³, and the bowls fell down and were broken.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to put your bowls away on the edge of the Paribhanda. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkata.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus turned their bowls upside down⁴ on the ground, and the lips wore out.

¹ Vāta-mandalikāya. So also in the next section and in the Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga, Pāṭittiya 96. The reading at Gāṭaka I, 72 is vāta-maṇḍalam.

² Midhante. This word recurs below in VI, 2, 3, where see our note. Buddhaghosa's note is given at p. 317 of the edition of the text. See also Khudda Sikkhā V. 7.

³ Used of a house, this probably means a plastered flooring of scented earth or dried cowdung. See Kullavagga VI, 17, 1, and Buddhaghosa's note there. On the use of the word in tailoring, see Mahāvagga VII, 1, 5, VIII, 21. Buddhaghosa, loc. cit. (p. 317), uses the expression mattika-paribhanda-katāya-bhūmiyā.

⁴ Nikkugganti. See the use of this word at V, 20, 3.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a mat made of grass¹.’

The grass-mat was eaten by white ants.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a small cloth².’

The small cloth was eaten by the white ants.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a raised parapet(?) (on which to put your bowls)³.’

The bowls fell down from the parapet and were broken.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a wicker-work stand⁴.’

On the wicker-work stand the bowls wore out.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of bags to carry your bowls in.’

They had no shoulder-straps⁵.

¹ *Tina-santhâarakam*. That this word means a mat, and not a layer, of grass is clear from its use at *Gâtaka* I, 360, and below, V, 11, 3.

² *Kolaka*. The meaning of the word is doubtful, but see *Mahāvagga* VIII, 18. In the *uddâna* (at p. 143) the corresponding word is *kola*. See also below, VI, 3, 1, VI, 19, VI, 20, 2.

³ *Patta-mâ/akam*. *Buddhaghosa* says merely, ‘It should be made either of bricks or of wood.’ He confirms the reading of the text (with *l* as against Childers’s reading *mâlako*).

⁴ *Patta-kandolikâ ti mahâ-mukha-kunda-santhânâ bhandakukkhâlikâ vukkati* (B.). *Kandola* is a wicker-work basket; see *Böhtlingk-Roth*, sub voce.

⁵ See H. O.’s note on the reading here; and compare the table of contents to this chapter (at p. 143), where the reading *amsa-baddham* confirms the suggested alteration. If there were any

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a shoulder-strap (by which to carry the bag), or of a piece of string (by which to tie it on).'

5. Now at that time the Bhikkhus hung up their bowls on pins in the walls, or on hooks¹. The pins or hooks falling down, the bowls were broken.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to hang your bowls up. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus put their bowls down on a bed², or a chair; and sitting down thoughtlessly³ they upset them, and the bowls were broken.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to put your bowls on the bed, or on a chair. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus kept their bowls on their laps; and rising up thoughtlessly they upset them, and the bowls were broken.

further doubt it would be removed on comparing the closing words of Mahāvagga VI, 12, 4, which are identical with the present passage and contain the correct reading. The same remarks apply to other passages, where the same words occur below, V, 11, 5, V, 12, VI, 12, 3.

¹ The use of these appliances is formally allowed at VI, 3, 5.

² Mañña. Compare Rh.D.'s note at p. 277 of the 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' and Khuddha Sikkhā V. 7.

³ Sati-sammosā. The word occurs at Milinda-pañha (ed. Trenckner), p. 260. It must be connected with muṭṭha-sati, of which the Buddhist Sanskrit equivalent is mushita-smṛtiḥ (see Kathā Sarit Sāgara 56, 289). It is evident that Childers's original explanation of muṭṭha-sati from mūḷha was wrong, and that both words must be referred to the root mush, as he points out at p. 618 of his Dictionary.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to keep your bowls on your laps. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus put their bowls down on a sunshade; and the sunshade being lifted up by a whirlwind, the bowls rolled over, and were broken.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to put your bowls down on a sunshade. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus, when they were holding the bowls in their hands, opened the door¹. The door springing back the bowls were broken.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to open the door with your bowls in your hands. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

10.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus went on their round for alms, carrying water-jugs made out of gourds², or water-pots³.

¹ Kavâṭam paṇāmetvā. The construction of doors is described in detail at V, 14, 3, with reference to the bath-house, and again at VI, 2. That paṇāmeti is to open, and not to shut, is clear from VIII, 1, 1, just as pattam paṇāmeti at VIII, 5, 2 is to uncover, disclose, the bowl. Compare Khuddha Sikkhā V. 8.

² Tumba-kaṭāhan ti lāpu-kaṭāham vukkati (B.). Tumba is gourd, according to Böhtlingk-Roth. See Khuddha Sikkhā V. 11.

³ Ghaṭi-kaṭāhan ti ghaṭi-kapālam (B.). The whole section is repeated in the text of each kind of vessel.

People murmured, were shocked, and indignant, saying, 'As the Titthiyas do.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to go on your rounds for alms with water-jugs, or pots. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

2. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu, who had taken upon himself a vow to wear or use nothing except what he could procure from dust-heaps or cemeteries, went on his rounds for alms carrying a bowl made out of a skull. A certain woman saw him, and was afraid, and made an outcry¹, saying, 'O horror! This is surely a devil!'

People murmured, were shocked, and indignant, saying, 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas carry about bowls made out of skulls, as the devil-worshippers² do?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to use bowls made out of skulls. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. And you are not, O Bhikkhus, to take a vow to wear or to use nothing except what you procure from dust-heaps or cemeteries. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

3. Now at that time the Bhikkhus carried out odd bits, and bones, and dirty water³ in their bowls.

People murmured, were shocked, and were indignant, saying, 'The very vessel out of which

¹ Vissaraṃ akâsi, on the use of which idiom see the passages quoted below, Kullavagga VIII, 1, 1.

² Pisâṅgillikâ. See below, 27, 5, and Mahâvagga III, 12, 3.

³ This list recurs in the Old Commentary on the 10th Pâṭṭiya in the Bhikkhuni-vibhaṅga. As an explanation of vighâsa, Buddhaghosa says here ukkhattodakam ti mukha-vikkhâlanodakam.

these Sakyaputtiya Samanas eat, that they use as a waste-tub !'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to carry out odd bits, and bones, and dirty water in your bowls. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a waste-tub ¹.'

11.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus sewed their robes together after tearing the cloth with their hands ²; and the robes became jagged.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a blade and of a sheath (for the blade) made of felt ³.'

Now at that time a blade with a haft to it ⁴ had come into the possession of the Saṃgha.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

¹ Paṭiggaho. Slop-basin, waste-tub, 'receptacle' for odd bits. It is so used below at VIII, 4, 4.

² Vipâṭetvâ. The three MSS. read vipphâdetvâ, the same corrected to vipphâdetvâ, and vipphâmetvâ. M for L is a common mistake in Sinhalese MSS., and the correct reading may possibly be vipphâletvâ, if it is not vipphâṭetvâ, as suggested in H. O.'s note, vol. v, p. 259.

³ Namatakan ti satthaka-veṭhanakam pilotika-khandam (B.). The word occurs again below at V, 19, 1, V, 27, 1, and X, 10, 4 (where the nuns are forbidden to use it). Namata is felt; and nâmatika-aṅga, the wearing of felt, is inserted by some Sanskrit Buddhist writers in the list of Dhutaṅgas. (Burnouf, Introduction, &c., p. 306.)

⁴ Danda-satthakan ti vipphalikam vâ aññaṃ pi vâ yam kiṇṇi dandam yogetvâ kata-satthakam (B.). Compare danda-kaṭhinam at V, 11, 3, and danda-parissâvanam at V, 13, 3.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a blade with a haft to it.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used various kinds of long handles to their blades, made of silver, and made of gold.

People murmured (&c., as usual, down to) They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to use various kinds of handles to your blades. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of handles to your blades made of bone, or ivory, or horn, or of the *naḷa* reed, or of bamboo, or of hard wood, or of lac, or of the shells of fruit, or of bronze, or of the centre of the chank-shell¹.’

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus sewed their robes with quills or bits of bamboo rind, and the robes were badly sewn.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of needles.’

The needles got blunted².

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a needle-case made of bamboo³.’

Even in the needle-cases the needles became blunt.

¹ This list is given in the *Mahāvagga* VI, 12, 1 (where see our notes), as the materials of which ointment-boxes may be made; and below, V, 11, 5, of thimbles.

² *Kannakitā* *hontī ti malagga-kitā* (B.). *Mala* may probably here mean ‘rust,’ if the needles were made of iron. *Kannakitā*, ‘spoiled,’ is used of plastered walls and the floors of a *Vihāra* at *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 15 = *Kullavagga* VIII, 1, 3; and *pamsu-kitā* occurs just below in our present passage. Compare also the note on *vikannam* in the following section.

³ *Sūki-nāḷikam*. On these needle-cases compare the Introductory Story to the 20th *Gātaka*. It is *Pāṭittiya* to have them made of ivory, horn, or bone. (80th *Pāṭittiya*, but they are there called *Sūki-gḥaram*.)

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to fill the cases with chunam ¹.

Even in the chunam the needles became blunt.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to fill the cases with barley-meal ².’

Even in the barley-meal the needles became blunt.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of powdered stone ³.’

Even in the powdered stone the needles became blunt.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to mix (the powder) with beeswax ⁴.’

The powder still did not cohere.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to mix sipâtika gum ⁵ with the powder ⁶.’

3. Now at that time the Bhikkhus sewed their robes together by planting stakes here and there, and uniting them (with strings). The robes became out of shape ⁷.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a Kathina ⁸,

¹ *Kinnena kunnena* (B.).

² *Satthuyâ ti halidda-missakena pittha-kunnena* (B.).

³ *Saritakan ti pāsâna-kunnam vukkati* (B.).

⁴ *Madhu-sitthakena sâretun ti madhu-sitthakena makkhetum* (B.).

⁵ The use of this gum for medicine purposes is allowed at Mahāvagga VI, 7, where see our note. The present use is again mentioned below, V, 27, 1.

⁶ *Sarita-sibbâ/ikan ti madhu-sitthaka-pilotikam* (B.).

⁷ *Vikannam* hoti. See the note on this expression at Mahāvagga VI, 21, 1. The ‘robes’ were lengths of cloth, and ‘out of shape’ (*vikannam*) must mean either that one side was larger than the other, so that each corner (*kanno*) was not a right angle, or perhaps that each edge (*kanno*) was not straight.

⁸ What *Kathina* may mean in this connection is not exactly

and that you are to sew the robes together after tying down *Kaṭhina*-strings here and there.'

They spread out the *Kaṭhina* on uneven (ground), and the *Kaṭhina* fell to pieces¹.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to spread out the *Kaṭhina* on uneven (ground). Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*.'

They spread out the *Kaṭhina* on the ground, and the *Kaṭhina* became dirty.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a grass-mat.'

The edge of the *Kaṭhina* decayed through age.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to strengthen it by a doubling or a binding along the edge².

The *Kaṭhina* was not large enough³.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a *danda*-

clear to us, but it is evidently a sort of framework, or bench, for the tailors to lay out their work upon. Our notes above on the 1st Nissaggiya and on Mahāvagga VII, 1, 3, refer to a different and secondary use of the word in the *Kaṭhina* ceremonies—so-called doubtless because the *Kaṭhina*-dussa (the supply of cloth to be dyed, sewn, and made up into robes, and distributed, on one and the same day) was to be so sewn with the aid of the *Kaṭhina* here referred to. Buddhaghosa says here, *Kaṭhinan ti nissenī pi tattha attharita-katasāraka-kilaññānam aññataram pi kaṭhinam vukkati yāya dupaṭṭa-kīvaram sibbenti kaṭhine kīvaram pi bandhanti*. On *Dupaṭṭa*, see Mahāvagga VIII, 14, 1.

The use of *obandhitvā* (in reference to the *Kaṭhina*), in opposition to *sambandhitvā* (in reference to the mere stakes), is worthy of notice.

¹ *Paribhiggaṭi*. Perhaps we should translate, 'did not hold together.' See the last section.

² *Anuvāṭam paribhandam*. See Mahāvagga VII, 1, 5, VIII, 21, *Kullavagga* V, 9, 4, VI, 17, 1, XI, 1, 14, and our notes there.

³ *Kaṭhinam na ppahotī ti dighassa bhikkhuno pamāṇena katam kaṭhinam tattha rassassa bhikkhuno kīvaram patthariya-mānam na ppahoti anto yeva hoti* (B.).

*kaṭhina*¹, of a *pidalaka*¹, of a ticket, of binding strings, and of binding threads²; and that you sew your robes together after binding them therewith.'

The interstices between the threads became irregular in length³.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of little marks (of the leaf of the talipot palm, or such-like things)⁴.'

The threads became crooked.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of false threads (laid along the cloth to show where it is to be cut or sewn)⁵.'

4. Now at that time the Bhikkhus got on to the *Kaṭhina* with unwashed feet, or wet feet, or with their shoes on⁶, and the *Kaṭhina* was soiled.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to get on to the *Kaṭhina* with unwashed feet, or with wet feet, or with your shoes on. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*.'

5. Now at that time the Bhikkhus, when sewing

¹ On these terms, which we do not attempt to translate, see Buddhaghosa's notes as quoted by H. O. at p. 317 of the edition of the text. The first seems to be a *Kaṭhina* with a cross-bar, but *danda* at V, 11, 1, and V, 13, 3, means handle.

² *Vinandhana-raggum vinandhana-suttakam*. See Buddhaghosa's notes loc. cit., and compare *Mahāvagga* V, 11.

³ *Visamā honti ti kâṭi khuddakâ honti kâṭi mahantâ* (B.). *Sutta* here probably means those threads or strings just referred to by which the stuff was to be tied on to the *Kaṭhina*.

⁴ *Kaḷimbhakam*: so explained by Buddhaghosa, loc. cit.

⁵ *Mogha-suttakam*. Buddhaghosa says, 'the making of a mark with a green thread, as carpenters do on wood with a black thread.' Compare also our notes 2 and 3 on *Mahāvagga* VII, 1, 5.

⁶ The whole section is repeated in the text at length for each of these three cases.

their robes, held the stuff with their fingers, and their fingers were hurt.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a thimble¹.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used various kinds of thimbles,—gold ones, and silver ones.

People murmured, &c. The Bhikkhus heard, &c. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to use various kinds of thimbles. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, thimbles made of bone, or ivory, or horn, or of the *na/a* reed, or of bamboo, or of hard wood, or of lac, or of the shells of fruit, or of bronze, or of the centre of the chank-shell².’

Now at that time the needles, and scissors, and thimbles got lost.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a box or drawer³ in the workshop.’

They got crowded together in the workshop box.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a thimble bag (to carry the thimbles about in).’

They had no shoulder-strap.

¹ *Paṭiggaho*, ‘receptacle’ for the finger. See our note above on V, 10, 3, where the same word means a waste-tub. For other secondary uses of the word, see *Gātaka* I, 146, II, 9, 26. *Buddhaghosa* says here, *paṭiggahan ti aṅguli-kosakam*.

² So of ointment-boxes, *Mahāvagga* VII, 12, 1; and of scissors, above, V, 11, 1.

³ *Āsevana*-(sic)*vitthakam nāma yam kiṇṇi pātī-kaṅgoṭakādi* (B.).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a shoulder-strap, or of a piece of string, to tie the bags on with¹.’

6². Now at that time the Bhikkhus, when sewing their robes in the open air, were distressed by heat and by cold.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a hall or of a shed for the *Katthina*.’

The *Katthina* hall had too low a basement, and it was inundated with water.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make it with a high basement³.’

The facing (of the basement) fell in.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to line the basement with facing of three kinds⁴—brick facing, stone facing, or wooden facing.’

They found difficulty in getting up into it.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of stairs of three kinds—brick stairs, stone stairs, or wooden stairs.’

As they were going up them they fell off.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a balustrade⁵.’

¹ See our note above on V, 9, 4.

² The whole of this paragraph is repeated below, though not in the same order, of the *Kaṅkama* or cloister, and of the *Gantāghara*, or bath-house. (See V, 14, 2, 3.)

³ That is, to build it on a raised platform, the technical term for which is *kāya*.

⁴ See our note below on V, 14, 3. The whole passage recurs of the lining of a well at V, 16, 2, and of *Vihâras* themselves at VI, 3, 3.

⁵ *Ālambana-bāham*. At *Mahâ-sudassana Sutta* I, 59, there is

Straw and plaster fell (from the walls and roof) into the *Katthina*-hall.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to first cover over (the walls and roof with skins¹), and then plaster them within and without. (And I allow the use of) whitewash, and blacking, and red colouring², and wreath-work, and creeper-work, and bone hooks, and cupboards³, and bamboos to hang robes on, and strings to hang robes on.'

7. Now at that time the Bhikkhus, when they had sewn the robes together, left the *Katthina* as it was, and went away; and the robes were eaten by rats and white ants.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to fold up the *Katthina*.' The *Katthina* came to pieces.

a description of flights of stairs (*sopâṇâ*), each of which had *thambhâ*, evidently posts or banisters; *sûkiyo*, apparently cross-bars let in to these banisters; and *unhîsam*, either a head-line running along the top of the banisters, or a figure-head at the lower end of such a head-line. (See Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 262.) This and the previous paragraphs are repeated below, V, 14, 2, of the *Kaṅkama*.

¹ See *Mahāvagga* V, 11, where the same technical term (*ogumpheti*) is used. *Buddhaghosa's* note is given at p. 317 of the text. See also V, 14, 3, below.

² *Geruka-parikammam*. This reading, and not *gerika*, is confirmed by VI, 3, 1, VI, 17, 1, where the two previous words also occur. On this mode of preparing walls and floors, see our note below on VI, 20.

³ *Pañka-paṭṭikam* or *-paṭṭhikam*, a term of doubtful signification which recurs, together with all the previous words, in the Old Commentary on the 19th *Pāṭṭiya*. Compare *pañka-prastha* in B.R. The word is perhaps however connected with Sanskrit *paṭṭikâ*, as *kela-pattikam* at V, 21, 2 undoubtedly is. It occurs below, in a similar connection, at VI, 3, 1.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to fold up the *Kathina* in a cow-hide (?)¹.’

The *Kathina* got uncovered.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of strings to tie it up with.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus went away, putting the *Kathina* up against the wall or a pillar; and the *Kathina*, falling over, was broken.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to hang it on a stake of the wall, or on a hook ².’

12.

1. Now the Blessed One, when he had stayed at Rāgagaha as long as he thought fit, set out on his journey toward Vesālī³.

Now at that time the Bhikkhus went along, carrying their needles and scissors and drugs in their bowls.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a bag to carry the drugs in ⁴.’

¹ Go-ghamsikāya. Compare pāda-ghamsani at 22. 1; and on the use of *samharati* in a similar connection, see VI, 2, 7.

² Nāga-dante. See the note on Mallaka at Kullavagga V, 1, 4.

³ This is merely introduced to show that the following rules or privileges in this and the next chapter (§§ 1, 2) were to be in force when the Bhikkhus were on a journey.

⁴ Neither here nor in V, 11, 5 are we to understand that the needles and scissors are to be carried in bags. They are mentioned in both passages merely to show the inconvenience of having no separate receptacles for the thimbles and the drugs.

They had no shoulder-strap.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a shoulder-strap¹, or of a string to tie the bags on with.’

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu tied his sandals on to his girdle, and then entered the village for alms². A certain Upāsaka, when saluting that Bhikkhu, knocked up against the sandals with his head. The Bhikkhu was annoyed; and when he had returned to the Ārāma, he told this matter to the Bhikkhus. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a bag to carry your sandals in.’

They had no shoulder-strap.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a shoulder-strap, or of a string to tie the bags on with.’

13.

1. Now at that time the water as they went along could not be drunk without breaking the rules³, as they had no strainers.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a strainer.’

The little cloth (that was used for a strainer) was not sufficient (to filter enough water for the whole party).

¹ See the note on V, 9, 4.

² He would require the sandals only when he came, in his journey, to rough places; not on the smooth, well-trodden, village paths.

³ The rule, that is, against destroying the life of living things.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a strainer fixed on to a ladle¹.’

Still the little cloth was not sufficient for the purpose.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a regulation water-pot².’

2. Now at that time two Bhikkhus were travelling along the high-road in the Kosala country. One of the Bhikkhus was guilty of some transgression. The other one said to him, ‘Do not, my friend, do such a thing. It is not becoming.’ The first one bore a grudge against him³. Afterwards the other Bhikkhu, being tormented with thirst, said to the Bhikkhu who bore the grudge, ‘Give me, friend, your strainer. I am going to drink some water.’ The Bhikkhu who bore the grudge would not give it to him. The other Bhikkhu died of thirst⁴. Then that Bhikkhu, when he had arrived at the Ârâma, told this matter to the Bhikkhus.

¹ *Kaṭakkhu-parissāvanam nāma tīsu dandakesu vinandhitvā kaṭam* (B.).

² *Dhamma-karakam*. Doubtless a water-pot with a strainer so fixed into it that a quantity of water could be filtered quickly. The word occurs at *Mahāvamsa*, p. 90, and below, VI, 21, 3.

³ So *tasmim upanandhi*. The Introductory Story in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* on the 36th *Pāṭṭiya* is, so far, word for word the same as this section. Buddhaghosa there explains *upanandhi* by *ganita-upanāho*. See vol. iv, p. 359, of H. O.’s edition of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. The Introductory Story to the 31st *Gāṭaka* is also based on a similar incident, and there the corresponding expression is *vivādam akamsu*. (Fausbøll’s *Gāṭaka*, vol. i, p. 198.)

⁴ In the *Gāṭaka* commentary this tragic result of the refusal is absent. The Bhikkhu who has no strainer merely drinks without straining. (Rh. D.’s ‘*Buddhist Birth Stories*,’ vol. i, p. 278.)

‘What then, Sir? when asked for your strainer, would you not lend it?’

‘It is even so, Sirs.’

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate were annoyed and vexed, and murmured, saying, ‘How can a Bhikkhu, when asked for his strainer, refuse to lend it?’ And they told this matter to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One on that occasion and in that connection (&c., as usual, see for instance in *Kullavagga* I, 1, 2, down to) addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘A Bhikkhu who is on a journey is not, O Bhikkhus, to refuse to lend his strainer, when he is asked for it. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*. And (a Bhikkhu who is) not provided with a strainer, O Bhikkhus, is not to undertake a journey. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*. If there be no strainer nor regulation water-pot, the corner of the upper robe is to be adopted¹ for the purpose of straining before drinking.’

3. Now the Blessed One, journeying straight on, arrived in due course at *Vesālī*. And there at *Vesālī* the Blessed One lodged in the *Mahāvana*, in the *Kûṭāgāra* Hall.

Now at that time the Bhikkhus were engaged in building²; and the strainer did not act³.

¹ *Adhiṭṭhātabbo*, that is, the Bhikkhu is to determine in his mind that that part of his robe is a strainer for the time.

² *Navakammam karonti*. On the use of this and allied idioms, see *Gātaka* I, 92, line 22; *Kullavagga* I, 18, 1, VI, 5, 2; *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga*, *Pārāgika* I, 1; *Indian Antiquary* XI, 29; *Senart's Kakkāyana*, p. 189.

³ *Na sammati*, which is curious. For ‘did not suffice,’ the standing expression would be *na ppahoti*.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a double strainer¹.’

The double strainer did not act.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a filter².’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus were troubled³ by mosquitoes.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of mosquito curtains⁴.’

14.

1. Now at that time at Vesālī a regular service of sweet food had been established, the laity taking the duty in turns. The Bhikkhus, eating the sweet food, became very sick with superfluity of humors in their body⁵.

Now *Gīvaka Komārabhaṭṭha* went to Vesālī on

¹ *Danda-parissāvanam*. Apparently a long box, both ends of which strain the water, which is poured into the middle by means of a pipe (*dandaka*). Buddhaghosa says, *Danda-parissāvanam* ti (sic; only one s) *raganakānam khāra-parissāvanam viya katusu pādesu baddha-nisenikāya sākākam bandhitvā magghe dandake udakam āsiññitabbam*. Tam ubhohi *koṭṭhāsehi pūretvā parissāvati*. Compare *danda-satthakam* and *danda-kathinam*, above, V, 11, 1, 3.

² *Ottharakam nāma yam udaye ottharivā ghaṭakena udakam ganhanti*. Tam hi *katusu dandakesu vettham bandhitvā sabbe pariyante udakato moketvā magghe ottharivā ghaṭena udakam ganhanti* (B.).

³ *Ubbāḷhā*. See Mahāvagga III, 9, 1-4, and Gāṭaka I, 300.

⁴ *Makasa-kuṭikā ti kīvara-kuṭikā* (B.). Literally, a ‘mosquito hut,’ the walls of which are to be of cloth.

⁵ *Abhisannakāyā ti semhādi-dos’ussanna-kāyā* (B.). This word has already occurred at Mahāvagga VI, 14, 7, where Buddhaghosa’s explanation is much the same. See also Mahāvagga VIII, 1, 30.

some business or other. And on seeing the Bhikkhus very sick with superfluity of humors, he went up to where the Blessed One was; and when he had come there, he saluted the Blessed One and took his seat on one side. And when so seated he said to the Blessed One: 'The Bhikkhus, Lord, are now very sick with superfluity of humors. It would be well if the Blessed One were to prescribe, Lord, for the Bhikkhus the use of the cloister¹ and of the bath-room². Thus will the Bhikkhus become convalescent.'

Then the Blessed One instructed, and aroused, and incited, and gladdened *Givaka Komârabhakkā* with religious discourse. And *Givaka Komârabhakkā*, so instructed, and incited, and aroused, and gladdened with religious discourse, arose from his seat and saluted the Blessed One, and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, departed thence. And the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, convened an assembly of the Bhikkhusamgha, and addressed the Bhikkhus, and said, 'I

¹ *Kaṅkama*. A straight piece of ground cleared and levelled for the purpose of walking up and down upon for exercise and meditation. See our note on this word at Mahāvagga V, 1, 14.

² *Gantāghara*. See our note above on Mahāvagga I, 25, 12. It was not ordinarily used for cold baths, which were taken in the rivers or tanks, but for a kind of hot-water bath, or perhaps steam bath, the exact mode of taking or administering which is not as yet certain. Several Bhikkhus took the bath at the same time, but it is not likely that they got into the water (though the expression *uttarati* is used, loc. cit., of their leaving the bath), as they scarcely would have made vessels large enough to contain a man. It rather seems that they sat on stools close to a large fire, and had water poured over them. The use of this kind of bath is forbidden to the Bhikkhunis at Kullavagga X, 27, 4.

prescribe, O Bhikkhus, the use of the cloister and of the bath-room.'

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus walked up and down on a cloister on uneven ground; and their feet were hurt.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make it level.'

The cloister had too low a basement, and was inundated with water¹.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make it with a high basement.'

The facing of the basement fell in².

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of facing of three kinds—brick facing, stone facing, and wooden facing.'

They found difficulty in getting up into it.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of stairs of three kinds—brick stairs, stone stairs, and wooden stairs.'

As they were going up them, they fell off.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a balustrade.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus, when walking up and down in the cloister, fell down.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to provide a railing³ for the cloister.'

¹ All the following paragraphs are the same as above, V, 11, 6, where see our notes.

² As we have pointed out above, in our note on Mahāvagga V, 1, 14, it is not probable that the *Kaṅkama* at first had a roof and stairs and balustrade. These were later improvements.

³ *Vedikā*. See *Mahā-sudassana Sutta* I, 60, and Rh. D.'s note there ('*Buddhist Suttas*,' p. 262), and below, VI, 2, 2.

Now at that time the Bhikkhus, when walking up and down in the open air, were distressed by heat and by cold.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a hall for the cloister¹.’

Straw and plaster fell (from the walls and roof) into the cloister-hall.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to first cover over (the walls and roof with skins), and then plaster them. (And I allow the use of) whitewash, and blacking, and red colouring, and wreath-work, and creeper-work, and bone hooks, and cupboards, and bamboos to hang robes on, and strings to hang robes on.’

3. [The whole of the above, from the basement down to the balustrade, is repeated of the hot-bath house.]

The bath house had no door.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a door, with door-posts and lintel², with hollows like a mortar (for the door to revolve in³), with projections to

¹ *Kaṅkamana-sālā*, already referred to at Mahāvagga III, 5.

² *Piṭṭha-saṃghāṭam*. See Childers under *saṃghāṭa*, and the Samanta Pāsādikā on the 19th Pāṭittiya. *Kavāṭa-piṭṭha* occurs in Mahāvagga I, 25, 15, and in the Samanta Pāsādikā on Pāṭittiya 19 (compare *upari-piṭṭhiti* at Kullavagga VIII, 1, 1), and this and the two following phrases below, VI, 2, 1. Buddha-ghosa has nothing on them, either here or there; and they were probably therefore in quite common use even in his day. The whole of this paragraph recurs below, VI, 3, 7.

³ *Udukkhalikam*. Presumably the door had no hinges, but the upper and lower ends of one side projected into hollows prepared for them in the lintel and the threshold. This suggestion is confirmed by the connection in which these words are used at VI, 2, 1.

revolve in those hollows¹, with rings on the door for the bolt to work along in², with a block of wood fixed unto the edge of the door-post and containing a cavity for the bolt to go into (called the monkey's head³), with a pin⁴ (to secure the bolt by), with a connecting bolt⁵, with a key-hole⁶, with a hole for the string with which the door can be closed, and with a string for that purpose⁷.

¹ Uttara-pâsakam. See the last note. Pâsaka recurs also in the next but one. Compare aggala-pâsaga in Âyâraṅga Sutta II, 1, 5, 2.

² Aggala-vaṭṭi nâma dvâra-bâhâye samappamâno yeva aggalatthambho vuḍḍati yattha tîni kattâri khiddâni katvâ sūhiyo denti (B.).

³ Kapi-sîsakam nâma dvâra-bâham viggḥitva tattha pavesito aggala-pâsako vuḍḍati (B.). The word recurs in the Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta V, 32, where it is said of Ânanda that he kapisîsakam âlambitvâ aṭṭhâsi, just as in the Mahâ-sudassana Sutta II, 24 it is said of the queen under similar circumstances that she dvâra-bâham âlambitvâ aṭṭhâsi. Buddhaghosa's commentary on the word in the former of these two passages is given by Rh. D. in his note at p. 95 of the 'Buddhist Suttas.'

⁴ Sūhikâ ti tattha (that is, kapi-sîsake) magghe khiddam katvâ pavesitâ (B.). Apparently a pin to pass through the monkey's head so as to secure the bolt in its place after it has been shot into the cavity. See the next note and below, VI, 2, 1.

⁵ Ghaṭikâ ti upari-yogitâ (B.). At Gâtaka I, 360 (compare Kullavagga IX, 1, 2), we are told of a man who dvârâni pidahanto sabba-dvâresu sūlighaṭikâdayo datvâ talam (sic, query tâlam) abhiruhitvâ tattha pi dvâram pidahitvâ nisîdi. As the principal bolt was probably called aggala (unless that were the name for the whole machinery), this was some smaller bolt. And in Kullavagga VIII, 1, 1 an instance is given of a man undoing the bolt (ghaṭikam ugghâ/etvâ) of an uninhabited vihâra, such as is referred to in VI, 2, 1.

⁶ Tâlakkhiddam. See the end of VI, 2, 1, and Childers under the word tâlo. Buddhaghosa says nothing. The word tâla occurs in the last note.

⁷ Âviññhana-kkhiddam âviññhana-raggum. These are said in VI, 2, 1 to be necessary because the door could not be put

The lower part of the wattle and daub wall¹ of the bath-room decayed (through damp).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to face round the lower half of the wall (with bricks²).'

The bath-room had no chimney³.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a chimney.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus made a fire-place in the middle of a small bath-room, and there was no room to get to (the bath).

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make the fire-place at one side of a small bath-room, and in the middle of a large one⁴.'

The fire in the bath-room scorched their faces.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of clay to spread over your faces⁵.'

They moistened the clay in their hands.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a trough to moisten the clay in⁶.'

to, and doubtless have the meaning above assigned to them. *Āviññi* (or *āviñgi*?) at Sutta-vibhaṅga, *Samghādisesa* II, 4, 9, means he drew towards himself; and *Āviññanā* (*āviñganā*?), *ibid.* II, 2, 2, is used as an equivalent of *ākaddhanā*, which is much the same thing.

¹ *Kudda-pādo*. Compare Rh. D.'s note on Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta V, 41. The phrase recurs below of Vihāras at VI, 3, 4.

² *Mandalikam kātun ti nika-vatthukam kinitum* (B.). *Kināti* is the technical word for laying bricks one above another; the comment therefore means 'to line or face the lower part with bricks.' (Compare *pokkharaniyo itthikāhi kinitum* at Mahā-sudassana Sutta I, 58; Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 262, 'to face the ponds with bricks or tiles;' and on facing a well below, V, 16, 2.)

³ *Dhūma-nettan ti dhūma-nikkhamana-khiddam* (B.). The word is used of a surgical instrument at Mahāvagga VI, 13, 2.

⁴ A similar paragraph occurs below, VI, 3, 3, of Vihāras.

⁵ *Mukha-mattikam*. See our note 4 on Mahāvagga I, 25, 12.

⁶ *Mattikā-donikam*. See the last words of V, 16, 2.

The clay had a bad smell.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to scent it.’

The fire in the bath-room scorched their bodies.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to have water poured over you.’

They poured the water out of dishes and alms-bowls.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a stand for the water, and saucers¹ to pour it from.’

A bath-room with a thatched roof did not produce perspiration.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cover the roof of the bath-room (with skins²), and to plaster it within and without.’

The bath-room became swampy.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to lay the floor with flooring of three kinds—brick flooring, stone flooring, and wooden flooring.’

It still became swampy.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to wash the floor.’

The water settled on the floor.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a drain to carry off the water³.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus sat in the bath-room on the ground, and they had pins and needles in their limbs⁴.

¹ *Sarāvakaṃ*. See *Mahāvagga* VI, 12, 1, and *Gâtaka*, vol. i, p. 8.

² *Ogumphetvâ*. See above, V, 11, 6, and our note there.

³ *Udaka-niddhamanaṃ*. See *Gâtaka* I, 175, 409, 425, 489, in which passages an entrance to, or an exit from, a palace or a city is effected respectively *niddhamana-mukhena*, *niddhamana-dvârena*, *niddhamanena*, and *niddhamana-maggena*. Our phrase here recurs below, V, 35, 4.

⁴ *Gattâni kaṇḍuvanti*. *Gattâni* is nominative, not accusative. Compare *Mahāvagga* VI, 14, 5, where *kaṇḍuvati* is used in the neuter sense. (‘The sore was irritable.’)

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of stools for the bath-room.’

Now at that time the bath-room had no enclosure.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to enclose it with three kinds of enclosures—brick walls, and stone walls, and wooden fences.’

4. There was no antechamber¹ (in which the water could be kept).

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to have an antechamber.’

The basement of the antechamber was too low, and it was inundated with water [and so on, as in II. 6, and in the last section down to the end of the description of the door, followed by the closing words of II. 6 and of § 2 from ‘straw and plaster fell, &c.,’ down to ‘cupboards²’].

5. The cell³ became swampy.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to spread gravel⁴ over it.’

¹ *Ko//hako*. This word means a room without a window; and it is used either of 1. ‘a room over a gateway,’ or 2. ‘a room used as a store-room.’ (Compare *Mahāvagga* III, 5, 6, 9; *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 6, 7, VI, 3, 7, 9, VI, 4, 10, IX, 1, 2; and *Gātaka* I, 179, 227, 230, II, 168.) The whole of this paragraph recurs below, V, 35, 4, of the *ko//haka* to a privy; and the two passages taken together show that an entrance room or passage, a porch or antechamber, is meant, in which the water was kept ready for use. For that reason this particular kind of *ko//haka* is elsewhere called, in both connections, *udaka-ko//haka* (*Mahāvagga* VI, 14, 3, of the bath-room—where see Buddhaghosa’s note quoted in our ‘*Vinaya Texts*,’ vol. ii, p. 57—and *Dhammapada*, p. 103, of the privy). Buddhaghosa explains it here by *dvāra-ko//hako*; and it occurs again below, VIII, 8, 2, in the same sense.

² The last two items in § 2 are supplied for this case also in the next chapter but one.

³ *Pariveṇa* is doubtless here, and below at VIII, 8, 2 in the same connection, a cell used as a cooling-room, after the steam bath. Buddhaghosa says nothing here, but gives a note below, V, 35, 4.

⁴ *Marumba*. This word occurs in a description of different kinds of earths in the Old Commentary on the 10th *Pāṭittiya*

They did not succeed in getting any¹.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to flag it with stone.’

The water settled on the floor.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to have a drain to it.’

15.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus, when naked², saluted one another, and received salutes; did service to one another, and received services; gave to one another, and accepted; ate, both hard food and soft; tasted; and drank.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A man, O Bhikkhus, when naked, is not to give salutations, nor receive them; is not to do services, nor to accept them³; is not to give, nor to receive; is not to eat either hard or soft; is not to taste; is not to drink. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

16.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus in the bath-room put the robes down on the ground, and the robes became dirty.

(Sutta-vibhaṅga, Pāṭiṭṭiya X, 2, 1); and in a similar connection at *Dīpavamsa* XIX, 2. Also below, V, 35, 4, VI, 3, 8.

¹ Na pariyāpuṇanti. See the use of this phrase at *Kullavagga* V, 5, 2.

² That is, while in the *Gantāghara*, which explains the otherwise inexplicable fact of this chapter being inserted here instead of at the commencement of 16. 2.

³ In *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 13, services are to be rendered to a Bhikkhu who is in the bath. This is permitted by 16. 2 below.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a bamboo to hang your robes on, and of a string to hang your robes on¹.’

When rain fell, it fell over the robes.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to have a hall to the bath-room.’

The basement of the bath-room hall was too low [&c., as in 11. 6; 14. 2 as to basement, roof-facing, stairs, and balustrade, followed by the closing words of 11. 6 and 14. 2, down to the end].

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus were afraid² to do service to one another, both when in the bath-room and in the water.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, three kinds of coverings—the covering of the bath-room, the covering of the water, and the covering by clothes³.’

Now at that time there was no water in the bath-room.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a well.’

The facing of the well fell in⁴.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to line the well with

¹ So also above, 11. 6 (at the end), and 14. 2 (at the end).

² On account of the rule laid down in chapter 15.

³ This rule abrogates that laid down in chapter 15, so far as regards bathing and shampooing. Buddhaghosa says accordingly, Tisso *paṭikkhādayo* ti. Ettha *gantāghara-paṭikkhādi ka udaka-paṭikkhādi ka parikammam karontass’ eva vaṭṭati*, sesesu *abhi-vādanādisu na vaṭṭati*. *Vattha-paṭikkhādi sabba-kammesu vaṭṭati*.

⁴ *Kūlam luggati*. (The reading is not without doubt.) Compare *Paluggati*. The same expression occurs below, V, 17, 2; and *luggati* at Mahāvagga VIII, 21, 1.

facings of three kinds¹—brick facing, stone facing, and wooden facing.’

[Then follow the paragraphs as to the high basement, the facing of the roof, the stairs, and the balustrade, as in 11. 6; 14. 2; and above, § 1².]

Now at that time the Bhikkhus drew water with jungle-rope³, or with their waistbands.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a string rope to draw water with.’

Their hands were hurt (by the rope).

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a long pole balanced as a lever⁴, of a bullock machine⁵, or of a wheel and axle⁶.’

¹ *Kinitum* tayo *kaye*. See our note 4 above on V, 14, 3, and the passages there quoted. The whole passage occurs V, 11, 6.

² All this refers doubtless to the kind of shed or portico to be erected over the well. (See below.) One would expect that the formal licence for such a *mandapa* would have been inserted here in due course as above, 11. 6, for the *Kaṭhina-sālā*.

³ This is the usual Anglo-Indian term for the creepers so commonly used for such purposes. The Pāli word is *vallikā*, which occurs in a different sense at V, 2, 1.

⁴ *Tulā*. This is the ordinary and simple machine, so common in all countries where irrigation is carried on, for raising water from canals or from shallow wells. Buddhaghosa says here: *Tulan ti pannikānam viya udaka-abbhāhana-tulā*. *Pannika* is ‘florist’ (see *Gāṭaka* I, 411, II, 180). *Abbhāhana* must be wrong (see *Sutta Nipāta* III, 8, 8); possibly *abbhāvāhana* is the correct reading.

⁵ The name of this machine is spelt differently in the MSS. (*karaka/aṅka* the Sinhalese MS., and *karakaḍaka* the Burmese MSS.), and the reading is doubtful. Buddhaghosa says: *Dakadaka/ako* (sic! In the next note but two the same MS. reads *kaṭadaka/ake*) *vukkati gone vā yogetvā hatthehi vā gahetvā dīgha-varattādīhi ākaddhana-yantam*. We can only say negatively that the word can have nothing to do either with *karka/aka*, a hook in the form of a crab’s claw; or with *kara-kaṇṭaka*, finger-nail.

⁶ *Kakkavaṭṭakam*, on which Buddhaghosa has the unintelligible note *arahatta(!)-ghaṭi-yantam*.

A number of pots were broken.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, water-vessels¹ of three kinds—brass pots, wooden pots, and skins².'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus, when drawing water in the open air, suffered from heat and cold.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to build a shed over the well³.'

Straw and plaster fell into the building over the well.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cover the shed with skins, and to plaster it within and without; and I allow the use of whitewash, blacking, red-colouring, wreath work, creeper work, cupboards, bamboos to hang robes on, and strings to hang robes on.'

The well was uncovered, and it was littered over with grass, and plaster, and dirt.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a lid⁴ to the well.'

Water-vessels were found wanting.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of troughs⁵ and basons.'

¹ Vārake. The spelling of this word in Childers's Dictionary (*varāko*) is a misprint. Both the passages he quotes read *vārako*. Other water-vessels, besides these three, are allowed by the closing rule of this chapter.

² *Kamma-khandam nāma tūlāya vā ka/adaka/ake vā yogetabam kamma-bhāganam* (B.). The rendering adopted by Childers from Turnour (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 3) is therefore incorrect.

³ The following passage has already occurred above, V, 11, 6 and V, 14, 3.

⁴ *Apidhānam*. See *Mahāvagga* VI, 12, 2.

⁵ *Udaka-donim*. At *Gâtaka* I, 450, such a *doni* is said to have been made out of the trunk of a tree. Compare the use of *mattikâ-donikam* at V, 14, 3.

17.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus used to bathe anywhere all over the Ârâma, and the Ârâma became muddy.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a pool (at the entrance to the Ârâma).'

The pool was public, and the Bhikkhus were ashamed to bathe in it.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to surround it with enclosures of three kinds—brick walls, stone walls, and wooden fences¹.'

The pool became muddy.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to flag it with three kinds of flooring—brick flooring, stone flooring, or wooden flooring.'

The water settled.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a drain.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus' limbs became cold.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make use of a towel², and to wipe the water off with a cloth.'

2. Now at that time a certain Upâsaka was desirous of making a tank for the use of the Samgha.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a tank.'

The sides of the tank fell in³.

¹ So also the closing words of V, 14, 3.

² Udaka-puññhani. This is also mentioned in the Old Commentary on the 86th Pâṭittiya. The verb recurs in the same sense below, VI, 3, 1.

³ Kûlam luggati. See V, 16, 2.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to line the tank with facing of three kinds—brick facing, stone facing, and wooden facing.'

They found difficulty¹ in getting into it.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, flights of stairs of three kinds—brick steps, stone steps, and wooden steps.'

While going up them, they fell down.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a balustrade.'

The water in the tank became stale.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of pipes to lay on the water², and to drain the water off³.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was desirous of erecting a bath-room with a *nillekha*⁴ roof for the use of the *Samgha*.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a bath-room with such a roof to it.'

18.

1. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus separated themselves from the mats on which they sat down for four months⁵.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to separate yourselves for four months from the mats on which you sit

¹ *Vihaññanti*. See V, 11, 6.

² *Udakāyatikan ti udakassa āgamana-mattikam* (B.). Compare *āyataka* at IX, 1, 3.

³ See above our note on V, 14, 3.

⁴ *Nillekha-gantāgharam nāma āviddha-pakkha-pāsakam vukkatī*. *Gopānasīnam upari-maṇḍale pakkha-pāsake ihapetvā kata-kūṭa-kkhadanass' etam nāmam* (B.).

⁵ Compare the 2nd *Nissaggiya*.

down. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.¹

Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus lay down to sleep on beds scattered over with flowers.

People who came on a visit to the Vihâras saw it, and murmured, &c., saying, 'Like those who still live in the pleasures of the world.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to sleep on beds scattered over with flowers. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time people came to the Ârâma, bringing perfumes and garlands. The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not accept them.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to accept the perfume, and to apply it to the door for a space of five finger-breadths¹; and to accept the flowers, and put them on one side in the Vihâra.'

19.

1. Now at that time a sheath of felt² had come into the possession of the *Samgha*.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a sheath.'

The Bhikkhus considered whether a sheath was a thing which each one might keep for himself, or a thing which ought to be handed over from time to time by one Bhikkhu to another.'

¹ *Kavâṭe pañkaṅgulikam dâtum*, on which Buddhaghosa has no note. This measure occurs in *Gâtaka* I, 166, 192; Fausböll's 'Five Gâtakas' 6; and *Mahāvamsa*, p. 193.

² *Namatakam*. See V, 11, 1.

‘A sheath, O Bhikkhus, is neither to be appropriated nor to be handed over¹.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to eat lying on decorated divans.

People murmured, &c. . . . saying, ‘Like those still living in the pleasures of the world.’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to eat lying on decorated divans². Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkata.’

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was sick, and when eating he was not able to hold his bowl in his hand.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a stand for the bowl³.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus used to eat out of one dish, to drink out of one vessel, and to lie on one bed, one coverlet, or one mat⁴.

The people murmured, &c. . . .

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

¹ Na adhi//hâtabbam na vikappetabbam. That is, it is always to be kept as common property of the Samgha (Samghika). See Mahāvagga VIII, 20, 2, where the same expressions occur.

² Âsittakûpadhânam nâma tamba-lohena vâ ragatena vâ katâya pe/âya (MS. belâya) etam adhivâkanam. The use of an ubhato-lohitakûpadhânam is condemned, among other things of a like kind, in the Magghima Sîla, § 5 (Rh. D.’s ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 193), and above, Mahāvagga V, 10, 2.

³ Ma/orikâ ti danâdhârako vukkati. Ya//hi-âdhâraka-pammâ-dhâraka-pakkhita-pi//hâni pi etth’ eva pavii//hâni. Âdhâraka-samkhepana-gamanato hi pa//hâya khiddam viddham pi aviddham pi va//ati yeva (B.).

⁴ All these words have already occurred above at Kullavagga I, 13, 1. ‘Sitting on one seat’ is there added to the list.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, [to do any of these things.] Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

20.

1. Now at that time *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi* was a friend of the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka¹. Now *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi* went up to the place where those Bhikkhus were, and on arriving there he said to them, ‘My salutation to you, Sirs!’ When he had thus spoken, the Bhikkhus who were followers of Mettiya and Bhummagaka gave him no reply. And a second and a third time [he said the same words, and still received no reply].

‘Wherein have I offended you, Sirs? Why do you give me no reply?’

‘Therein, that you, friend, sit contented while we are being molested by Dabba the Mallian.’

‘But what, Sirs, can I do?’

‘If you wished it, friend, to-day even would the Blessed One expel Dabba the Mallian.

‘But what shall I do, Sirs? What is that it is in my power to do?’

‘Come then, friend *Vaddha*. Do you go up to the place where the Blessed One is, and when you have come there, say as follows: “This, Lord, is neither fit nor becoming that the very quarter of the heavens which ought to be safe, secure, and free from danger,

¹ These are two of the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus; and the evil deeds of the followers form the subject of *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 5 and following sections. Our sections 1, 2 are nearly the same as §§ 8, 9 there.

that from that very quarter should arise danger, calamity, and distress—that where one ought to expect a calm, that just there one should meet a gale! Methinks the very water has taken fire! My wife has been defiled by Dabba the Mallian!”’

2. ‘Very well, Sirs!’ said *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, accepting the word of the followers of *Mettiya* and *Bhummagaka*. And he went up to the Blessed One [and spake even as he had been directed].

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, convened a meeting of the *Bhikkhu-saṃgha*, and asked the venerable Dabba the Mallian:

‘Are you conscious¹, Dabba, of having done such a thing as this *Vaddha* says?’

‘As my Lord, the Blessed One, knows.’

[And a second, and a third time, the Blessed One asked the same question, and received the same reply.]

‘The Dabbas, O Dabba, do not thus repudiate. If you have done it, say so. If you have not done it, say you have not.’

‘Since I was born, Lord, I cannot call to mind that I have practised sexual intercourse, even in a dream, much less when I was awake!’

3. Then the Blessed One addressed the *Bhikkhus*, and said: ‘Let then the *Samgha*, O *Bhikkhus*, turn the bowl down² in respect of *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*,

¹ See the note above on IV, 4, 9.

² *Pattam nikkuggatu*. This phrase is used in the ordinary signification above, V, 9, 4. It is characteristic of the mildness of early Buddhism that this should be the only penalty imposed upon a layman. Compare H. O.’s remarks in his ‘*Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde*,’ pp. 391–393. The house of such a layman becomes then an *agoḥaro*, an ‘unlawful resort.’ (*Kulla-vagga* VIII, 1, 2.)

and make him incapable of granting an alms to the *Samgha*¹.

‘There are eight things, O Bhikkhus, which when they characterise an Upāsaka, the bowl is to be turned down in respect of him;—when he goes about to bring loss of gifts on the Bhikkhus, when he goes about to bring harm to the Bhikkhus, when he goes about to cause the Bhikkhus to want a place of residence, when he reviles or slanders the Bhikkhus, when he causes divisions between Bhikkhus and Bhikkhus;—when he speaks in dispraise of the Buddha;—when he speaks in dispraise of the Dhamma;—when he speaks in dispraise of the *Samgha*. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to turn down the bowl in respect of an Upāsaka who is characterised by these eight things².’

4. ‘And thus, O Bhikkhus, is the bowl to be turned down. Some able and discreet Bhikkhu is to lay the matter before the *Samgha*, saying,

¹ *Asambhogam samghena karotu*. This phrase is used in regard to a Bhikkhu at *Kullavagga* I, 25, 1, as the distinctive mark of the Act of Suspension (*Ukkhepaniya-kamma*), and there means ‘depriving him of his right to eat and dwell with the other Bhikkhus.’ *Sambhoge anāpatti* at *Mahāvagga* I, 79, 2 (at the end), means that it is not an offence for the Bhikkhus to eat and dwell together with a guilty Bhikkhu under certain conditions there specified. As an Upāsaka never, under any circumstances, either eats or dwells together with the Bhikkhus (in *Pāṭittiya* 5 the reference is to *sāmañeras*), the meaning here must be to make him one who has no dealings with the *Samgha*, to withdraw his privilege of providing food or lodging for the *Samgha*. The *sambhoganam kulam* in the 43rd *Pāṭittiya* has probably nothing to do with this.

² When a Bhikkhu behaves towards the laity in any one of the first five of these eight ways the *Paṭisāraṇiya-kamma* is to be carried out against him—that is to say, he has to ask pardon of the layman against whom he has offended. See I, 20. The whole eight recur below, § 6.

“Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi* has brought a groundless charge against the venerable *Dabba* the *Mallian* of a breach of morality. If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* turn down the bowl as respects *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and make him as one who has no dealings with the *Samgha*.

“This is the motion (*ñatti*).

“*Vaddha* the *Likkhavi* has brought a groundless charge against *Dabba* the *Mallian* of a breach of morality. The *Samgha* turns down the bowl as respects *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and makes him as one who has no dealings with the *Samgha*. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the bowl being turned down as regards *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and of making him as one who has no dealings with the *Samgha*, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

“The bowl is turned down by the *Samgha* as regards *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, he is as one who has no dealings with the *Samgha*. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”

5. Then the venerable *Ānanda*, having dressed himself early in the morning, went, duly bowled and robed, to the residence of *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*. And when he had come there he spake to *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and said: ‘The bowl, friend *Vaddha*, has been turned down by the *Samgha* as regards you, and you are as one who has no dealings with the *Samgha*.’ And *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, on hearing that saying, immediately¹ fainted and fell.

¹ Literally, ‘on that very spot.’

Then the friends and companions of *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and his relatives of one blood with him, said to him: 'It is enough, friend *Vaddha*. Weep not, neither lament. We will reconcile¹ the Blessed One to you, and the Order of *Bhikkhus*.'

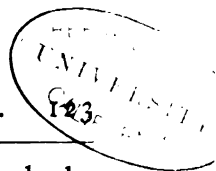
And *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, with his wife and his children, and with his friends and companions, and with his relatives of one blood with him, went up, with wet garments and with streaming hair, to the place where the Blessed One was; and when he had come there, he cast himself down with his head at the feet of the Blessed One, and said: 'Sin has overcome me, Lord—even according to my weakness, according to my folly, according to my unrighteousness—in that without ground I brought a charge against *Dabba* the *Mallian* of a breach of morality. In respect thereof may my Lord the Blessed One accept the confession I make of my sin in its sinfulness², to the end that I may in future restrain myself therefrom³.'

'Verily, O friend *Vaddha*, sin hath overcome you—even according to your weakness, and according to your folly, and according to your unrighteousness—in that you brought without ground against *Dabba* the *Mallian* a charge of breach of morality. But since you, O friend *Vaddha*, look upon your sin as sin, and make amends for it as is meet, we do accept at your hands your confession of it. For this, O friend *Vaddha*, is the advantage of

¹ This is precisely the expression made use of in the converse case, when a *Bhikkhu* has offended against the laity. See I, 22, 3.

² *Akkayam akkayato paṭigāhātu*. See the parallel passages in *Mahāvagga* IX, 1, 9; *Kullavagga* VII, 3, 6, &c.

³ *Āyatim samvarāya*. So also above of an offending *Bhikkhu*, IV, 14, 30.



the discipline of the noble one, that he who looks upon his sin as sin, and makes amends for it as is meet, he becomes able in future to restrain himself therefrom¹.

6. Then the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'Let then the *Samgha* turn up the bowl again as regards *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and make him as one who has dealings with the *Samgha*.

'There are eight things, O Bhikkhus, which when they characterise an *Upāsaka* the bowl should be turned up again as regards him;—when he goes not about to bring loss of gifts on the Bhikkhus, when he goes not about to bring harm to the Bhikkhus, when he goes not about to cause the Bhikkhus to want a place of residence, when he reviles or slanders not the Bhikkhus, when he causes not divisions between Bhikkhus and Bhikkhus;—when he speaks not in dispraise of the Buddha;—when he speaks not in dispraise of the Dhamma;—when he speaks not in dispraise of the *Samgha*.

7. 'And thus, O Bhikkhus, is the bowl to be turned up². That *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi* should go before the *Samgha*, with his upper robe arranged over one shoulder³, and squatting down, and raising

¹ *Samvaram āpaggati*. Compare the use of *vikappam āpaggeyya* in the 8th *Nissaggiya*.

² The following paragraphs are precisely the same as those in which the revocation of the *Tagganiya-kamma* is described in the reverse case of a Bhikkhu, above, I, 8.

³ *Ekamsam uttarāsaṅgam karitvā*. Unless these words have been introduced by mistake from the corresponding passage in I, 8 (which is not probable), they show that the *uttarāsaṅga* (on which see the note on *Mahāvagga VIII*, 13, 4) was also worn by laymen. But this is the only passage known to

his hands with the palms joined together, should speak as follows :

“ The bowl has been turned down against me, Sirs, by the *Samgha*, and I am become as one having no dealings with the *Samgha*. I am conducting myself, Sirs, aright in accordance thereto, and am broken in spirit¹, and I seek for release ; and I request the *Samgha* for a turning up again of the bowl.”

‘ And a second time he is to prefer the same request, and a third time he is to prefer the same request in the same words.

‘ Then some discreet and able Bhikkhu should lay the matter before the *Samgha*, saying,

“ Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. The bowl has been turned down by the *Samgha* against *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and he is conducting himself aright in accordance thereto, and is broken in spirit, and seeks for release, and requests the *Samgha* for a turning up again of the bowl. If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* turn up the bowl again as regards *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and make him as one who has dealings with the *Samgha*.

“ This is the motion (*ñatti*).

“ Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. The bowl has been turned down (&c., as before), and he is conducting himself (&c., as before), and he requests the *Samgha* (&c., as before). The *Samgha* turns up again the bowl as regards *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and makes him as one who has dealings with the

us in the earlier literature in which such a use of it is mentioned or implied. Compare Rh. D.’s note on the ‘Book of the Great Decease,’ VI, 26.

¹ *Lomam pâtemi*. See the note on *Kullavagga* I, 6, 1.

Samgha. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves thereof, let him keep silence; whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak.

“The bowl is turned up again by the *Samgha* as regards *Vaddha* the *Likkhavi*, and he is as one who has dealings with the *Samgha*. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”

21.

1. Now the Blessed One, when he had stayed at Vesālī as long as he thought fit, set out on his journey toward Bhaggā¹. And journeying straight on he arrived in due course at Bhaggā. And there at Bhaggā the Blessed One resided on the Dragon's Hill, in the hermitage in the Bhesaka/ā Wood².

Now at that time Bodhi the king's son's mansion, which was called Kokanada, had just been finished, and had not as yet been used³ by *Samana*, or by *Brāhman*, or by any human being. And Bodhi the king's son gave command to the young Brahman, the son of the *Saṅgika* woman⁴, saying, ‘Come

¹ Bhaggesu. Compare Buddhaghosa's note on a similar plural at *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* III, 5, quoted in Rh. D.'s ‘Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,’ p. 24.

² This place is also mentioned in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* on the 55th and 56th *Sekhiyas*.

³ *Anaggāvattho*, literally, no doubt, ‘dwelt in.’ But it is clear that the meal afterwards taken in it by the Buddha was supposed to be the dedication, so to say, or the house-warming, after which it was *aggāvattho*.

⁴ On this habit of naming people after the family or tribal (not the personal) name of their mothers, see Rh. D.'s note in his ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 1.

now, my friend Saṅgikā-putta, go thou to the place where the Blessed One is, and when you have come there, bow down in salutation at his feet on my behalf, and enquire in my name whether he is free from sickness and suffering, and is in the enjoyment of ease and comfort and vigorous health, saying, "Bodhi the king's son, Lord, bows down in salutation at thy feet, and enquires [as I have said]¹, and asks: 'May my Lord the Blessed One consent to take his to-morrow's meal with Bodhi the king's son, together with the Saṃgha of Bhikkhus.'"

'Even so, Sir!' said the young Brahman Saṅgikā-putta, in assent to Bodhi the king's son. And he went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and when he had come there he exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility. And when he had done so, he took his seat on one side, and so seated he [delivered to him the message even as the king's son had commanded]. And the Blessed One gave, by silence, his consent.

2. And when the young Brahman Saṅgikā-putta had perceived that the Blessed One had consented, he arose from his seat, and went up to the place where Bodhi the king's son was. And when he had come there, he said to him: 'We have spoken, Sir, in your behalf to that venerable Gotama, saying (&c., as before), and have received the consent of the Samāṇa Gotama.'

Then Bodhi the king's son made ready at the end

¹ So far this conversation is the stock phrase for a message from a royal personage to the Buddha. See 'Book of the Great Decease,' I, 2 (Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 2).

of that night sweet food, both hard and soft; and had the mansion Kokanada spread over with white cloths even unto the last planks in the flight of steps (at the entrance)¹; and gave command to the young Brahman Saṅgikâ-putta, saying, 'Come now, my friend Saṅgikâ-putta, go thou up to the place where the Blessed One is; and when you have come there, announce the time, saying, "The meal, Lord, is ready, and the time has come."' "

'Even so, Lord,' said Saṅgikâ-putta in assent [and went to the Blessed One and announced accordingly].

Now the Blessed One, having dressed himself early in the morning, went, duly bowled and robed, to Bodhi the king's son's mansion. And Bodhi the king's son stood at that time at the portico over the outer door to welcome the Blessed One. And he saw the Blessed One coming from afar; and on seeing him he went forth thence to meet him, and when he had saluted the Blessed One, he returned again to the mansion Kokanada.

Now the Blessed One stopped at the last plank on the flight of steps at the entrance. And Bodhi the king's son said to the Blessed One, 'May my Lord the Blessed One walk over the cloths. May the Happy One walk over the cloths, that the same may be to me for a long time for a weal and for a joy.'

And when he had thus spoken, the Blessed One remained silent. And a second time he [preferred the same request in the same words with the same

¹ Sopâna-kaṅgarâ. Compare the Sanskrit Kaṇḍâkara (also written kaṇḍâgara). The correct reading is doubtless 𑖅, not 𑖆.

result]. And a third time he [preferred the same request]. Then the Blessed One looked round at the venerable Ānanda.

And the venerable Ānanda said to Bodhi the king's son, 'Let them gather up, O prince, these cloths. The Blessed One will not walk on a strip of cloth (laid down for ceremonial purposes)¹. The Tathāgata has mercy even on the meanest thing.'

3. Then Bodhi the king's son had the cloths gathered up, and spread out a seat on the top of Kokanada. And the Blessed One ascended up into Kokanada, and sat down on the seat spread out there with the Saṃgha of Bhikkhus. And Bodhi the king's son satisfied the Bhikkhu-saṃgha with the Buddha at their head with the sweet food, both hard and soft, waiting upon them with his own hand². And when the Blessed One had cleansed his bowl and his hands, he (Bodhi) took his seat on one side. And the Blessed One instructed, and roused, and incited, and gladdened him thus sitting with religious discourse. And when he had been thus instructed, and roused, and incited, and gladdened

¹ *Kela-pattikā* ti *kela-santharam*, says Buddhaghosa. See *pattikā* in Childers, and compare *pañña-paṭṭhikam* at V, 11, 6. *Kela* is not merely ordinary cloth; it is cloth regarded as a means of giving a decorative or festive appearance to a house by spreading canopies, &c. See *Gāṭaka* I, 178, and *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* VI, 26 (p. 64). On such festive occasions the whole house (or the *Mandapa* erected in special honour of the guest) is covered with lengths of clean cotton cloth—the same as are otherwise used for ordinary apparel—white being the colour signifying peculiar respect. It is such lengths of cloth so used *honoris causā* that are called *kela-pattikā*. Compare Rh. D.'s note in 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 122.

² See the note above on *Mahāvagga* I, 8, 4.

with religious discourse, Bodhi the king's son rose from his seat and departed thence.

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, convened an assembly of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, and after he had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus and said :

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to walk upon cloth laid down (for ceremonial purposes). Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

4. Now at that time a certain woman who had had a miscarriage, and had invited the Bhikkhus, and spread cloths in their honour, said to them, ‘Step, Sirs, over the cloth.’

The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not do so.

‘Step, Sirs, over the cloth, for good luck's sake.’

The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not do so.

Then that woman murmured, was annoyed, and was indignant, saying, ‘How can their reverences refuse to step over the cloth when they are asked to do so for good luck's sake?’

The Bhikkhus heard of that woman's murmuring, and being annoyed, and indignant. And they told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, when asked to do so for the sake of good luck to laymen, to step over cloth laid down for ceremonial purposes.’

Now at the time the Bhikkhus were afraid to step on to a mat to be used for wiping the feet¹.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

¹ Dhota-pādaka.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to step on to a mat to be used for wiping the feet.’

Here ends the second Portion¹ for Recitation.

22.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Bhaggâ as long as he thought fit, he set out on his journey towards Sâvatthi. And journeying straight on he arrived in due course at Sâvatthi, and there, at Sâvatthi, he stayed in the Getavana, in the Ârâma of Anâtha-pindîka.

Now Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra, bringing small jars², and earthenware foot-scrubbers³, and brooms, went up to the place where the Blessed One was; and when she had come there, she saluted the Blessed One, and took her seat on one side. And so sitting, Visâkhâ the mother of Migâra said to the Blessed One, ‘May the Blessed One accept these things at my hands, that that may be to me for long for a blessing and a joy.’ And the Blessed One accepted the small jars and the brooms; but the Blessed One did not accept the earthenware foot-scrubbers.

¹ There is no mention in the text of where the first such Portion (Bhânavâra) ends. There is also no division into Bhânavâras in the previous books of the Kullavagga.

² *Ghaṭakam*. At *Gâtaka* I, 32 this word seems to mean the capital of a pillar. We have taken it as the diminutive of *ghaṭa*, especially as Buddhaghosa says nothing; but this is doubtful.

³ *Katakam*. To the note quoted at p. 318 of the text, which shows that this is a kind of foot-rubber, Buddhaghosa adds that this article is forbidden *bâhulikânuyogattâ*. This injunction is repeated below at V, 37, where *kataka* is mentioned as a kind of earthenware.

Then the Blessed One instructed (&c., as usual, see 21. 2, down to) she departed thence. And the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, after having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘ I allow you, O Bhikkhus, small jars and brooms. You are not, O Bhikkhus, to make use of earthenware foot-scrubbers. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, three kinds of things to rub the feet with—to wit, sandstone¹, gravel¹, and sea-foam².’

2. [A similar paragraph ending]

‘ I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of fans and flower-stands³.’

23.

1. Now at that time a mosquito-fan had come into the possession of the *Samgha*.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘ I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of mosquito-fans.’

A *châmara* (a tail of the *Bos Gruniens* or Tibetan ox, mounted on a stick, to be used by

¹ *Sakkharâ* and *kaḥala*, the exact distinction between which two terms is not stated.

² *Samudda-pheṇaka*. By this name are designated the bones of the cuttle-fish which, when cast up by the waves on the seashore, are not unlike petrified foam, and have actually been introduced from the East into use in Europe as a kind of rough natural soap; and are now sold for that purpose in most chemists' shops in England (compare *Meerschaum*). The same word is found in later Sanskrit works.

³ *Tâlavanīkam*. See *Gâtaka* I, 26, 5 (at the end); and compare *tâlavanīkam* below, V, 29, 4.

an attendant to whisk off flies) had come into the possession of the *Samgha*.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to make use of a *chāmara*. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*¹. I allow, O Bhikkhus, three kinds of fly-whisks—those made of bark, those made of *Ustra*-grass, and those made of peacocks’ tails².’

2. [Similar paragraph ending]

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of sun-shades³.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiyas* went about with sun-shades up. And at that time a certain *Upāsaka* went to a garden with a number of men who were followers of the *Āgīvakas* (naked ascetics). And those followers of the *Āgīvakas* saw the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus coming along in the distance with sun-shades held over them; and on seeing them, they said to that *Upāsaka*:

‘Are these, Sir, the men whom you reverence coming along, like lords of the treasury, there with sun-shades held over them?’

‘No, Sirs. These are not Bhikkhus; they are *Paribbāgakas* (wandering mendicants).’

So they made a bet whether they were Bhikkhus or not. And when that *Upāsaka* recognised them, when they came up, he murmured, was annoyed, and was indignant, saying, ‘How can their reverences go about with sun-shades held over them?’

The Bhikkhus heard of that *Upāsaka*’s thus mur-

¹ Probably because this, like a white umbrella, was considered an appanage of royalty.

² *Mora-piñṇha*. This word is spelt *piṇṇa* by Childers, and by Fausbøll, *Gātaka* I, 38, 207.

³ See the note at the end of the chapter.

muring, &c. And those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say?’

‘It is true, Lord.’

The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying (&c., as usual, see I, 1, 2, 3). And when he had rebuked them, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to have sun-shades held over you. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

3. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was sick, and without a sun-shade (being held over him) he was ill at ease.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a sun-shade for the sick.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus, thinking, ‘It is for the sick only that sun-shades have been allowed by the Blessed One, and not for those who are not sick,’ were afraid to use sun-shades in the Ārâma, or in the precincts of the Ārâma.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, either a sick man, or one who is not sick, to have a sun-shade held over him either in the Ārâma, or in the precincts of the Ārâma¹.’

¹ There is an ambiguity, either in the use of the word *khatta*, or in the use of the verb *dhâreti*, or both, running through this chapter. As a matter of fact, the Bhikkhus now use sun-shades (usually those made of paper in China) of the same shape as the umbrellas now used in England; and they make no distinction as to the place in which they use them. But there is another shape for shades, to be carried by a dependant walking behind the person to be shaded, in which the handle is fastened to the rim at the side of, and not in the middle underneath that part of it which

24.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu tied his bowl with a string, and suspending it on a staff¹, went after noon out of a certain village gate. The people calling out, 'There goes a thief; his sword is glistening,' fell upon him, and seized him. But on recognising him, they let him go. That Bhikkhu, returning to the Ârâma, told this matter to the Bhikkhus.

'What then, Sir, did you carry a staff with a string to it?'

'It is even so, Sirs.'

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate murmured (&c., as usual, see I, 1, 2, 3) told the Blessed One he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to carry a staff with a string to it. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

2. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was sick, and he could not wander about without a staff.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

actually keeps off the sun. Both kinds are figured on the most ancient Buddhist sculptures. The Old Commentary on the corresponding rule for the nuns (Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga, Pâṭṭiya LXXXIV, 2, 1) says that sun-shades are either white, or made of matting, or made of leaves (doubtless of the talipot palm); and it adds that they are either *maṇḍala-baddham* or *salāka-baddham*, which apparently refers to these two ways in which the handle was joined on to the shading-part. In the 57th Sekhiya (compare also the 23rd and the 67th), and in Kullavagga VIII, 1, 1, will be found rules of etiquette which show that it was a sign of courtesy or of respect to put down a sun-shade.

¹ See the similar phraseology at V, 8, 1. On uḥṭivā, compare *oddeti*.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give to a sick Bhikkhu the permission (license) to use a staff. And thus, O Bhikkhus, should it be given. That sick Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, should go up to the Samgha [here follow the words of a Kammavâkâ, precisely as in V, 20, 7].’

3. [Similar paragraphs ending with Kammavâkâs for license to lift the bowl with a string, and with both a staff and a string.]

25.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was a ruminator¹, and he, continually ruminating, used to chew the cud.

The Bhikkhus murmured, were annoyed, and were indignant, saying, ‘This Bhikkhu eats food out of hours².’ And they told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘This Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, has but lately fallen from the condition of being an ox. I allow, O Bhikkhus, to a ruminator the chew of the cud. But nothing, O Bhikkhus, brought from the door of the mouth to the outside thereof is to be so chewed³. Whosoever does so, shall be dealt with according to the law⁴.’

26.

1. Now at that time a certain multitude had

¹ Romanthaka.

² Which is against the rule laid down in the 27th Pâkittiya.

³ That would be a breach of the 30th Pâkittiya.

⁴ That is, according to the 27th, 28th, or 30th Pâkittiya.

arranged for the privilege of supplying food to the *Samgha*, and in the dining-hall many fragments of rice were allowed to fall.

The people murmured, were annoyed, and were indignant, saying, 'How can the *Sakya-puttiya Samanas*, when food is being given to them, take it so carelessly. Each single ball of rice is the result of hundredfold labour!'

The *Bhikkhus* heard of the people thus murmuring, &c., and they told the matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O *Bhikkhus*, whatever thing falls when it is being given to you, yourselves to pick it up and eat it. That has been presented, O *Bhikkhus*, by the givers.'

27.

1. Now at that time a certain *Bhikkhu* went on his round for alms with long finger-nails. A certain woman, seeing him, said to that *Bhikkhu*: 'Come along, Sir, and have connection with me.'

'Nay, Sister, that is not becoming.'

'If you do not, Sir, I will at once scratch¹ my limbs with my own nails, and will make as if I were angry, saying, "This *Bhikkhu* has ill-treated me."'

'Settle that with yourself, Sister.'

That woman did as she had said, and people running up seized that *Bhikkhu*. Then they saw skin and blood on the woman's nails; and on seeing that, they let the *Bhikkhu* go, saying, 'This is the

¹ On *vilikhati*, compare VI, 20.

work of the woman herself. The Bhikkhu has not done it.'

Then that Bhikkhu, returning to the Ârâma, told the matter to the Bhikkhus.

'What then, Sir, do you wear long nails?'

'It is even so, Sirs.'

The Bhikkhus who were moderate murmured (&c. . . .) told the matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear long nails. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus tore off their nails with the nails, bit them off with their teeth, or rubbed them down against the wall; and their fingers were hurt.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, nail-cutters.'

They cut their nails down to the blood, and their fingers were hurt.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cut your nails according to the length of the flesh.'

Now at that time the Kḥabbaggiya Bhikkhus had all the twenty nails (on their hands and feet) polished.

People murmured, &c., saying, 'Like those who still live in the pleasures of the world.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to have the twenty nails polished. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to remove the dirt only.'

3. Now at that time the Bhikkhus' hair grew long.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'Are the Bhikkhus able, O Bhikkhus, to remove one another's hair?'

'They are, Lord.'

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, after he had delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘ I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of razors, of a hone to sharpen the razors on, of powder prepared with Sipâtika-gum to prevent them rusting¹, of a sheath to hold them in², and of all the apparatus of a barber³.’

4. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus wore (&c., as usual, down to)

‘ You are not, O Bhikkhus, to have your beards cut (by barbers)⁴, nor to let them grow long, nor to wear them long on the chin like a goat’s beard⁵, nor so cut that they have four corners⁶, nor to cut off the hair growing on your breast⁷, nor to cut the hair on your bellies into figures⁸, nor to wear whiskers⁹, nor to remove the hair from your private parts¹⁰. Who-soever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*.’

¹ *Khura-sipâtikaṃ*. See the notes on V, 11, 2, and Buddhaghosa’s note at p. 319 of the text.

² *Namatakam*. See above, V, 11, 1, and V, 19, 1.

³ *Khura-bhandam*. Compare *Mahāvagga* VI, 37.

⁴ *Massum kappāpentī ti kattariyā massum khedāpentī* (B.). On *Kattari* (a knife), see *Gâtaka* I, 223. It is clear from the first words of the next section that Buddhaghosa’s explanation here is not quite accurate.

⁵ *Go-lomikan ti hanukamhi dīgham katvā śhapitam elaka-massum vukkati* (B.).

⁶ *Katurassan ti katu-konaṃ* (B.).

⁷ *Parimukhan ti ure loma-samharanam* (B.).

⁸ *Addharūkam*. See the various readings and Buddhaghosa’s note at p. 319 of the text.

⁹ *Dāṭhikam*. It is the Sanskrit *dādḥikā* or *daṃśtrikā*; and occurs at *Gâtaka* I, 305.

¹⁰ On the corresponding rule in the *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga*, the 2nd *Pāṭittiya*, the Old Commentary has *sambādho nāma ubho upakakkhakaṃ mutta-karanam*.

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had a fistula¹, and the ointment would not stick to it.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, on account of disease, to remove the hair from the private parts.'

5. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus (&c., as before, down to)

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to have your hair cut off with a knife². Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had a sore on his head, and the hair could not be removed with a razor.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, on account of disease, to have your hair cut off with a knife.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus wore the hair in their nostrils long.

People murmured, &c., saying, 'Like the devil-worshippers³.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear the hair in your nostrils long. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus had the hair in their nostrils pulled out with a potsherd⁴, or with beeswax; and their nostrils were hurt.

¹ Compare Mahāvagga VI, 22, 2.

² Kattarikâyâ ti *ganda*-rudhi-(sic MS.)-sīsa-roḡ'-âbâdha-paḷ-kayâ vaṭṭati, which is simply a repetition of the next paragraph, is all that Buddhaghosa here says. See note above on § 4.

³ Pisâḱillikâ. So also V, 10, 2, of carrying a skull about; and Mahāvagga III, 12, 3, of living in the hollow of a tree.

⁴ Sakkharikâ, said at Mahāvagga VI, 14, 5 to be used as a lancet.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of pincers¹.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus (&c., as before, ending with)

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to have the white hairs pulled out (off your heads). Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*.’

6. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu’s ears were stopped with the wax.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of an instrument to remove the wax from the ear².’

[Then a paragraph as to the substances of which it may be made, word for word, as in *Mahāvagga* VI, 6, 21; 12, 3; *Kullavagga* V, 5, 2; 29, 2, &c.]

28.

1. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus laid up much store of brass ware and copper ware.

People who came on a visit to the Vihâras, seeing it, murmured, &c., saying, ‘Like those who spread out copper (for sale)³.’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to lay up much store of brass ware and copper ware. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*⁴.’

¹ *Sandâsa*. So at *Gâtaka* I, 138, 4, a barber pulls out a white hair from the king’s head, *suvarana-sandâsena*.

² This license is repeated in the next chapter.

³ *Kamsa-pattharikâ* tî *kamsa-bhanda-vânigâ* (B.).

⁴ They might have all kinds of brass ware, except certain articles, according to chapter 37 below.

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus were afraid to use boxes to put eye-ointment in¹, and little flat sticks to lay it on with², and instruments for removing wax from the ear³, and handles (for razors, staves, &c.)⁴.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of these things.'

Now at that time the *Khaggaggiya* Bhikkhus sat down lolling up against their waist-cloths (arranged as a cushion)⁵, and the edges of the waist-cloths wore out⁶.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to loll in this way. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was sick, and without some handicraft⁷ he was ill at ease.

¹ *Añganim*. The use of these has been already allowed at Mahāvagga VI, 12, 1, 2, 4.

² In the text read *añgana-saḷākāṃ*, on which see Mahāvagga VI, 12, 3, 4.

³ Already allowed in the last chapter.

⁴ *Bandhana-mattan ti vāsi-kattara-yaṭṭhi-ādīnam vā bandhana-mattam* (B.). It is clear from this note, and the repetition of the *pi* in the text, that we have to do here with a special object, and not a mere qualification of the other three.

⁵ *Samghāsi-pallatthikāya nisīditvā*. See IV, 4, 7 at the end, and the Old Commentary on the 26th Sekhiya. Childers translates it as if it were the same as *ukku/ikam nisīditvā*; but it must be different from it as that was allowed and constantly practised.

⁶ *Paṭṭā lugganti*. So read (not *pattā* as in the text) in accordance with our note 3 on Mahāvagga VIII, 21, 1. The second word occurs also above, V, 16, 2; 17, 2. From this passage here it is probable that *aṭṭha-pāḍaka* at Mahāvagga VIII, 21, means a stool.

⁷ *Āyogam*. Compare the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, *Pāṭittiya* LXXXVIII, 2, 2; *Gāṭaka* III, 447, 6.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a loom, and of shuttles, strings, tickets, and all the apparatus belonging to a loom.’

29.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu entered the village for alms without a girdle on, and in the highway¹ his waist-cloth fell down². The people made an outcry, and that Bhikkhu was abashed.

On his return to the Ārāma, that Bhikkhu told this matter to the Bhikkhus, and the Bhikkhus told it to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to enter the village without a girdle on. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow, O Bhikkhus, a girdle³.’

2. Now at that time the Kḥabbaggiya Bhikkhus wore (&c., as usual, ending with)

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear special girdles⁴—those made of many strings plaited to-

¹ Rathiyāya. The Old Commentary on the Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga, Pāṭiṭṭiya XIV, says, Rathiyā ti rakkhā. The word recurs, *ibid.*, Pāṭiṭṭiya LXXXVI, XCVI (the last of which is nearly the same as our passage here). For the more usual form rathikā, see Kullavagga X, 12.

² Pabhassittha. Compare Sutta-vibhaṅga, Pāṭiṭṭiya LXXXIII, 1, 2. It is from the root bhram, not bhās.

³ The use of this has already been enjoined at Mahāvagga I, 25, 9, 10. It was to be tied on round the waist, over the waist-cloth, to keep it in its place.

⁴ It is curious that kaṭi-suttakam, a kind of girdle which would seem properly to belong here, has been included in a former list of forbidden articles at V, 2, 1.

gether¹, those made like the head of a water-snake², girdles with tambourines on them³, girdles with beads on (or with ornaments hanging from them)⁴. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, girdles of two kinds—those made of strips of cloth, and those⁵

The borders of the girdles decayed through age.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, an edging of brighter material⁶ and strengthening at the ends⁷.’

The end of the girdle where the knot was tied decayed through age⁸.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a buckle⁹.’

[A paragraph on the substances of which it may be made, as usual, see Mahāvagga VI, 12, 3; Kulla-

¹ Kalābukam. See Buddhaghosa’s note at p. 319 of the text, and compare Böhtlingk-Roth under kalāpa, kalāpaka.

² Deddubhakam nāma udaka-sappi-sisa-sadisam (B.). Deddubha corresponds to the later Sanskrit dundubha, an older form of which is dundubha.

³ Muraga, literally, ‘tambourines;’ but see Buddhaghosa’s note, loc. cit.

⁴ Maddavīnam nāma pāmaṅga-saṅghānam (B.). On pāmaṅga, see our note at Kullavagga V, 2, 1.

⁵ Sūkarāntakam. See Buddhaghosa’s note at p. 319 of the text. We do not venture to translate the term.

⁶ Sobhanam nāma vetthetvā mukha-vaṭṭi-sibhanam (B.). In the Magghima Sīla, § 3, sobhanakam or sobhana-karaṇam (so Rh. D.’s MS.) is a kind of game or show.

⁷ Gunakam nāma mudika(? muddhika)-saṅghānena sibbanam (B.). Clough, under guṇa, gives inter alia, 1. fastening; 2. a plant of the fibres of which bow-strings are made; 3. bow-string.

⁸ Pavananto ti pāsanto (B.).

⁹ Vidho. But both the reading and the explanation are uncertain, and Buddhaghosa says nothing. The word occurs also, and apparently in the same sense, in the Old Commentary on the 86th Pāṭiṭṭiya.

vagga V, 5, 2, &c., adding at the end 'and made of string.']

3. Now at the time the venerable Ānanda went into the village for alms with light garments on¹; and his garments were blown up by a whirlwind.

The venerable Ānanda, on returning to the Ārāma, told this matter to the Bhikkhus; and the Bhikkhus told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, a block² (to be used as a weight) or a chain³.'

[Similar paragraph to that just above as to the substances of which the block may be made.]

Now at that time the Bhikkhus fastened the block or the chain immediately on to their robes; and the robes gave way.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, a piece of phalaka cloth⁴ to attach the block or the chain to.'

They fastened the phalaka cloth for the block or the chain on to the edge of the robe; and the corner came open⁵.

¹ *Samghāsiyo* in the plural must mean garments and not waist-cloths only. See the parallel passage in the *Bhikkhuni-vibhaṅga*, *Pāṭikīya* XCVI.

² *Gaṇṭhikam*. The use of this article is referred to in VIII, 4, 3, and at *Dhammapada*, p. 372. That *gaṇṭhi* means a block, usually of wood, is clear from the use of *dhamma-gaṇṭhikam* at *Gāṭaka* I, 150 (spelt *gaṇḍika* however at II, 124), compared with *gaṇṭhi* (block of sandal-wood) above, V, 8, 1. The word occurs also in the Old Commentary on the 86th *Pāṭikīya*.

³ *Pāsakam*, which does not correspond to Sanskrit *prāsaka* here, but to *pāsaka* = *pāsa* (Böhtlingk-Roth give inter alia, 'Sahl oder Leiste am Anfange eines Gewebes'). Compare *pāsanta* in *Buddhaghosa* on *maḍḍhāvāḷakam* in the next section.

⁴ See our note on this word at *Mahāvagga* VIII, 28, 2.

⁵ That is, perhaps, the weight dragged the robe to one side and the legs were visible through the opening.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to fasten the phalaka cloth for the block on the edge of the robe, and to fasten the phalaka cloth for the chain seven or eight finger-breadths up the robe.'

4. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus wore (&c., as usual, ending with)

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear your under garments arranged as laymen do, nor arranged with appendages like elephant-trunks¹, nor arranged like fishing-nets², nor arranged with four corners showing³, nor arranged like flower-stands⁴, nor arranged like rows of jewelry⁵. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

[Similar paragraph, ending]

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear your upper⁶

¹ *Hatthi-sonḍakam* nāma nābhi-mūlato *hatthi-sonḍa-saṇḍhānam* olambakam katvā nivattham, *koṭṭika-itthīnam* nivāsanaṃ viya (B.).

² *Maḁḁha-vāḷakam* nāma ekato dasantam ekato pāsantam olambitvā nivattham (B.).

³ *Katu-kannakam* upari dve *hetthato* dve evaṃ *kattāro kanne* dassetvā nivattham (B.).

⁴ *Tāla-vanṭakam* nāma *tālavant'*-ākārena *sātakam* olambitvā nivāsanaṃ (B.). See our note on *tālavanta* above, V, 22, 2, and on *āmaḷaka-vanṭika-pīḥam* below, VI, 2, 4.

⁵ *Sata-vallikam* nāma dīgha-sātakam aneka-kkhattum obhaṇṇitvā *ovaṭṭikam* karontena nivattham vā, *padakkhina-passesu* vā *nirantaram* valiyo dassetvā nivattham. *Sake* pana *gānuto patthāya* eko vā dve vā valiyo *paññāyanti, vaṭṭati* (B.). Compare *vallikā* and *ovaṭṭikam* at V, 2, 1. Buddhaghosa's second explanation would be possible if the reading were *sata-valikam*, and is probably only a pis aller, due to the difficulty of the first, which we have adopted doubtfully.

⁶ *Pārupati* as opposed to *nivāseti* above. Compare *Dhammapada*, pp. 114, 376; *Gāṭaka*, vol. i, p. 57, line 16.

garments as the laymen do. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

5. [Similar paragraph, ending]

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to wear your under garments¹ as the king's porters do¹. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

30.

1. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus carried a double pingo (a yoke over the shoulders with the weight to be carried on both sides).

People murmured, &c., saying, 'Like the king's porters².'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to carry a double pingo. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to carry a single pingo, a pingo for two bearers³, and to carry weights on your head, or your shoulders, or against your hips⁴, and suspended over your backs.'

31.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus did not use tooth-sticks⁵, and their mouths got a bad odour.

¹ *Samvelliyaṃ nivāsetabbam* See Buddhaghosa's note at p. 319 of the text.

² *Munda-vallī* or *-veṭṭhi*. See the note from the *Samanta Pāsādikā* at p. 319 of the text.

³ *Antarā-kāgam nāma magghe laggetvā dvīhi vahitabbam bhāram* (B.).

⁴ That is held round by the arm, and resting against the side of the hips. Women in India commonly carry their children so, the children sitting on the hip, with one leg in front and one behind.

⁵ *Danta-katṭham*, not 'tooth-brushes,' as Childers translates.

sticks. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, tooth-sticks up to eight finger-breadths in length. And Sāmañeras are not to be struck with them. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu, when using too short a tooth-stick, got it stuck in his throat.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to use too short a tooth-stick. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, tooth-sticks four finger-breadths long at the least.'

32.

1. Now at that time the Kāḍhagga Bhikkhus set the woods on fire.

People murmured, &c., saying, 'Like the charcoal burners.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to set woods on fire. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time the Vihāras were hidden under masses of grass¹, and when the woods were set on fire the Vihāras were burnt. The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not make a counter-fire for their own protection.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, when the woods are

¹ Tina-gahanā. Not covered with thatch, the word for which is tina-kkhanā. See V, 11, 6; V, 14, 3, &c.

on fire to make a counter-fire¹, and thus afford yourselves protection.'

2. Now at that time the *Kabbaggiya* Bhikkhus climbed up trees, and jumped from tree to tree.

People murmured, &c., saying, 'Like monkeys.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to climb up trees. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*.'

Now at that time, when a certain Bhikkhu in the Kosala country was going to Sāvatti, an elephant pursued him on the way. And that Bhikkhu, when he had run up to the foot of a tree, fearing to offend, did not climb up. The elephant passed on another way.

That Bhikkhu, on arriving at Sāvatti, told this matter to the Bhikkhus (and the Bhikkhus told this matter to the Blessed One²).

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, when there shall be something to be done to ascend a tree to the height of a man; and in cases of misfortune as high as you like.'

33.

1. Now at that time there were two brothers, Bhikkhus, by name Yameḷu and Tekula³, Brāh-

¹ *Paṭṭagim dātum*. See the story at *Gātaka* I, 212, and foll.

² Omitted in the text.

³ *Yameḷutekulā*. It is possible that this compound should be dissolved into *Yameḷa* and *Utekula*. Compare the word *Yameḷe* at verse 35 of the *Uddāna* (which stands where a nominative should stand, judging by the form of the other words in the *Uddāna*). A comma has there been omitted by misprint after *Yameḷe*.

mans by birth, excelling in speech, excelling in pronunciation. These went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and when they had come there, they saluted the Blessed One, and took their seats on one side. And so sitting those Bhikkhus spake to the Blessed One thus :

‘At the present time, Lord, Bhikkhus, differing in name, differing in lineage, differing in birth, differing in family, have gone forth (from the world). These corrupt the word of the Buddhas by (repeating it in) their own dialect. Let us, Lord, put the word of the Buddhas into (Sanskrit) verse¹.’

‘How can you, O foolish ones, speak thus, saying, “Let us, Lord, put the word of the Buddhas into verse?” This will not conduce, O foolish ones, either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted ; but rather to those who have not been converted being not converted, and to the turning back of those who have been converted.’

And when the Blessed One had rebuked those Bhikkhus, and had delivered a religious discourse², he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

¹ We think that in these words (*khandaso âropema*) there does lie a reference to the earlier Sanskrit. And this especially for four reasons : firstly, this is required by the antithesis to ‘their own dialect ;’ secondly, the use of the word *khandasi* in *Pāṇini*, where it always means precisely ‘in the Veda-dialect,’ requires it ; thirdly, it is difficult to understand otherwise the mention of ‘Brāhmins by birth ;’ and fourthly, this is in accordance with the traditional interpretation of the passage handed down among the Bhikkhus. *Buddhaghosa* says, *khandaso âropemâ ti Vedam viya sakkata-bhāsāya vāṭanā-maggam âropema*. *Sakkata* is of course *Sanskṛita*.

² See the substance intended at *Kullavagga I, 1, 3*.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to put the word of the Buddhas into (Sanskrit) verse. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to learn the word of the Buddhas each in his own dialect¹.’

2. Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus learnt the Lokāyata system².

People murmured, &c., saying, ‘Like those who still enjoy the pleasures of the world!’

The Bhikkhus heard of the people thus murmuring; and those Bhikkhus told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘Now can a man who holds the Lokāyata as valuable reach up, O Bhikkhus, to the full advantage of, or attain to full growth in, to full breadth in this doctrine and discipline³?’

‘This cannot be, Lord.’

‘Or can a man who holds this doctrine and discipline to be valuable learn the Lokāyata system?’

¹ On the historical conclusions which may be drawn from this tradition, see H. O.’s introduction to the text of the *Mahāvagga*, pp. xlix and following.

² This is mentioned also in the *Assalāyana Sutta* (at the beginning), and in the same terms in the *Milinda Paṇḥa*, p. 10, as one of the branches of learning distinctive of well-educated Brāhmins. It is condemned among other ‘low arts’ in the very ancient *Mahā Sīla*, § 5. (See Rh. D.’s ‘*Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli*,’ p. 199, and his note on the age of this work, *ibid.* p. 188.) Among later works, the Nepalese Buddhists refer to it as one of the things with which a Bodhisattva will not condescend to occupy himself (*Lotus of the Good Law*, ch. xiii, Burnouf’s version, p. 168), and in which good disciples will take no pleasure (*ibid.* p. 280). *Buddhaghosa* has a note on the passage in the *Mahā Sīla* (quoted by Childers *sub voce*), which shows that it was understood in his time to be, or rather to have been, a system of casuistry.

³ So also in the *Ketokhila Sutta 2* (translated in Rh. D.’s ‘*Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli*,’ p. 223).

‘This cannot be, Lord.’

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to learn the Lokâyata system. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time the Khabbaggiya Bhikkhus taught the Lokâyata system.

People murmured, &c., saying, ‘Like those still enjoying the pleasures of the world!’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to teach the Lokâyata system. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

[Similar paragraphs to the last, ending]

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to learn—to teach—the low arts¹ (of divination, spells, omens, astrology, sacrifices to gods, witchcraft, and quackery).’

3. Now at that time the Blessed One when, surrounded by a great assembly, he was preaching the Dhamma, sneezed. The Bhikkhus raised a great and mighty shout, ‘Long life to our Lord the Blessed One! Long life to the Happy One!’ and by the sound thereof the discourse was interrupted. Then the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus :

‘Now if when a man has sneezed, O Bhikkhus, some one says, “Long life to you,” can he live or die on that account?’

‘Not so, Lord.’

¹ *Tirakkhâna-viggâ*. Literally, ‘brutish, or beastly, wisdom.’ These are set out in full in the seven sections of the Mahâ Sîla (translated in Rh. D.’s ‘Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli,’ pp. 196–200). As noticed above, the Lokâyata system is there mentioned (§ 5) as one of them. Learning or teaching these things are forbidden in almost identical terms to the Bhikkhunis in the Bhikkhuni-vibhaṅga, Pâṭṭiyas XLIX and L.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, when one has sneezed, to call out, “Long life to you.” Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa¹.’

Now at that time people said to the Bhikkhus when they sneezed, ‘Long life to your reverence!’ and the Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, gave no reply. The people murmured, were annoyed, and were indignant, saying, ‘How can the Sakya-puttiya Samanas omit to reply when people say, “Long life to your reverence?”’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘Laymen, O Bhikkhus, are given to lucky phrases². I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to reply, “May you live long!” to laymen who say to you, “Long life to your reverence!”’

34.

1. Now at that time the Blessed One when, surrounded by a great assembly, he was preaching the Dhamma, was seated. And a certain Bhikkhu, who had eaten onions, sat down apart, thinking, ‘Let not the Bhikkhus be annoyed³!’

The Blessed One saw that Bhikkhu sitting apart; and on seeing him, he said to the Bhikkhus, ‘Why now, O Bhikkhus, is that Bhikkhu seated apart?’

‘This Bhikkhu, Lord, has eaten onions, and has

¹ This story forms the Introductory Story also to the Gaggā Gâtaka (No. 155 in Fausböll's edition). On the superstition here condemned, see Dr. Morris's remarks in the ‘Contemporary Review’ for May, 1881.

² Gihî bhikkhave maṅgalikā.

³ Vyābāhimsu is for vyābādhimsu. See p. 320 of the edition of the text.

seated himself apart in order not to annoy the Bhikkhus.'

'But ought, O Bhikkhus, anything to be eaten, that will cause the eater to keep away from such a preaching of the Dhamma as this?'

'No, indeed, Lord.'

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to eat onions. Who-soever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa¹.'

2. Now at that time the venerable Sâriputta had wind in his stomach. And the venerable Mahâ Moggallâna went up to the place where the venerable Sâriputta was, and when he had come there, he said to the venerable Sâriputta :

'How did you formerly, friend Sâriputta, get relief, when you had wind in the stomach?'

'By eating onions, my friend².'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to eat onions on account of disease.'

35.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus made water here and there in the Ârâma, and the Ârâma was defiled.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make water at one side (of the Ârâma).'

¹ There is a similar rule for the Bhikkhunis in the Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga, Pâkittiya I. So also onions are mentioned among the things a Gain Bhikkhu may not accept (Âyâraṅga Sutta II, 1, 8, 13).

² It is gruel of various kinds that is prescribed for this malady in Mahâvagga VI, 16, 3-17, 2.

The *Ārāma* became offensive. . . .

[The rest of this chapter is scarcely translatable. It records in like manner the various sanitary difficulties which arose from the living together of a number of Bhikkhus. Each such difficulty is quite solemnly said to have been reported to the Blessed One, and he is said to have found a way out of it. The result of the whole is, that the building of privies is enjoined, and all the contrivances, such as seats, doors, steps, plastering, &c., already mentioned with respect to the bath-room, above, V, 14, are here repeated verbatim¹.]

36.

Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus followed evil practices such as these—they used to plant [&c., word for word as in the long list at I, 13, 1, 2, down to the end].

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to follow manifold evil practices. Whosoever does so, shall be dealt with according to the law.’

37.

1. Now at the time when the venerable Kassapa of Uruveḷa went forth (from the world), much property in brass and wood and earthenware came into the possession of the *Samgha*². And the

¹ For some of the details, compare Mahāvagga V, 8, 3, and Mahāvagga I, 25, 19=Kullavagga VIII, 1, 5, and Kullavagga VIII, 9 and 10.

² See Mahāvagga I, 20, 19–21.

Bhikkhus thought, 'What kinds of brass ware—of wooden things—of earthenware¹—has the Blessed One allowed, and what kinds has he not allowed?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, when he had delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, all kinds of brass ware, except weapons²—all kinds of wooden things, except divans³, and long-armed chairs³, and bowls⁴, and shoes⁵,—and all kinds of earthenware, except *katikas*⁶, and large earthen vessels to be used as huts to live in⁷.'

Here ends the Fifth Khandhaka, on
minor details.

¹ See *Kullavagga* VIII, 3, 1.

² *Paharanattham katanam paharanî ti vuṭṭati. Yassa kassa ki āvudha-samghâtass' etam adhivātanam* (B.).

³ See *Mahāvagga* V, 10, 4, 5.

⁴ See *Kullavagga* V, 8, 2.

⁵ See *Mahāvagga* V, 6, 4.

⁶ On this word see our note above at V, 22, 1.

⁷ This is the only one of the things here mentioned not referred to in previous rules. Buddhaghosa says, *Kumbha-kārikā ti Dhaniyass' eva sabba-mattikāmaya-kusî vuṭṭati*. The story of *Dhaniya* is given in the text of the *Vinaya*, vol. iii, pp. 42 and following.

SIXTH KHANDHAKA.

ON DWELLINGS AND FURNITURE.

1.

1. Now at that time the Blessed Buddha¹ was staying at Rāgagaha in the Veḷuvana, in the Kalandaka Nivāpa². And at that time no permission had been given to the Bhikkhus by the Blessed One with respect to dwellings. So the Bhikkhus dwelt now here, now there—in the woods, at the foot of trees, on hill-sides, in grottoes, in mountain caves, in cemeteries, in forests, in open plains, and in heaps of straw. And at early morn they came in from this place or from that place—from the woods (&c., as before) decorous in their walking and turning, in their looking on or looking round, in stretching out their arms or in drawing them back, with eyes cast down, and dignified in deportment³.

2. Now at that time the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha went at early morn to his garden. And the *Setthi* of

¹ Our readers will have noticed that the phrase at the beginning of each Khandhaka is 'the Blessed Buddha,' and not merely 'the Blessed One.' It recurs besides only in the constantly-repeated paragraph 'The Blessed Buddha rebuked them, saying, &c.' (see, for instance, *Kullavagga* I, 1, 2, where the connection is given in full).

² Compare the note on *Mahāvagga* III, 1, 1.

³ So also *Mahāvagga* I, 23, 2, and frequently in the *Suttas*.

Rāgagaha saw those Bhikkhus coming in from this place and from that place, from the woods (&c., as in § 1, down to the end), and on seeing them he took pleasure therein¹. And the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha went up to those Bhikkhus, and said to them :

‘If, Sirs, I were to have dwellings erected for you, would you take up your abode in those dwellings?’

‘Not so, O householder. Dwellings have not been allowed by the Blessed One.’

‘Then, Sirs, ask the Blessed One about it, and let me know.’

‘Very well, O householder,’ said they, in assent to the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha. And they went up to the Blessed One, and saluted him, and took their seats on one side. And when they were so seated, they said to the Blessed One :

‘The *Setthi* of Rāgagaha, Lord, wishes to have dwellings erected for us. What, Lord, should be done?’

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, when he had delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said :

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, abodes of five kinds—Vihāras, *Addhayogas*, storied dwellings, attics, caves².’

3. Then those Bhikkhus went up to the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha, and said to him : ‘The Blessed One, Sir, has allowed us dwellings ; do, therefore, what seemeth to thee good.’ And the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha had sixty dwelling-places put up in one day.

¹ So also of Bimbisāra in the *Gāṭaka Commentary*, I, 66.

² Buddhaghosa’s note on these *pañka lenāni* has already been given in our note above, *Mahāvagga* I, 30, 4.

4. And when the *Setthi* of Râgagaha had completed those sixty dwelling-places, he went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and [invited him and the Bhikkhu *Samgha* for the morrow's meal; and so on, as usual¹, down to the time when, after the meal, the *Setthi*] said to the Blessed One :

'I have had, Lord, these sixty dwelling-places made for the sake of merit, and for the sake of heaven. What am I to do, Lord, with respect to them?'

'Then, O householder, dedicate² these sixty dwelling-places to the *Samgha* of the four directions, whether now present, or hereafter to arrive.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the *Setthi* of Râgagaha, in assent to the Blessed One, and he dedicated those sixty dwelling-places to the use of the *Samgha* of the four directions whether present or to come³.'

5. Then the Blessed One gave thanks to the *Setthi* of Râgagaha in these verses⁴:

'1. Cold he wards off and heat, so also beasts of prey,
And creeping things and gnats, and rains in the wet season.
And when the dreaded heated winds arise,
they are kept off.

¹ See, for instance, Mahâvagga VI, 30, or Kullavagga V, 27.

² Literally, 'establish' (*paṭiṭṭhâpehi*).

³ This formula of dedication has been constantly found in rock-inscriptions in India and Ceylon over the ancient cave-dwellings of Buddhist hermits. See Rh. D. in the 'Indian Antiquary' for May, 1872.

⁴ The following verses recur below at VI, 9, 2; and also in that connection in the *Gâtaka* Commentary, I, 93.

2. To give Vihâras to the *Samgha*, wherein in
safety and in peace
To meditate and think at ease, the Buddha
calls the best of gifts. .
3. Let then the able man, regarding his own weal,
Have pleasant monasteries built, and lodge
there learned men ¹.
4. Let him with cheerful mind give food to them,
and drink,
Raiment, and dwelling-places, to the upright
in heart.
5. Then shall they preach to him the Truth—
The Truth dispelling every grief—
Which Truth when here that man perceives
He sins no more, and dies away ² !'

And when the Blessed One had given thanks to
the *Setthi* of Râgagaha in these verses, he rose
from his seat, and departed thence.

2.

1. And the people heard, saying, 'Vihâras have
been allowed by the Blessed One.' And they
built Vihâras zealously. Those Vihâras had no
doors ³, and snakes, scorpions, and centipedes got in.

¹ This verse forms the subject of one of the 'Questions of Milinda' (ed. Trenckner, p. 211).

² The above verses may have stood originally in a different context from that in which they have been handed down, as the opening phrase *sîtam pañhanti* would be more intelligible if the word *vihâro* occurred in the immediately preceding clause.

³ *Kavâṭa*. This is the special word for door. *Dvâra* often roughly translated door, is not really 'door,' but 'door-' or 'gate-way,' with special reference to the aperture and not to that by which the aperture could be closed. The latter word is also

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, a door¹.'

They made holes in the wall, and tied the door on with string or with creepers, These were eaten by mice and white ants ; and when the things by which the doors had been tied on had been eaten away, the doors fell.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, door-posts and lintel, hollow like a mortar, for the door to revolve in, and projections to the door for it to revolve on.'

The doors would not come to.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, a hole to pass a string through with which to pull the door to, and a string for that purpose.'

The doors could not be made fast².

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, rings on the door for the bolt to work along in, blocks of wood fixed to the edge of the door-post and containing a cavity for the bolt to go into, a pin to secure the bolt by, and a bolt.'

Now at that time the Bhikkhus were not able to open the door.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

different from 'door,' in that it is never used for the entrance into an inner chamber. It is always the outer entrance (and the entrance at the front as distinguished from the entrance at the back) of a house, or one of the principal entrances to a walled town or village. See, for instance, *Pâkittiya* XIX ; *Kullavagga* VIII, 5, 1, VIII, 8, 1 ; *Gâtaka* I, 63, 114, 346, 361, II, 63, 140.

¹ On this and the following details, compare V, 14, 3, and the notes there.

² *Thakîyanti*: literally, 'covered, or stopped, up.' The same word is used at *Kullavagga* VIII, 1, 5, of closing up the lattices mentioned in the next section (VI, 2, 2).

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, key-holes, and keys of three kinds—bronze keys, and keys of hard wood, and keys of horn.’

When anybody unlocked them¹, and entered, the Vihâras became unprotected.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a yantaka, and a pin to it².’

2. Now at that time the Vihâras were thatched; and in the cold season they were cold, and in the hot season hot.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cover them (with skins)³, and to plaster them within and without.’

Now at that time the Vihâras had no windows, and they were bad for the eyes, and had a disagreeable odour.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, windows of three kinds—windows made with railings⁴, windows made with network⁵, and windows made with slips of wood⁶.’

¹ Ugghâ/etvâ, an expression used in VIII, 1, 1 of undoing the bolt (gha/ikâ) just referred to.

² Yantakaṃ sūṭikam, which is the only expression here used which has not already occurred above at V, 14, 3. Buddhaghosa says, Yantaka-sūṭikan ti ettha yaṃ yaṃ gānāti taṃ taṃ yantakaṃ. Tassa vivara-sūṭikam kuṇṭhikam kātum vaṭṭati.

³ See the note at V, 14, 3.

⁴ Vedikā-vātapānaṃ nāma kētiye vedikā-sadisam (B.). See our note on vedikā above, V, 14, 2. These windows or lattices are mentioned in Kullavagga VIII, 1, 5; Mahāvagga I, 25, 18.

⁵ Gāla-vātapānaṃ nāma gālaka-baddham (B.). Gālam, literally ‘net,’ is given as a word for ‘window’ at Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā, verse 216. The expression probably corresponds to our ‘lattice,’ and does not mean that an actual net was used. Compare the Anglo-Indian ‘jalousie.’

⁶ Salāka-vātapānaṃ nāma thambhaka-vātapānaṃ (B.). Pos-

Squirrels and bats¹ entered through the opening for the window.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, window-blinds (or curtains)².’

The squirrels and bats still got in through the interstices between the blind (and the wall).

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, shutters, and rolls or bags (to fill up interstices with)³.

3. Now at that time the Bhikkhus slept on the floor, and both their limbs and their robes became dirty.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, mats made of grass.’

The mats were eaten by mice and white ants.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a solid bench or divan (built up against the wall of a room, or under the verandah against the outside wall of the house)⁴.

sibly this means with slips of wood arranged horizontally as in our venetian blinds.

¹ Vagguliyo. This habit of the bat and its harmlessness are referred to in *Milinda Panha*, p. 404. Compare the Sanskrit *valgulī*.

² *Kakkalikaṇa* ti. *Ettha kolaka-pāda-puññhaṇaṃ bandhitum anugānāmi* ti attho (B.). The word *kakkali* occurs below, VI, 19, probably in the sense here meant.

³ *Vātapāna-bhisī* ti *vātapāna-pamāṇena bhisim* katvā *bandhitum anugānāmi* ti attho (B.). Probably like the sand-bags used in England to keep out draughts. On the use of the word in other connections, see our note on *Mahāvagga* VIII, 13, 1, and the Old Commentary on *Pāṭi* XIV (where five kinds are named) with the *Kankhā-vitarāṇi* on the last passage quoted by Minayeff, p. 86.

⁴ *Midḍhim*. See the note on V, 9, 4. Native huts in Ceylon always have such solid benches (of brick or mud covered with plaster) built up against the wall under the verandah: and they are commonly used as sleeping-places for the unmarried males

On the solid bench their limbs ached.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, bedsteads made of laths of split bamboo¹.’

Now at that time a bier-like masâraka² bedstead—a masâraka chair—a bier-like bundikâbaddha³ bedstead—a bundikâbaddha chair—a bier-like kulîra-pâdaka⁴ bedstead—a kulîra-pâdaka chair—a bier-like âhaṭṭa-pâdaka⁵ bedstead—an âhaṭṭa-pâdaka chair—had come into the possession of the Samgha.

in the house. Waskaḍuwa Subhûti has this in his mind in the explanation he gives in English of vedikâ (Abhidhâna-ppadîpikâ, verse 222), though he applies it to the wrong word.

¹ Bidala-mañṇakam nâma vetta-mañṇam, veḷu-vilivâhi vâ vitam (B.). The word occurs in the Gâtaka Commentary I, 9, lines 26, 34. Compare the Sanskrit bidala and vidala.

² Masârako, on which Buddhaghosa says nothing here; but on the Old Commentary to the 14th Pâkittiya, where all the four words in this paragraph also occur, he has the following note (see Minayeff, p. 68): Masârako ti mañṇa-pâde vigghitvâ tattha aṇiyo pavesetvâ kato—just the opposite therefore of âhaṭṭa-pâdako below. On aṇi, compare our note to the 87th Pâkittiya. The four names recur, of chairs only, in the Old Commentary on the 87th and 88th Pâkittiyas.

³ Buddhaghosa, loc. cit., says, Bundikâbaddho ti aṇihi mañṇa-pâde damsâpetvâ pallaṅka-samkhepema kato. The first word, bundika, may mean a small bolt.

⁴ Kulîra-pâdako ti assa-menādinam pâda-sadisehi pâdakehi kato: yo vâ pana koṭi vaṅka-pâdako ayam kulîra-pâdako (B. loc. cit.). A bedstead or chair with curved or carved legs, especially when carved to represent animals' feet. Kulîra is a crab.

⁵ Âhaṭṭa-pâdako ti. Ayam pana âhaṭṭa-pâdako nâma mañṇo aṅge vigghitvâ kato hotiṭi evam parato pâliyam yeva vutto. Tasmâ aṇiyo vigghitvâ tattha pâda-sikham pavesetvâ upari ânim datvâ kata-mañṇo âhaṭṭa-pâdako ti veditabbo (B. loc. cit.). This is in agreement with the Old Commentary on the 18th Pâkittiya in which this word already occurs. Compare âhaṭṭa in the Âyâ-ranga Sûya II, 1, 1, 2, II, 1, 10, 6.

They told this matter (in each case) to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, (each of these things).’

4. Now at that time a rectangular chair¹—an arm-chair²—a sofa³—a sofa with arms to it⁴—a state chair⁵—a cushioned chair⁶—a chair raised on a pedestal⁷—a chair with many legs⁸—a board (to recline on)⁹—a cane-bottomed chair¹⁰—a straw-bottomed chair—had come into the possession of the Samgha.

They told this matter (in each case) to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, (each of these things).’

¹ *Âsandiko*. Buddhaghosa says, *Âsandako* (sic) *ti katurassa-pîṭham vukkati*. An *âsandi* (cushioned chair) is forbidden at Mahāvagga V, 10, 4.

² *Ukkakam pi âsandikan ti vatanato ekato-bhâgena dgha-pîṭham eva hi al/haṅgula-pâdakam vaṭṭati* (B.).

³ *Sattaṅgo nâma tîsu disâsu apassayam katvâ maṇḍo* (B.). On *apassayam*, compare note 9.

⁴ *Ukkako pi sattaṅgo*. Compare note 2.

⁵ *Bhadda-pîṭhan ti vetta-mayam pîṭham vukkati* (B.). We follow Böhrling-Roth sub voce *bhadra-pîṭha*.

⁶ *Pîṭhikâ ti pilotika-baddham pîṭham eva* (B.). Childers says ‘bench, stool.’ Compare Sanskrit *pîṭhaka* (in the addenda to the Petersburg Dictionary).

⁷ *Eḷaka-pâdaka-pîṭham nâma dâru-paṭṭikâya upari pâdeḷapetvâ bhogana-phalakam viya kata-pîṭham vukkati* (B.).

⁸ *Âmaḷaka-vanṭika-pîṭham nâma âmaḷakâkârena yogitam bahu-pâda-pîṭham* (B.). Compare *tâlavanṭa* at V, 22, 2, and *tâla-vanṭaka* at V, 29, 4.

⁹ *Phalakam*. Compare *apassena-phalakam* at Mahāvagga I, 25, 12, and below, *Kullavagga* VI, 20, 2.

¹⁰ *Kokkham nâma vâkamayam vâ usîramayam vâ muṅga-mayam vâ babbagamayam vâ anto samvetṭetvâ baddham hoti*, says the Old Commentary on the 14th Pâkittiya. Buddhaghosa gives here the same explanation, omitting *vâka*.

5. Now at that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus slept on lofty beds.

People coming on a visit to the Vihâra, when they saw them, murmured, &c., saying, 'Like those who still live in the pleasure of the world.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to sleep on lofty beds. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa¹.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu, when sleeping on a low couch, was bitten by a snake².

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, supports to your bedsteads³.'

Now at that time the *Kh*abbaggiya Bhikkhus used lofty supports to their bedsteads, and rocked themselves with these bedstead supports, backwards and forwards⁴.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to use lofty supports to your bedsteads. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you such supports up to eight inches in length.'

6. Now at that time a quantity of string had come into the possession of the *Samgha*.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to weave (a texture of string across) the bedstead.'

Much string was taken up by (passing it round) the sides of the bedstead.

¹ Compare the 8th *Kūla Sīla* (Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 191).

² Compare *Kullavagga* V, 6.

³ *Mañka-paṭipādakam* mentioned in *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 16.

⁴ *Pavedhenti*. The reading is doubtful, but the suggestion at p. 321 of the text must be withdrawn.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to pierce the sides of the bedstead, and thus to weave the string across and across¹.'

A cloth had come into their possession.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use it as a carpet².'

A mattress stuffed with cotton³ had come into their possession.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to comb out the cotton, and make the cotton up into pillows⁴ if it be of any of these three kinds—cotton produced on trees, cotton produced on creepers, cotton produced from *Potaki*-grass.'

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus made use of pillows half the size of a man's body.

People who came on a visit to the Vihâras murmured, &c., on seeing this, saying, 'Like those who still enjoy the pleasures of the world.'

¹ *A//hapadakam vetum*. Buddhaghosa says nothing, either here or at Mahāvagga VIII, 21, where the word also occurs. *A//hapada-//hâpana* at *Gâtaka* II, 5, 14, is a mode of dressing the hair, probably in broad plaits crossing each other so as to resemble the squares of a chessboard.

² Or 'rug.' *Kilimikâ ti nâma parikammakatâya bhûmiyâ kkhavi-samrakkhanatthâya attharanam vukkati* (B.). It is probably the same word as, or connected with, *kilimikâ*, used by Buddhaghosa in note 5 on Mahāvagga VII, 1, 5, and explained by him (in Minayeff, p. 87, line 5) as *tâla-pannâdhi katâ*. Both words are possibly diminutives of *kola*, and it is not improbable that the reading should be *kilimikâ* in both cases, as Buddhaghosa so spells the word again in his note below on VI, 2, 7.

³ *Tûlikâ*. This is undoubtedly what is meant to be forbidden in § 5 of the *Magghima Sîla*, although Grimblot, 'Sept Suttas Palis,' p. 9, reads *kulikam*. See Mahāvagga V, 10, 4.

⁴ Compare IV, 4, 4, VIII, 1, 3, where such pillows are mentioned among the ordinary belongings of a Vihâra. The present rule is repeated below in VI, 14.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to make use of pillows half the size of a man’s body. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to have pillows the size of a man’s head.’

7. Now at that time there was a festival on a high place¹ at Rāgagaha. The people provided for the use of high officials bolsters stuffed with wool, or cotton cloth, or bark, or grass, or leaves. When the festival had been held they tore open the covers of skin and carried them off. And the Bhikkhus saw much wool, and cotton cloth, and bark, and grass, and leaves thrown away on the spot where the festival had been held; and on seeing this, they told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, bolsters² of five kinds—those stuffed with wool, or cotton cloth, or bark, or grass, or talipot leaves.’

Now at that time a bed coverlet had come into the possession of the Saṃgha.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cover a bolster with it.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus folded up bed bolsters on to chairs³, and chair bolsters on to bedsteads, and the bolsters came to pieces.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, chairs and bedsteads covered (with upholstered cushions to fit them).’

¹ Giragga-samaggo. See our note above on V, 2, 6.

² Bhisi. See the note on this word at Mahāvagga VIII, 13, 1.

³ Buddhaghosa says here *mañka-bhisim piṭhe samharantī ti mañka-piṭhe attharanti attharanatthāya harantī ti yuggati* (B.). On this use of *samharati* compare above, V, 11, 7.

They covered the bedsteads and chairs without putting a cloth beneath them¹, and the stuffing came out from below.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, first to spread out a cloth under the bedsteads or chairs, and then to upholster them.'

They tore off the coverings², and took them away.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to bespatter (the coverings with dye)³.'

They still took them away.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use coverings coloured in patches⁴.'

They still took them away.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to colour the coverings in patches only the size of a man's hand⁵.'

¹ *Ullokaṃ* akaritvā hetthā *ñilimikāṃ* adatvā (B.). The word occurs again at Mahāvagga I, 25, 15 = *Kullavagga* VIII, 1, 3, where cobwebs are to be removed with a cloth (*ullokā*!).

² *Khavim*; but perhaps not necessarily of leather. See the commencement of this section.

³ So that the coverings would be useless for other purposes. The Pāli word is *positum*, which Buddhaghosa explains thus—*hesitun ti* (so the Berlin MS.) *raṇaṇena vā haliddhāya vā upari pusitāni dātum*. The word is evidently connected not with the root *push*, but with the roots *prish* and *prush*, 'to bespatter'; and is the same as *phositun* at Mahāvagga VI, 14, 5, which is probably the better reading of the two.

⁴ *Bhatti-kammam*. The meaning is doubtful, because the reading is uncertain. Buddhaghosa says, *Bhitti-kamman ti* (sic) *bhisi-khaviyā upari bhitti-kammam*. The word is probably analogous in formation to our English 'patchwork,' though the 'patches' are not of pieces of different coloured stuffs, but of bits of different colour spread over the same stuff, and whatever its meaning, it is probably the same word as *bhati-kamma* at V, 9, 2.

⁵ Again both reading and interpretation are open to question. *Haṭṭha-bhittin ti paññaṅgula-bhittim* is all that Buddhaghosa

3.

1. Now at that time the sleeping-rooms of the Tittihyas were whitewashed, the floors of their rooms were coloured black, and the walls coloured with red chalk¹. Much people went to look at their sleeping-rooms.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use in your Vihâras of whitewash, black colouring, and red colouring.’

Now at that time the whitewash would not lie on to the rough walls.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to apply the husks of grain made up into little balls; and when you have thus removed the unevenness with your hands², to lay on the whitewash.’

The whitewash would not adhere.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to apply soft clay; and when you have thus removed the unevenness with your hands², to lay on the whitewash.’

(Still) the whitewash would not adhere.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of slime³ (of trees) or of paste⁴.’

says; and we have followed in our translation the reading of the Sinhalese MS. (see p. 321 of the edition of the text), which brings the word into connection with the preceding phrase.

¹ See V, 11, 6, where all these words recur.

² *Pânikâya*. Buddhaghosa says nothing.

³ *Ikkâsa*, on which we have nothing to add to Buddhaghosa's note at p. 321 of the edition of the text. It recurs below again in this section.

⁴ *Piṭṭha-maddan ti piṭṭha-khalam* (B.). Compare the Sanskrit *mṛid*.

Now at that time the colouring matter of red chalk would not lie on the rough walls.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to apply the husks of grain made up into little balls; and when you have thus removed the unevenness with your hands, to lay on the colouring matter of red chalk.’

The red colour would not adhere.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to apply clay mixed with the red powder which adheres to the grain of rice under the husks¹; and when you have so taken off the unevenness with your hands to lay on the red colouring matter.’

Still the red colouring matter would not adhere.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a paste made of mustard seed², and of oil of beeswax³.’

It lay on the wall too thickly in great drops⁴.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to wipe it down with a cloth⁵.’

Now at that time the black colouring matter did not lie on the rough ground.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to apply husks of grain

¹ *Kundaka-mattikan ti kundaka-missaka-mattikam* (B.). Compare *kundaka-pûvam* in the *Gâtaka Commentary* I, 423 (cakes made of flour mixed with this powder).

² *Sâsapa-ku//an ti sâsapa-pi//ham*. The word has occurred already at *Mahâvagga* VI, 14, 5, where the reading is *ku//a* instead of *kudda* given in the text here. The latter should be altered in accordance with that passage, and with *Buddhaghosa* here.

³ *Sittha-telakan ti vilina-madhu-sithakam* (B.). It is mentioned as used for hair-oil at *Kullavagga* V, 2, 3.

⁴ *Akkussannam hotî ti bindum bindum hutvâ ti//hati*, says *Buddhaghosa*.

⁵ *Kolakena pakûuddharitum*. *Buddhaghosa* says *pakûut-tharitum ti muñkîtum*; but compare for the right form V, 17, 1.

made up into little balls; and when you have thus removed the unevenness with your hands, to lay on the black colouring matter.'

The black colouring matter would not adhere.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to apply clay mixed with. (the excrement of) earth-worms¹; and when you have thus removed the unevenness with your hands, to lay on the black colouring matter.'

Still the black colouring matter would not adhere.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of slime and astringent liquid².'

2. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus had imaginative drawings³ painted on their Vihâras—figures of men, and figures of women.

People, when they saw them on going to visit the Vihâras, murmured, &c., saying, 'Like those who still enjoy the pleasures of the world.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to have imaginative drawings painted—figures of men, and figures of

¹ *Gandū-mattikaṇ ti ganduppāda-gūtha-mattikaṇ* (B.).

² *Kasāvaṇ ti āmalaka-hari/akāṇaṃ kasāvaṇ* (B.). Compare *Mahāvagga* VI, 4.

³ *Paṭibhāna-kittam*. The Bhikkhunis were forbidden by the 41st *Pāṭittiya* of the *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga* to go and see such paintings. (*Sutta-vibhaṅga* II, 298, where a picture gallery, *Kittāgāra*, belonging to King Pasenadi of Kosala, is mentioned.) We are not quite sure of the connotation of the term, which appears to imply some reproach. Perhaps it means 'suggestive.' Figures as such were not forbidden; and remains of statues and bas reliefs erected in the Vihâras, illustrative of every-day life, have been found in great numbers. In the introductory story to the 26th *Pāṭittiya* it certainly means 'indecent.'

women. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, representations of wreaths and creepers and bone hooks and cupboards¹.

3. Now at that time the Vihâras had too low a basement (&c., as in V, 11, 6 as to roofing, stairs, and balustrade).

Now at that time the Vihâras were crowded with people². The Bhikkhus were ashamed to lie down to sleep.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of curtains.’

They lifted up the curtains and looked in.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to put up a lath and plaster wall half the height of the Vihâra.’

They looked on from over this half-wall.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make inner chambers of three kinds—chambers in shape like a palankeen³, chambers in shape like a quart measure⁴, and chambers on an upper storey⁵.’

¹ All these words occur above at V, 11, 6, and V, 14, 4. The meaning of the two last is very doubtful. Perhaps it is intended that these should occupy the space on the walls instead of any ornamentation.

² Âlakamandâ, literally, ‘like Kuvera’s city in heaven.’ Buddhaghosa tells us why. Âlakamandâ ti ekaṅganâ manussâbhikinnâ. Âkinna-yakkhâ, corresponding to this last word, recurs in the standing description of Âlakamandâ at Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta V, 43 = Mahâ Sudassana Sutta I, 3. The name of the city is spelt in both those passages with / not l.

³ Sivikâ-gabbho ti taturassa-gabbho says Buddhaghosa.

⁴ Nâ/ikâ-gabbho ti vitthârato dviguna-tigun-âyâmo digha-gabbho (B.). That na/ikâ is used like nâ/î for a bushel measure follows from a comparison of Gâtaka I, 124, last lines, with I, 126, line 3.

⁵ Hammiya-gabbho ti âkâsa-tale kuṅgâra-gabbho mudanda-

Now at that time the Bhikkhus made inner chambers in the middle of small Vihâras, and there was no room to move about in.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make the inner chambers at one side of small Vihâras, and in the middle of large ones¹.’

4. Now at that time the lower part of the lath and plaster wall of the Vihâra decayed.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, buttresses of timber².’

Rain leaked through on to the lath and plaster wall of the Vihâra³.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a protecting arrangement⁴ and cement⁵.’

Now at that time a snake fell from the roof on to the back of a certain Bhikkhu. He was terrified, and made an outcry⁶. The Bhikkhus, running up, said to that Bhikkhu: ‘Why, Sir, do you make an outcry?’ Then that Bhikkhu told the matter to

kkhadana-gabbho vâ (B.). Compare our note on Mahāvagga I, 30, 4.

¹ There is a similar injunction at V, 14, 3, with respect to fire-places in bath-rooms.

² *Kulaṅka-pādakam*. See Buddhaghosa’s note at p. 321 of the edition of the text. The remedy here is different from that provided in the similar case, at V, 14, 3, with respect to bath-houses.

³ On the use of *ovassati* compare V, 16, 1, and VIII, 3, 3.

⁴ *Parittāna-kiṭṭikan ti tassa parittānattham kiṭṭikam* is all that Buddhaghosa says. Compare the end of § 5.

⁵ *Uddha-sudhan ti vatthaka-gomayena ka kharikāya ka sad-dhim maddita-mattikam* (B.).

⁶ *Vissaram akāsi*. See the note on Kullavagga VIII, 1, 1, where the whole incident is similar.

the Bhikkhus, and they told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a ceiling-cloth.’

5. Now at that time the Bhikkhus hung their bags at the feet of the bedsteads, and at the feet of the chairs; and they were gnawed by the mice and white ants.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, pins in the wall, and bone hooks¹.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus laid aside their robes on the bedsteads and on the chairs, and the robes were torn.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, bamboos to hang your robes on, and strings to hang your robes on².’

Now at that time the Vihâras had no verandahs, and no defences³.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, verandahs⁴, covered terraces⁵, inner verandahs⁶, and over-hanging eaves⁷.’

¹ The use of these has been already referred to at V, 9, 5.

² These have already been allowed in *Kullavagga* V, 11, 6, and V, 14, 3. The license under the present rule extends only to their use in Vihâras.

³ *Apaṭissaranâ*, which must have some special, technical, meaning unknown to us. *Buddhaghosa* says nothing.

⁴ *Âlindo nâma pamukham vuḥkati* (B.). Compare *Abhidhâna-ppadîpikâ*, verse 218.

⁵ *Paghanam nâma yam nikkhamantâ ka pavisantâ ka pâdehi hananti*. *Tassa vihâra-dvâre ubhato kuḥam* (?) *niharitvâ kata-padesass’ etam adhivaṭṭanam*. *Paghânan ti pi vuḥkati* (B.).

⁶ *Pakuḥan ti magghe gabbhassa samantâ pariyâgâro vuḥkati*. *Pakuḥan ti pi pâḥo* (B.).

⁷ *Osarako ti anâṇḍake vihâre vamsam datvâ tato dandake*

The verandahs were too public; and the Bhikkhus were ashamed to lie down in them to sleep.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, an arrangement in form of a curtain that can be drawn aside¹, or an arrangement in form of a moveable screen².’

6. Now at that time the Bhikkhus, when taking their midday meal in the open air, were troubled by cold and heat.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, a Service Hall.’

The Service Hall had too low a basement (&c., as in V, 11, 6, down to the end).

Now at that time the Bhikkhus spread their robes out on the ground in the open air, and they became dirty.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, bamboos to hang robes on, and strings to hang robes in, in the open air.

7. The water became warm.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a water-room and a water-shed.’

The water-room had too low a basement (&c., as in V, 11, 6, down to the end).

There were no vessels for the water.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, chank shells and saucers for the water.’

8. Now at that time the Vihâras had no fence round them.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to enclose them with

osâretvâ katam *khadana-pamukham* (B.). At Gâtaka III, 446, it is said of a dying man ‘*niharitvâ osârake nipaggâpesum.*’

¹ *Samsarana-kiziko nâma kakkala-yutto kiziko* (B.). *Kakkala* should be compared with *kakkhalikâ* at VI, 2, 2, and *kakkhali* at VI, 19.

² *Ugghâ/ana-kiziko*, on which Buddhaghosa says nothing.

ramparts (Pākāra) of three kinds—brick walls, stone walls, and wooden fences.’

There was no store-room¹.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a store-room.’

The store-room had too low a basement, and it was flooded with water.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make it with a high basement.’

The store-room had no door.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a door; with door-posts and lintel, with hollows like a mortar for the door to revolve in, with projections to revolve in those hollows, with rings on the door for the bolt to work along in, with a block of wood fixed into the edge of the door-post, and containing a cavity for the bolt to go into (called the Monkey’s Head), with a pin to secure the bolt by, with a connecting bolt, with a key-hole, with a hole for a string with which the door may be closed, and with a string for that purpose².’

Grass and plaster fell from the store-room.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus (&c., as in V, 14, 4, down to the end of V, 14, 5, as to roofing, flooring, drains, &c.).’

9. Now at that time the Bhikkhus made fire-places here and there in the Parivena, and the Parivena was covered with the remains of the fires³.

¹ *Koṭṭhaka*. See our note above on V, 14, 4, as to the various allied meanings of this word. Perhaps ‘gateway’ should be chosen as the rendering here, as it clearly must be in the closely allied passage in the next section but one (§ 10). As the chamber supposed always to be built over the gateway could be used as a store-room, the difference is not very essential.

² The whole as above in V, 14, 3, where see the note.

³ *Uklāpo*. On this use of the word compare *Kullavagga* VIII, 1, 3.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to make a separate room for the fire at one side.’

The fire-room had too low a basement (&c., as in V, 11, 6, as to flooring, stairs, and balustrade, followed by the paragraph as to the door, and the facing, as in V, 14, 3, &c.).

10. Now at that time the Ârâmas had no fences to them, and goats and cattle injured the plantations¹.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to surround them with fencing of three kinds—bamboo fences, thorn fences, and ditches.’

There was no gateway (*kottḥaka*), and goats and cattle, even so, injured the plantations.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a gateway, with gates made of stakes interlaced with thorny brakes², with fences (across the gateway) made of the akka plant³, with ornamental screen-work over the gateway⁴, and with bars.’

[Then the paragraphs allowing the roofing, &c., of this *kottḥaka* as in V, 11, 6, and drains for the Ârâma, as in V, 14, 3.]

11. Now at that time Seniya Bimbisâra, the king of Magadha, wanted to build a pâsâda⁵ (residence),

¹ Uparope. Compare Uparopaka at Gâtaka II, 345.

² Apesiyam. See p. 321 of the edition of the text, reading of course *kantḥaka*.

³ Akkavâṭa, on which Buddhaghosa says nothing. A kind of dress made from the stalks of the akka plant is mentioned in Mahāvagga VIII, 28, 2.

⁴ Tosana, which is the ornamental erection over a gateway of which such excellent examples in stone have been found at the Sānchi and Bharhut Topes.

⁵ The exact meaning of the word Pâsâda at the time when this

covered with cement and clay, for the use of the *Samgha*. And it occurred to the Bhikkhus, 'What kind of roof now has been allowed by the Blessed One, and what kind of roof has not been allowed?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, roofing of five kinds—brick roofing, stone roofing, cement roofing, straw roofing, and roofing of leaves.'

End of the First Bhānavāra (or Portion for Recitation).

4.

1. Now at that time the householder Anātha Pindika was the husband of the sister of the Rāgagaha Setthi. And Anātha Pindika the householder went to Rāgagaha on some business or other. Now at that time the *Samgha*, with the Buddha at its head, had been bidden by the Setthi of Rāgagaha for the morrow's meal. And the Setthi of Rāgagaha gave command to his slaves and work-people, saying, 'So get up at early morn, my men, and cook congey, and cook rice, and prepare curries, and prepare delicacies¹'

book was written has not yet been precisely ascertained. In later times it meant a building of several storeys, each successive storey being smaller in superficial area than the one immediately beneath it. Compare the Mahā-loha-pāsāda so often mentioned in the Mahāvamsa (pp. 161-257), the stone pillars of the lowest stories of which are still one of the sights of Anurādhapura.

¹ Uttari-bhaṅgam. Childers sub voce *uttari* is in doubt what the meaning of this phrase is. It is no longer uncertain that the word means 'delicacy' of some sort. Whether the term was more

And it occurred to Anâtha Pindîka the householder, 'Now formerly this householder was wont, when I arrived, to lay aside all other business, and exchange the greetings of courtesy with me; but now he appears excited, and is giving orders to his slaves and work-people. How can it be? Is he taking in marriage, or is he giving in marriage, or has he set a great sacrifice on foot, or has he invited the Mâgadhan Seniya Bimbisâra, together with his retinue, for to-morrow's meal?'

2. Now when the *Setthi* of Râgagaha had given commandment to his slaves and his work-people, he went up to the place where Anâtha Pindîka the householder was, and exchanged with him the greetings of courtesy, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated, Anâtha Pindîka the householder [told him the thoughts that had passed through his mind].

'I am neither taking nor giving in marriage, O householder' (was the reply), 'nor have I invited the Mâgadhan Seniya Bimbisâra to to-morrow's meal. But a great sacrifice I have set on foot, for the *Samgha*, with the Buddha at its head, has been invited for to-morrow's meal at my house.'

'Did you, O householder, say "the Buddha?"'

'Yes, it was "the Buddha" that I said.'

precise, and denoted some particular delicacy or not, is still doubtful. Compare the passages quoted in our note above on Mahâvagga VI, 14, 3 (adding *Gâtaka* I, 186, and *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 5, VIII, 4, 4), which show that it was eaten with boiled rice or congey; is mentioned along with ghee and oil; and could be made from the flesh (or other parts) of a sucking-pig. If it were not for the latter circumstance (*Gâtaka* I, 197) it might well be pickles or chutney.

[And thrice the same question was put, and the same reply was given.]

‘Hard is it, O householder, to meet even with the mere expression in the world—the news, that is, of “a Buddha, a Buddha”¹. Would it be possible for us, at this very time, to go and visit that Blessed One, the Arahāt, the very Buddha²?’

‘It is not now, O householder, the proper time to pay a visit to the Blessed One; but early on the morrow you shall go and visit him.’

Then Anātha Pindāka, pondering of the visit he was about to pay, lay down to sleep with his thoughts so bent upon the Buddha that thrice in the night he arose, thinking the daylight had appeared.

3. And Anātha Pindāka the householder went up to the gate leading to the Sītavana, and celestial beings opened the gate. And as he emerged from the city, the light disappeared and a thick darkness arose, and fear and trembling and consternation sprang up within him, so that a longing came upon him to turn back again from that spot. But Sīvaka the Yakkha, himself the while invisible, caused a sound to be heard, saying :

‘A hundred elephants, a hundred steeds, a hundred chariots with mules³,

‘A hundred thousand virgins with their jewelled earrings on,—

¹ ‘Much more so with the reality’ is to be understood. Compare Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta VI, 63 (at the end).

² On this rendering of Sammā-sambuddham, see Rh. D.’s ‘Hibbert Lectures,’ pp. 145–147.

³ Assatari. Compare vakkhatarī at Mahāvagga V, 9, 1, 3. The word recurs below at VII, 2, 5.

‘These are not worth, O householder, the sixteenth portion of one single stride.

‘Go on, go on, O householder! Advance, and not retreat, shall profit thee.’

Then the darkness disappeared before Anâtha Pindîka the householder, and a bright light arose, and the fear and trembling and consternation that had sprung upon within him were appeased.

[And a second and a third time the same thing happened, and the same words were heard, and with the same result.]

4. And Anâtha Pindîka the householder arrived at the Sîtavana; and at that time the Blessed One, who had arisen at early dawn, was walking up and down (meditating) in the open air. And the Blessed One saw Anâtha Pindîka the householder when he was coming from afar; and the Blessed One left the place where he had been walking up and down, and sat himself down on the seat put out for him. And when he was so seated, he addressed Anâtha Pindîka the householder, and said:

‘Come hither, Sudatta!’

Then Anâtha Pindîka, glad and happy at the thought that the Blessed One had addressed him by his name, went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and bowed down before him, falling at his feet, and said:

‘I trust my lord the Blessed One has slept in peace!’

‘He ever sleeps in peace, the Arahât who is free¹,

¹ Brâhmano parinibbuto. To translate the first of these words by ‘Brahman’ would mislead English readers. It is constantly used in early Buddhist texts for Arahât. On the use of

'Who is not touched by lusts, but calm and free from sin¹,

'Has broken all the bars (to freedom of the mind)²,
has quenched the anguish in his heart,

'Has fixed peace in his mind, and peaceful, sleeps in peace³.'

5⁴. Then the Blessed One discoursed to Anâtha Pindika the householder in due order; that is to say, he spake to him of giving, of righteousness, of heaven, of the danger, the vanity, and the defilement of lusts, and of the advantages of renunciation. And when the Blessed One saw that Anâtha Pindika the householder had become prepared, softened, unprejudiced, and upraised and believing in heart, then he proclaimed that which is the special doctrine of the Buddhas; that is to say, Suffering, its Origin, its Cessation, and the Path. And just as a clean cloth from which all stain has been washed away will readily take the dye, just even so did Anâtha

parinibbuto not in the sense of 'dead,' but of a living man in the sense of 'spiritually free,' compare Dhammapada, verse 89; Sutta Nipâta II, 13, 1, 12, III, 12, 35; and Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta IV, 3.

¹ Nirûpadhi, i.e. free from Kâma, Kilesa, and Kamma.

² Sabbâ âsattiyo khetvâ. Having cut or broken all the âsatti's (from the root *sañg*, to hang), the things which hang on to and burden a man in his spiritual progress. Compare the figure of speech at Gâtaka I, 5 (*âsattam kunapam khaddetvâ*). Buddhaghosa says *sabbâ âsattiyo khetvâ ti . . . hadaye daratham kîtte kilesa-daratham ginetvâ*.

³ Vineyya and appuya are no doubt gerunds. In a corresponding passage of the Ânguttara Nikâya the Phayre MS. reads *appeyya*, which smoothes over a difficulty at the expense of the better reading.

⁴ The following section is in identical terms with Mahâvagga I, 7, 5, 10, V, 1, 9, 10, VI, 26, 8, 9.

Pindika the householder obtain, even while sitting there, the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth ; (that is to say, the knowledge that) whatsoever has a beginning, in that is inherent also the necessity of dissolution. Thus did *Anâtha Pindika* the householder see, and master, and understand, and penetrate the Truth ; and he overcame uncertainty, and dispelled all doubts, and gained full knowledge, becoming dependent upon no one else for his knowledge of the doctrine of the Teacher. And he addressed the Blessed One, and said :

‘Most excellent, Lord (are the words of thy mouth), most excellent ! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a light into the darkness so that those who had eyes could see external forms—just even so, Lord, has the Truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Blessed One. And I, even I, betake myself, Lord, to the Blessed One as my refuge, to the Truth, and to the Order. May the Blessed One accept me as a disciple, as one who, from this day forth as long as life endures, has taken his refuge in him. And may the Blessed One consent to accept at my hand the to-morrow’s meal for himself and for his Order of *Bhikkhus*.’

Then the Blessed One, by silence, granted his consent. And when *Anâtha Pindika* the householder perceived that his request had been granted, he rose from his seat, and bowed down before the Blessed One, and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, he departed thence.

6. Now the *Setthi* of *Râgagaha* heard that the

Order of Bhikkhus which has the Buddha at its head had been invited by Anātha Pindika the householder for the morrow's meal. And the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha said to Anātha Pindika the householder: 'They say, O householder, that you have invited the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, with the Buddha at its head, for the morrow's meal, and you are but a stranger here. I will provide the means¹, O householder, for you to provide the Order of Bhikkhus, which has the Buddha at its head, with food.'

'It is not necessary, O householder; I have means sufficient for the purpose.'

[And the townsman of Rāgagaha², and Seniya Bimbisāra the Rāga of Magadha, made the same offer in the same words, and received the same reply.]

7. Then Anātha Pindika the householder, when the night was far spent, made ready in the house of the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha sweet food both hard and soft, and had the time announced to the Blessed One, saying, 'The time, Lord, has come; and the meal is ready.'

And the Blessed One, when he had dressed himself in the early morning, went duly bowled and

¹ Veyyāyikam formed from vyaya, expenditure. Veyyāyikan ti vayakaraṇam vuḍḍati (B.).

² Rāgagahako negamo. This person has been already mentioned, and there also in intimate connection with the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha, in the Mahāvagga VIII, 1, 2, 16. It is tolerably clear from the connection that this is no ordinary citizen, but one holding a distinct and semi-official position. In this respect the word is an exact parallel to its neighbour the *Setthi*. For instances of the word in its more general sense, see *Kakkāyana* (ed. Senart), p. 219; and *Dāḥāvamsa* III, 3.

robed to the house of the *Setthi* of Rāgagaha, and sat down there on the seat spread out for him, together with the Order of Bhikkhus. And Anātha Pindika the householder offered to the Order of Bhikkhus which had the Buddha at its head the sweet food both hard and soft, waiting upon them with his own hand¹. And when the Blessed One had finished his meal, and had cleansed his hands and his bowl, Anātha Pindika took his seat on one side; and, so seated, he said to the Blessed One: 'May the Blessed One consent to spend the rainy season of Was at Sāvatti, together with the Order of Bhikkhus.'

'The Tathāgatas, O householder, take pleasure in solitude.'

'I understand, O Blessed One; I understand, O Happy One' (was the reply)².

Then the Blessed One, after he had instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened Anātha Pindika the householder with religious discourse, arose from his seat, and departed thence.

8. Now at that time Anātha Pindika the householder had many friends and large acquaintance, and his word was held of weight³. When he had

¹ Compare the note on Mahāvagga I, 8, 4.

² *Aññātam bhagavā aññātam sugatā ti*. The first word is the standing expression used when the Buddha or a Thera has signified a request, not in so many words, but in some phrase from which the request may be implied, and the person addressed desires to express that he has perceived the intended implication. Compare *Dīpavamsa* XIV, 65, XV, 5.

³ *Ādeyyavāko ti tassa vaṭṭanam bahuganā mānetabbam maññantī ti attho* (B.). In *Puggala* III, 11, we have the phrase *tassa vaṭṭanam ādheyyam gaṭṭhati*, which the commentary explains by *hadaye ādhātabbam /hapitabbam*.

brought the business he had in hand at Rāgagaha to its conclusion, he set out towards Sāvatti; and on the way he gave orders to people, saying, 'Build dwellings, my good men, and make rest-houses ready, and prepare gifts. A Buddha has appeared in the world, and that Blessed One has been invited by me, and by this road will he come.' And those people [did all even as they were commanded].

And when Anātha Pindika the householder had arrived at Sāvatti, he examined all the region round about it, saying¹, 'Where now shall I fix the place for the Blessed One to stay in, not too far from the town and not too near, convenient for going and for coming, easily accessible for all who wish to visit him, by day not too crowded, by night not exposed to too much noise and alarm, protected from the wind², hidden from men, well fitted for a retired life?'

9. And Anātha Pindika the householder saw that the garden of Geta the Kumāra had [all these advantages]. And when he saw that, he went to Geta the Kumāra, and said to him, 'Sir, let me have your garden to make an Ārama on it.'

'It is not, Sir, for sale, even for (a sum so great that the pieces of money would be sufficient to cover it if they were) laid side by side.'

'I take, Sir, the garden at the price.'

'No, O householder, there was no bargain meant³.'

¹ The following speech is identical with that put into Bimbisāra's mouth on choosing the Veṭuvana, above Mahāvagga I, 22, 16, 17.

² Viganavātaṃ, of which neither the reading nor the meaning is certain. See the various forms given from the commentaries in the notes on the text of the passage in the Mahāvagga, loc. cit.

³ Na gahito: literally, 'it is not taken.'

Then they asked the lords of justice whether a bargain of sale had been made or not. And the lords decided thus: 'The Ârâma is taken, Sir, at the price which you fixed.'

And Anâtha Pindîka the householder had gold brought down in carts, and covered the *Getavana* with (pieces) laid side by side¹.

10. Now the gold that he had brought down the first time did not suffice (after the rest of the garden was covered) to cover one small space close by the gateway. So Anâtha Pindîka the householder told his servants to go back and fetch more gold, saying he would cover that piece also.

Then thought Geta the Kumâra, 'This can be no ordinary matter², for which this householder is ready to lavish so much gold!' And he said to Anâtha Pindîka the householder, 'It is enough, O householder. You need not have that space covered. Let me have that space, and it shall be my gift.'

Then Anâtha Pindîka the householder thought³, 'This Geta the Kumâra is a very distinguished and illustrious person. Great would be the efficacy of the adherence of so well known a man as he to this doctrine and discipline.' And he gave up that

¹ It is evident from the illustration of this story on a bas relief at the Bharhut Tope that these pieces of money were supposed to be square, not round. See Cunningham's 'The Stûpa of Bharhut,' Plate No. LVII and pp. 84-86.

² Na orakam bhavissati. Compare Mahâvagga I, 9, 1, and the commencement of our next chapter below. The idiom recurs in VII, 3, 3.

³ The following phrase is identical with that put into the mouth of Ânanda, at Mahâvagga VI, 36, 3, with respect to Roga the Malla. In the text here there is a slight misprint; the full-stop after *ñâtamanusso* should be struck out.

space to Geta the Kumâra. And Geta the Prince erected thereon a gateway, with a room over it.

And Anâtha Pindîka the householder built¹ dwelling-rooms, and retiring-rooms, and store-rooms (over the gateways), and service halls, and halls with fire-places in them, and storehouses (outside the Vihâra)², and closets, and cloisters, and halls for exercise, and wells, and sheds for the well³, and bath-rooms, and halls attached to the bath-rooms, and ponds, and open-roofed sheds⁴.

5.

1. Now when the Blessed One had stayed at Râgagaha as long as he thought fit, he set out towards Vesâlî; and journeying straight on he in due course arrived there. And there at Vesâlî the Blessed One stayed in the peak-roofed hall at the Mahâvana.

Now at that time the people were zealously engaged in putting up new buildings (for the use of the Order)⁵, and as zealously provided with the

¹ With the following list should be compared the list of things that laymen build for themselves given in Mahâvagga III, 5, 7.

² Kappiya-ku/iyo. See Mahâvagga VI, 33.

³ Udapâna-sâlâyo. See above, V, 16, 2.

⁴ Mandape. See Mahâvagga VIII, 7, 1, and above, Kullavagga VI, 3, 7.

⁵ Navakammam karonti. This idiom always connotes buildings for the use of the Order. See the passages quoted in our note on Kullavagga I, 18, 1. If the buildings were for the Bhikkhus, then a Bhikkhu, if for the Bhikkhunîs, then a Bhikkhunî, was appointed to superintend the works in order to ensure the

requisite clothes, and food, and lodging, and medicine for the sick, all such Bhikkhus as superintended their work.

Now a certain poor tailor thought, 'This can be no every-day matter on which the people are so zealously engaged. Let me too set to work on a new building.' And that poor tailor himself kneaded the clay, and laid the bricks, and raised the walls. But by his want of experience the laying was out of line and the wall fell down. And a second and a third time he [repeated his work, and with the same result].

2. Then that poor tailor murmured, was annoyed, and became indignant, saying, 'These Sakyaputtiya Samanas exhort and teach those men who provide them with the requisite clothes, food, lodging, and medicine, and superintend their buildings for them. But I am poor, and no one exhorts or teaches me, or helps me in my building !'

The Bhikkhus heard him so murmuring, and told the matter to the Blessed One. Then the Blessed One on that occasion and in that connection made a religious discourse, and gave command to the Bhikkhus, saying, 'I permit you, O Bhikkhus, to give new buildings in course of erection (for the use of the Order) in charge (to a Bhikkhu who shall superintend¹ the work). And the Bhikkhu who

buildings being in accordance with the rules of the Order as to size, form, and object of the various apartments.

The buildings referred to in this section are no doubt intended to be the same as those referred to in *Kullavagga* V, 13, 3.

¹ *Navakammam dātum*. For the works which ought not to be included, and for those which might be lawfully included in this term, see below, *Kullavagga* VI, 17. Hence the overseer is called *navakammika*.

is overseer shall zealously exert himself to the end that the work on the Vihâra may be brought to a rapid conclusion, and shall afterwards cause repairs to be executed wherever the buildings have become broken or worn out ¹.

3. 'And thus, O Bhikkhus, is the work to be given in charge. In the first place a Bhikkhu is to be asked (whether he will undertake the duty). When he has been asked, some able and discreet Bhikkhu is to lay the matter before the Samgha, saying, "Let the venerable Samgha hear me. If the time seems meet to the Samgha, let the Samgha give in charge to such and such a Bhikkhu the Vihâra of such and such a householder as a navakammam. This is the motion (*ñatti*). Let the venerable Samgha hear me. The Samgha hereby gives in charge . . . (&c., as before). Whosoever of the venerable ones approves thereof, let him keep silence; whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. The Samgha has given in charge . . . (&c., as before). Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.'"

6².

1. Now when the Blessed One had stayed as long as he thought fit at Vesâli he set out towards Sâvatthi.

¹ *Khandan ti bhinnokâso: phullan ti phalitokâso* (B.). The expression recurs below at VI, 17, 1.

² The incident related in the following chapter is identical with the 37th *Gâtaka* (including the Introductory Story there given) already translated by Rh. D. in the 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 310-314.

Now at that time the pupils of the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus went on in front of the Bhikkhu-*saṃgha* which had the Buddha at its head, and occupied the rooms, and occupied the sleeping-places, saying, 'This will do for our superiors (*upagghāyas*), this for our teachers (*āḥariyas*), this for ourselves.' And the venerable Sāriputta who had followed after the Bhikkhu-*saṃgha* which had the Buddha at its head, since all the rooms and all the sleeping-places had been occupied, found no place to sleep in, and took his seat at the foot of a certain tree.

Now the Blessed One, at early dawn, after he had risen, coughed. The venerable Sāriputta coughed also.

'Who is this?' (said the Blessed One.)

'It is I, Lord; Sāriputta.'

'How do you come to be sitting here, Sāriputta?'

Then the venerable Sāriputta told the matter to the Blessed One.

2. Then the Blessed One on that occasion and in that connection convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-*saṃgha*, and asked, 'Is it true, as I have been told, O Bhikkhus, that the pupils of the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus have (acted in this way)?'

'It is true, Lord.'

Then the Blessed One rebuked them, saying (as usual, see *Kullavagga* I, 1, 2, 3), and he said to the Bhikkhus, 'Who is it, O Bhikkhus, who is worthy of the best seat, and the best water, and the best food?'

Some of the Bhikkhus said, 'One who belonged to a Kshatriya family before he entered the Order.' Others of the Bhikkhus said, 'One who belonged to a Brahman family before he entered the Order.' Others again said, 'One who belonged to a Gaha-

pati¹ family before he entered the Order—one versed in the Suttas—one versed in the Rules of the Order—an expounder of the Dhamma²—one who has attained the first, second, third, fourth *Ghâna*—one who has entered the first, second, third Path—an Arahāt—one who has the threefold wisdom³—one who has the six powers⁴.

3. Then the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, and said, 'Long ago, O Bhikkhus, there was a great banyan tree on the lower slopes of the Himālaya range; and near it there dwelt three friends—a partridge, a monkey, and an elephant. And they dwelt together without mutual reverence, confidence, and courtesy⁵. Then, O Bhikkhus, it occurred to those friends, "Come now, let us find out which of us is the elder by birth; and let us agree to honour and reverence and esteem and support him, and by his counsels let us abide." So, Bhikkhus, the partridge and the monkey asked the elephant,

"How far back can you, friend, remember?"

"Friends! when I was little I used to walk over

¹ On this mention of *gahapati* as the name of a caste or rank, compare the passage in the *Tevigga Sutta* I, 47 = *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, p. 133 (translated by Rh. D. in 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pāli,' S. B. E. vol. xi, p. 187), where the word is opposed to *aññatarasmim kule paṭṭhagāto*.

² Dhamma is here possibly already used in the special sense to which the term *Abhidhamma* was afterwards applied. So *Purāṇa*, who in the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* I, 14, is called the chief of the expounders of the Dhamma (compare *Dīpavamsa* IV, 4), says of himself in the *Apadāna abhidhammanayaññō 'ham*.

³ *Teviggo*. See Rh. D.'s remarks in 'Buddhist Suttas,' pp. 161, 162.

⁴ This list contains one or two terms which are omitted in the *Gāṭaka* introduction.

⁵ These terms recur at *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 6.

this banyan tree, keeping it between my thighs, and its topmost twig brushed against my stomach. So far back, friends, can I remember."

'Then, O Bhikkhus, the partridge and the elephant asked the monkey [the same question],

"Friends! when I was little, sitting once on the ground, I gnawed at the then topmost twig of this banyan. So far back can I remember."

'Then, O Bhikkhus, the monkey and the elephant asked the partridge [the same question],

"Friends! there was formerly a lofty banyan tree in yonder open space. One day after eating one of its fruits, I voided the seed here; and from that this banyan tree grew up. So I must be older than either of you."

'Thereupon, O Bhikkhus, the elephant and the monkey said to the partridge, "You, friend, are the oldest of us all. Henceforth we will honour and reverence and esteem and support you, and by your counsels will we abide."

'Thenceforth, O Bhikkhus, the partridge kept the monkey and the elephant in obedience to the Five Precepts, and observed them also himself. And dwelling together in mutual reverence, confidence, and courtesy, at the dissolution of the body after death they were reborn unto a happy state in heaven. And this (perfect life of theirs) became known as "the good life of the partridge¹."

'Tis those who reverence the old
That are the men who Dhamma know,

¹ *Tittiriyaṃ brahmaṇariyaṃ*. It is quite possible that a covert sarcasm is here intended to be understood against the *Taittirīya Brahmins*.

Worthy of praise while in this life
And happy in the life to come.

4. 'So that, O Bhikkhus, since even animals can live together in mutual reverence, confidence, and courtesy, so much more, O Bhikkhus, should you so let your light shine forth¹ that you, who have left the world to follow so well taught a doctrine and discipline, may be seen to dwell in like manner together.' And when he had delivered a religious discourse (as in I, 1, 3), he said to the Bhikkhus:

'I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, that paying of reverence, rising up in reverence, salutation, proper respect, and apportionment of the best seat and water and food, shall be according to seniority. But property belonging to the *Samgha* shall not be exclusively appropriated according to seniority². Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*.

5. 'These ten, O Bhikkhus, are not to be saluted—a Bhikkhu afterwards admitted unto the higher grade of the Order by one previously admitted—a person not admitted—a senior Bhikkhu when he belongs to a different community, and does not speak according to the Dhamma—a woman³—a eunuch⁴—a Bhikkhu who has been placed under probation⁵—one who, having been so placed, is

¹ *Tam sobhetha yam . . .* On this idiom compare *Mahāvagga* X, 2, 20.

² Compare chapter 7 and also chapter 12. It would seem from these passages that the prohibition to reserve exclusively according to seniority the use of property belonging to the whole *Samgha* was held to imply that the temporary use of it was to go according to seniority. Compare X, 18.

³ See *Kullavagga* X, 3.

⁴ Compare *Mahāvagga* I, 61, 2.

⁵ See *Kullavagga* II, 1, 2.

liable to be thrown back to the beginning of his probationary term¹—one who is liable to have a penance (*Mānatta*) imposed upon him—one who is undergoing a penance—one who, so undergoing a penance, is fit to be rehabilitated.

‘And these three, O Bhikkhus, ought to be saluted—one previously admitted into the higher grade of the Order by one afterwards admitted—the senior in a different community when he speaks according to the Dhamma—and, O Bhikkhus, throughout the worlds of men and gods, of Māras and of Brahmas, by all creatures *Samanas* and *Brāhmans*, gods and men, the *Arahat Sammā-sambuddha*.’

7.

1. Now at that time people provided arbours (*mandapas*), and couches, and room for the use of the *Samgha*. And the pupils of the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, saying, ‘It has been laid down by the Blessed One that that which pertains (wholly) to the *Samgha* shall be used according to seniority, but not that which is given only for the temporary use of the *Samgha*,’ went on in front of the *Samgha* and occupied the *mandapas*, and occupied the couches, and occupied the room, saying, ‘This shall be for our superiors, and this for our teachers, and this for ourselves.’

And *Sāriputta* (&c., as in last chapter, §§ 1, 2, down to) Then the Blessed One rebuked them, &c., and said to the Bhikkhus, ‘Even that which has been set aside only for the temporary use of

¹ See *Kullavagga* III, 14.

the *Samgha* is not, O Bhikkhus, to be reserved for exclusive use according to seniority.'

8.

1. Now at that time people arranged in the eating-rooms, or in the interior courtyards of their houses, lofty and large couches, such as [here follows the list of things forbidden in *Mahāvagga V*, 10, 4]. The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not sit down upon them.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to sit down on seats arranged by laymen—excepting three, (that is to say) large cushions, divans, mattresses¹—but not to lie down upon them.'

Now at that time people put in the eating-rooms, or in the courtyards, stuffed couches and stuffed chairs. The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, would not sit down on them.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to sit down on any [such] things arranged by laymen, but not to lie down upon them².'

9.

1. Now the Blessed One, proceeding on his journey, arrived in due course at *Sāvatthi*; and there,

¹ These are Nos. 1, 2, and 7 in the list just referred to, and may be kept if treated in the way laid down in VI, 14, 2 below.

² This rule has already occurred in identical terms at *Mahāvagga V*, 11. Probably both here and there the word *such*, which we have here added in brackets, is to be understood.

at Sâvatthi, the Blessed One stayed in the *Getavana*, the park of Anâtha Pindîka. Then Anâtha Pindîka the householder [invited the Blessed One for the morrow's meal, and when the meal was over, he said to the Blessed One¹]:

‘What, Lord, shall I do with regard to the *Getavana*?’

‘You may dedicate it, O householder, to the use of the *Samgha* of the four directions² either now here present, or hereafter to arrive.’

‘Even so, Lord,’ said Anâtha Pindîka the householder in assent to the Blessed One, and he did so.

2. Then the Blessed One gave thanks to Anâtha Pindîka the householder in these verses. [Here follow the same verses as were used above in VI, 1, 5 on the presentation of the *Getavana*³.]

10.

1. Now at that time it had been settled that a certain high official at court, a follower of the *Āgīvakas*, should provide the day's meal for the *Samgha*. And the venerable Upananda the Sâkyan, coming late, but before the meal was over, made the Bhikkhu next (junior to him in seniority⁴) get

¹ The usual terms are here followed throughout: see, for instance, above, VI, 4, 6, 7.

² That is ‘of all the world.’ See our note above on Mahāvagga VIII, 27, 5, where the phrase has already occurred.

³ The verses are quoted in the account of Anâtha Pindîka's gift given in the *Gâtaka* commentary (Fausböll I, 93; Rh. D.'s ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ I, 131).

⁴ *Ānantarikaṃ*; perhaps ‘the Bhikkhu (who happened to be)

up out of his seat; and the dining-hall was thrown into confusion.

Then that minister became indignant, murmured, and was annoyed: 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas behave so! Is it not then lawful for any one, unless he have been seated, to eat as much as he requires?'

And the Bhikkhus heard him murmuring, &c. And they told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Is it true as they say, &c.?'

'It is true, Lord.'

Then the Blessed One rebuked him, &c., and he said to the Bhikkhus, 'A Bhikkhu is not, O Bhikkhus, to be made to get up out of his seat before the meal is over. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. And if any one causes another to get up, and be then invited to partake of the meal, he shall be ordered to go and fetch water. If he shall thus receive the place, it is well; if not, the other one shall first complete his swallowing of the rice, and shall then give up the place to his senior. But in no case, O Bhikkhus, do I say that a place properly belonging to a senior Bhikkhu is to be taken (by a junior). Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa¹.'

2. Now at that time the Kḥabbaggiya Bhikkhus made sick Bhikkhus get up (from their seats). The sick men said, 'We cannot, Sirs, get up; for we are sick.'

'We insist upon your getting up,' said they; and

next (to him). The text reads *anantarikaṃ*, which is a misprint. Compare Mahāvagga IX, 4, 8, and Kullavagga VII, 3, 9, VIII, 4, 1.

¹ Compare the rule for Bhikkhunis at X, 18. .

seizing them, and pulling them up, they let them go as they were standing. The sick men, as soon as they were let go, fell down.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A sick man, O Bhikkhus, is not to be made to get up. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, saying, ‘We are sick, and cannot be turned out,’ took possession of the best sleeping-places.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I enjoin, O Bhikkhus, that you allot to sick Bhikkhus suitable sleeping-places.’

Now at that time the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus, on pretext of some slight indisposition¹, took exclusive possession of sleeping-places.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to do so. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

11².

1. Now at that time the *Sattarasa-vaggiya* Bhikkhus made ready a certain large Vihâra in the neighbourhood³, with the intention of dwelling in it. And when the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhus saw what they were doing, they said: ‘These venerable ones, the *Sattarasa-vaggiya* Bhikkhus, are

¹ Lesakappenâ ti appakena sfsâbâdhâdimattena (B.).

² The story in this section forms also the introductory story to the 17th Pâṭṭiya.

³ *Pakkantimam*; perhaps ‘in the border-country.’ Compare *pakkantam nagaram*, a frontier fort at Dhammapada, p. 56.

getting a Vihâra ready; come, let us turn them out.' Some of them said: 'Let us stay here¹ whilst they get it ready, and turn them out when it is prepared.' So the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus said to the Sattarasa-vaggiyas: 'Depart, Sirs; the Vihâra has fallen unto us.'

'Why did you not, Sirs, say so sooner; and we would have got some other one ready?'

'Is not, then, this Vihâra the common property of the *Samgha* ?'

'Yes, Sirs; that is so.'

'Then depart, Sirs; for the Vihâra has fallen unto us.'

'It is large, Sirs, this Vihâra. You can dwell in it, and we as well.'

Then, full of anger and displeasure, they repeated, 'Depart, Sirs; this Vihâra has fallen unto us.' And seizing them by the throat, they cast them out. And the others, being ejected, wept.

The Bhikkhus asked, 'Why, Sirs, do you weep?'

Then they told them; and the moderate Bhikkhus murmured, &c., and told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, as they say, &c. ?'

'It is true, Lord.'

Then he rebuked them; and when he had delivered a religious discourse, he said to the Bhikkhus:

'A Bhikkhu is not, O Bhikkhus, to be cast out of a Vihâra, the common property of the *Samgha*, in anger and vexation. Whosoever does so, shall

¹ Âgametha yâva. Compare the introductory story to the 46th *Pâṭṭiya*.

be dealt with according to the law¹. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to allot the lodging-places (common to the Saṃgha to those who have need of them)².'

2. Now the Bhikkhus thought, 'How then shall the lodging-places be allotted?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to appoint as an apportioner of lodging-places a Bhikkhu possessed of these five qualifications—one who does not walk in partiality, who does not walk in malice, who does not walk in stupidity, who does not walk in fear (and so on, as in Khandhaka IV, chapter 10, down to the end of the Kamma vâḥā).'

3. Now the apportioners of lodging-places thought, 'How then ought the lodging-places to be apportioned?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, in the first place to count the Bhikkhus, then to count the sleeping-places, then to apportion accordingly³.'

When apportioning according to the number of sleeping-places, some remained unallotted⁴.

¹ That is, under the 17th Pāṭittiya.

² *Senâsanam gâhetum*. Buddhaghosa has nothing on this idiom, but its meaning is sufficiently clear from the connection.

³ *Seyyaggena gâhetum*. Buddhaghosa has no special explanation of *agga* here, but in his explanation of the passage says that this is to be so done that each Bhikkhu receives room for a couch (*mañḥaṭṭhânam*). *Agga* must here be *agra*, to which Böhrling-Roth give, from Indian lexicographers, the subsidiary meaning of 'multitude.' So below in XII, 1, 1, the *Vaggiputtakas* divide money amongst themselves *bhikkhu-aggena*, 'according to the number of the Bhikkhus.' *Seyyâ* is here used in the same meaning as that in which *senâsana* is used throughout the rest of this chapter and the next. See VIII, 1, 4.

⁴ *Ussâdiyimsu*. Buddhaghosa says *ussârayimsu ti mañ-*

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to apportion according to the number of apartments (Vihâras).’

When so apportioning, some apartments (Vihâras) remained unallotted.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to apportion according to the number of buildings (Parivenas)¹.’

When so apportioning, some buildings (Parivenas) remained unallotted.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give a supplementary share to each Bhikkhu².’

When more than one share had been allotted, another Bhikkhu arrived.

‘In that case a share need not be allotted to him, if the Bhikkhus do not wish to do so³.’

Now at that time they allotted sleeping-places to a Bhikkhu who was then staying outside the boundary (of the district in which the building was situate)⁴.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

kaḷḷhānāni atirekāni ahesum. His reading is in a copy of his work in Burmese characters, and is supported, both here and in Pāṭiṭṭiya XLVI, 2, where the word recurs, by a Burmese copy of the text. The Sinhalese reading is the correct one, but one may compare the idiom *ganam*, or *parisam*, *ussāreti* at Mahāvagga VIII, 1, 22, and Gâtaka I, 419, 434. So at IX, 1, 3, 4, the reading *ussāreti* given in the text is corrected at p. 363 into *ussâdeti*, in accordance with the reading of the Sinhalese MS.

¹ The relation of the Vihâra to the Parivena is here curious. In the later language *parivena* means ‘cells.’ Here it evidently includes several vihâras.

² *Anubhâgan ti puna aparam pi bhâgam dâtum* (B.).

³ *Na akâmâ* is used here in a sense precisely parallel to that in which it occurs at Mahāvagga VII, 24, 4. See the passages quoted in our note there.

⁴ *Nissîme tthitassa.* See on this phrase above, Mahāvagga VII, 1, 5, and VIII, 2, 3. It is repeated below, VI, 17, 2.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to [do so]. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus, after the lodging-places had been allotted, kept them to the exclusion of others for all time.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to do so. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you to retain them for the three months of the rainy, but not for the dry season.’

4. Then the Bhikkhus thought, ‘What is (it now that constitutes) an allotment of lodging-places?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘There are these three allotments of lodging-places, O Bhikkhus,—the earlier, the later, and the intermediate. The earlier is to be held on the day after the full moon of Āsāḷha (June—July); the later, a month after that full moon¹; the intermediate (literally that which involves a giving up during the intervening time) is held on the day after the Pavāraṇā ceremony, with reference to the rainy season of the following year. These, O Bhikkhus, are the three allotments of lodging-places.’

Here ends the Second Portion for Recitation.

12.

1. Now the venerable Upananda the Sākyan, after having had a lodging allotted to him in

¹ These first two dates are the days on which the earlier and the later Vassa begins. See Mahāvagga III, 2.

Sāvatti, went to a certain country-place where a community of the *Samgha* resided, and there also had a lodging allotted to him. Then the Bhikkhus there thought, 'Now this brother, Upananda the Sākyan, is a maker of strife, quarrelsome, a maker of disputes, given to idle talk, a raiser of legal questions in the *Samgha*¹. If he should spend the rainy season here, then shall we all dwell in discomfort. Come, let us question him.' And they asked the venerable Upananda the Sākyan :

'Have not you, friend Upananda, had a lodging allotted to you in Sāvatti?'

'That is so, Sirs.'

'What then do you, friend Upananda, being one, yet take exclusive possession of two (lodging-places)?'

'Well, I do now, Sirs, set (the lodging) here free, and take the one there.'

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate murmured, &c., and they told the matter to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Bhikkhu-*samgha*, and asked the venerable Upananda the Sākyan :

'Is it true, Upananda, that you, being one, have taken possession of two places?'

'It is true, Lord.'

Then the Blessed One rebuked him, saying, 'How can you, O foolish one, do such a thing? What you took there, O foolish one, has been lost here; what you took here, has been lost there². Thus, O

¹ These are the acts which render a Bhikkhu liable to the *Tagganiya Kamma*. See *Kullavagga* I, 1, 1.

² That is, by taking a lodging here you ipso facto renounced

foolish one, you are deprived of both.' And when he had delivered a religious discourse, he said to the Bhikkhus :

'One man is not, O Bhikkhus, to take two lodging-places. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkata.'

13.

1. Now at that time the Blessed One spake in many a figure concerning the Vinaya, speaking in praise of the Vinaya, in praise of learning the Vinaya, and again and again in reference thereto in praise of the venerable Upâli. Then said the Bhikkhus : 'The Blessed One speaks (&c., down to) Upâli. Come, let us learn the Vinaya under the venerable Upâli.' And many Bhikkhus, senior and junior, and of medium standing, went to learn the Vinaya under the venerable Upâli. The venerable Upâli taught them standing, out of reverence for the senior Bhikkhus, and the senior Bhikkhus heard him standing, out of reverence for the law ; and thereby both the senior Bhikkhus grew weary, and the venerable Upâli.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, a junior Bhikkhu, when giving instruction, to sit on a seat of equal height, or higher, out of reverence for the law ; and a senior Bhikkhu, when receiving instruction, to sit on a seat

your right to a lodging there, and by taking one there you ipso facto renounced your right to get one here.

of equal height, or lower, out of reverence for the law¹.'

2. Now at that time a number of Bhikkhus stood around Upâli, waiting for seats²; and they grew weary.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to sit down together with brethren entitled to sit on seats of equal height.'

Then the Bhikkhus thought, 'How many of us are entitled to sit on seats of equal height?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to sit on the same seat with those who are within three years of one another in seniority.'

Now at that time a number of Bhikkhus, entitled to sit on the same seat, sat down on a couch, and broke the couch down; or sat down on a chair, and broke the chair down.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a couch, or a chair, for three persons.'

Even when three sat on the couch, or chair, it broke.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, two to sit on a couch or a chair.'

Now at that time Bhikkhus who were not entitled to seats of equal height, were afraid they would offend if they sat together on a long seat.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

¹ Compare the fifteen rules of a similar character, Sekhiyas 57-72, and especially No. 69.

² Onlookers apparently, not strictly learners. On the force of *pa'simāneti*, compare the Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga, Pārāgika I, 1, and Gāṭaka II, 423.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to sit together on a long seat with others not entitled to sit on seats of equal height, unless they are women, or eunuchs, or hermaphrodites.’

Then the Bhikkhus thought, ‘What is the limit of length which is included under the term “long seat?”’

‘I allow the term “long seat” to be used, O Bhikkhus, of any seat long enough to accommodate three persons.’

14.

1. Now at that time Visákhâ the mother of Migâra was anxious to have a storeyed building (pâsâda), with a verandah (âlinda) to it, supported on pillars with capitals of elephant heads¹, built for the use of the Saṃgha. Then the Bhikkhus thought, ‘Of things which appertain to a storeyed building, which has been permitted by the Blessed One, and which not²?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

¹ Hatthi-nakhakam, ‘supported on the frontal globes (kumbhe) of elephants,’ says Buddhaghosa.

² On the meaning of paribhoga here compare VI, 18, 1. The doubt here expressed is curious, as a storeyed building (pâsâda) is one of the five kinds of abodes (lenâni) specially sanctioned by Mahāvagga I, 30, 4, and Kullavagga VI, 1, 2; and a verandah (âlinda) has been also authorised by Kullavagga VI, 3, 5. No doubt the special point here is as to the carved pillars: but, even so, that this rule should be thus separated from the other rules as to buildings, in the commencement of this book (VI, 1-4), is a proof of the unsystematic way in which the Khandhakas have been put together. Even the final redaction which we have now before us contains much similar evidence of the gradual growth of these rules. See note 3 on the next paragraph.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of all appurtenances to a storeyed building.’

Now at that time the grandmother of Pasenadi of Kosala had died, and many unauthorised things had come into the hands of the *Saṃgha*, such as couches, divans (&c., as in chapter 8 above, and *Mahāvagga* V, 10, 4).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use the stuffed couches (*āsandi*) after having broken off the legs¹, and the divans (*pallaṅka*) after having removed the hair, and to comb out the cotton of the mattresses and make pillows of it², and to use all the rest as floor covering³.’

15.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus who dwelt in a certain country residence, not far from *Sāvatti*, were worried by having constantly to provide sleeping accommodation for travelling Bhikkhus who came in (from country-places). And those Bhikkhus

¹ Compare the 87th *Pāṭittiya*.

² This rule has already been given in VI, 2, 6.

³ It is distinctly laid down without any reservation in *Mahāvagga* V, 10, 5 (in the paragraph erroneously numbered V, 10, 4 in vol. ii, p. 28, of the present work), that the use of any of these things is a *dukkata* offence. That this relaxation of that rule should be inserted only here, looks very much like an after-thought, even though the former passage merely refers to the use of these things as seats. This is more especially noteworthy from the fact mentioned in the last note.

The rules as to new rugs or mats to be used for sitting upon, are contained in the 11th to the 15th *Nissaggiya Pāṭittiyas*.

thought: '[This being so,] let us hand over all the sleeping accommodation which is the property of the *Samgha* to one (of us), and let us use it as belonging to him.' And they [did so¹].

Then the incoming Bhikkhus said to them: 'Prepare, Sirs, sleeping accommodation for us.'

'There are no beds, Sirs, belonging to the *Samgha*. We have given them all away to one of us.'

'What, Sirs? Have you then made away with property belonging to the *Samgha*?'

'That is so, Sirs.'

The moderate Bhikkhus murmured, &c., and told this matter to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, O Bhikkhus, as they say, that Bhikkhus make away with *Samgha* property?'

'It is true, Lord.'

2. Then the Blessed One rebuked them, &c., and said to the Bhikkhus: 'These five things, O Bhikkhus, are untransferable; and are not to be disposed of either by the *Samgha*, or by a company of two or three Bhikkhus (a *Gana*), or by a single individual. And what are the five? A park (*Ârâma*), or the site for a park—this is the first untransferable thing, that cannot be disposed of by the *Samgha*, or by a *Gana*, or by an individual. If it be disposed of, such disposal is void; and whosoever has disposed of it, is guilty of a *thullakkaya*. A *Vihâra*, or the site for a *Vihâra*—this is the second, &c. (as before). A bed, or a chair, or a bolster, or a pillow—this is the third, &c. A brass vessel, or a brass jar, or a brass pot, or a brass vase, or a razor, or an axe, or a

¹ This is a direct infringement of the 82nd *Pâṭittiya*, which forbids property dedicated to the *Samgha* being diverted to the use of any individual.

hatchet, or a hoe, or a spade—this is the fourth, &c. Creepers, or bamboos, or *muṇḍa*, or *babbaga* grass, or common grass, or clay, or things made of wood, or crockery—this is the fifth, &c. (as before, down to) *thullaḥkaya*.'

16.

1. Now when the Blessed One had dwelt at *Sâvatthi* as long as he thought fit, he went on on his journey towards the *Kiṭṭhā* Hill with a great multitude of *Bhikkhus*—to wit, with about five hundred *Bhikkhus*, besides *Sâriputta* and *Moggallâna*.

And the *Bhikkhus* who were followers of *Assagi* and *Punabbasu*¹ hearing the news, said one to another, 'Come, Sirs; let us divide all the sleeping accommodation belonging to the *Samgha*. *Sâriputta* and *Moggallâna* are men of sinful desires, and are under the influence of sinful desires. We will not provide sleeping-places for them.' And they did so.

Now the Blessed One, proceeding on his journey, arrived at the *Kiṭṭhā* Hill. And he addressed a number of *Bhikkhus*, saying, 'Do you go, O *Bhikkhus*, to the followers of *Assagi* and *Punabbasu*, and say: "The Blessed One, Sirs, has arrived with a large number of *Bhikkhus*—to wit, with about five hundred *Bhikkhus*, besides *Sâriputta* and *Moggallâna*. Make ready sleeping-places, Sirs, for the Blessed One, and for the *Bhikkhu-samgha*, and for *Sâriputta* and *Moggallâna*."'

¹ On these *Bhikkhus* and their relations with *Sâriputta* and *Moggallâna*, see above, *Kullavagga* I, 13-16.

‘Even so, Lord,’ said those Bhikkhus in assent to the Blessed One; and they did so.

‘There is no sleeping accommodation belonging to the *Samgha*. We have divided it all’ (was the reply). ‘The Blessed One, Sirs, is welcome: and he may stay in whatever Vihâra he chooses. But Sâriputta and Moggallâna are men of sinful desires, and under the influence thereof; for them we will provide no sleeping-places.’

2. ‘What then, Sirs? Have you divided sleeping accommodation that is the property of the *Samgha*?’

‘That is so, Sirs.’

The moderate Bhikkhus murmured, &c. (down to) The Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus:

‘These five things, O Bhikkhus, are unapportionable, and are not to be divided either by the *Samgha*, or by a *Gana*, or by an individual. If divided, the division is void; and whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *thullakkaya*. And what are the five (&c., as in VI, 15, 2)¹?’

17.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at the Kiâ Hill as long as he thought fit, he proceeded on his journey towards Â/avî; and in due course he arrived at Â/avî, and there, at Â/avî, the Blessed One stayed at the Aggâ/ava Shrine.

Now at that time the Bhikkhus of Â/avî² used to

¹ These expressions ‘untransferable’ (*avissaggiyâni*) and ‘unapportionable’ (*avebhaṅgiyâni*) have already occurred above at Mahāvagga VIII, 27, 5.

² The Bhikkhus of Â/avî are frequently mentioned in connection

give new building operations in charge (to one or other of their number)¹, such as the following²: when some clay or earth had merely to be put aside in heaps, when a wall had merely to be re-plastered, when a door had merely to be made, when the socket for a bolt had merely to be made, when some joinery-work had merely to be done to a window, when some whitewashing merely had to be done, or some black colouring laid on, or some red colouring³, or some roofing-work, or some joinery, or a bar had to be fixed to a door⁴, when breaches or decay had merely to be repaired⁵, or the flooring to be re-plastered⁶; and they assigned this office to one another for terms of twenty or thirty years, or

with offences in relation to the *navakammam*. See, for instance, *Pârâgika* III, 5, 30.

¹ For the rule authorising such giving in charge in general cases, see above, VI, 5.

² For most of the following technical terms in building, see our notes above on *Kullavagga* V, 11, and V, 1, 2.

³ See our note on this phrase above, V, 11, 6.

⁴ *Gandikâdhâna-mattenâ ti dvâra-bâhânam upari-kapo/gandika-yogana-mattena* (B.). *Gandî* is used in this sense at *Gâtaka* I, 237. Compare the use of *Dhamma-gandikâ*, 'block of execution,' at *Gâtaka* I, 150, II, 124. The word *gandikâ* occurs also at *Gâtaka* I, 474 (last line), in the sense of 'bunch:' but it is there probably a misprint; for Oldenberg, in the parallel passage at *Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga*, *Pâkittiya* I, 1, reads *bhandike*. That the two words are easily confused in Burmese writing is shown by the fact that the Berlin (Burmese) copy of *Buddhaghosa* reads here also *bhandikâdhâna-mattenâ ti*, &c., and again afterwards *bhandika*.

⁵ See our note on this phrase above, VI, 5, 2.

⁶ *Paribhanda-karâna-mattenâ ti gomaya-paribhanda-kasâva-parikarâna-mattena* (B.). The very same expression is used in a wholly doubtful sense, and of some process of tailoring, in *Mahāvagga* VII, 1, 5.

for life ; or they gave in charge a completely finished Vihâra to a Bhikkhu for such time as should elapse till the smoke rose (from the funeral pyre on which his body should be burnt¹).

The moderate Bhikkhus murmured, &c. (as usual, down to) The Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus :

‘ You are not, O Bhikkhus, to confer the office of building overseer when clay has merely to be put aside in heaps . . . (&c., as before, down to) body shall be burnt. Whosoever shall so confer it, shall be guilty of a dukkata. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give a Vihâra not yet begun, or not yet finished², in charge as a new building. And with reference to the work on a small Vihâra, it may be given in charge as a navakamma for a period of five or six years, that on an *Addhayoga* for a period of seven or eight years, that on a large Vihâra or a Pâsâda for ten or twelve years.’

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus gave the whole of a Vihâra as a navakamma (to one Bhikkhu to superintend)—or two Vihâras to one Bhikkhu—or the Bhikkhu who had taken the work in charge got another (Bhikkhu to live there and take charge for him)—or the Bhikkhu who had taken in charge a

¹ Dhûmakâlikan ti idam yâv’ assa kîta-dhûmo na paññâyâtîti tâva ayam vihâro etass’ evâ ti evam dhûma-kâle apaloketvâ kata-pariyositam vihâram denti (B.). The word recurs below, applied to sikkhâpadam, in XI, 1, 9.

² Vippakatan ti ettha vippakato nâma yâva gopânasiyo na ârohani. Gopânâsîsu pana âru/hâsu bahukato nâma hoti : tasmâ tato pañhâya na dâtabbo (B.). The use of bahukato is noteworthy, for in the only other passage where we have found the word (Mahāvagga VI, 36, 2), it has a totally different application. There is possibly a misreading in the one MS. available. (? pakato.)

building belonging to the *Samgha* kept exclusive possession of it—or the Bhikkhus gave work in charge to one not at that time within the boundary¹—or Bhikkhus who had once taken charge kept exclusive possession for all time.

They told [each of] these matters to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to do [any one of these things]. Whosoever does, he is guilty of a dukkaṭa. And the Bhikkhu in charge may take one good sleeping-place into his exclusive possession for the three months of the rainy, but not during the dry season.’

3. Now at that time Bhikkhus who had taken charge of building operations left the place [or otherwise became incompetent in one or other of the twenty and three ways set out in the next paragraph²].

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘In case that occurs, O Bhikkhus, as soon as he has taken charge, or before the building has been completed, let the office be given to another lest there should be loss to the *Samgha*. In case the building has been completed, O Bhikkhus, if he then leaves the place, it (the office and its privileges) is still his—if he then returns to the world, or dies, or admits that he is a *sāmaṇera*, or that he has abandoned the precepts, or that he has become guilty of an extreme offence, the *Samgha*

¹ See above, VI, 11, 3.

² See Mahāvagga II, 22, 3, and II, 36, 1–3. In the latter of these two passages the three cases are omitted. In Mahāvagga IX, 4, 2, and 8, the whole 23 are given.

becomes the owner¹—if he then admits that he is mad, or that his mind is unhinged, or that he is afflicted with bodily pain, or that he has been suspended for his refusal to acknowledge an offence, or to atone for an offence, or to renounce a sinful doctrine, it (the office and its privileges) is still his—if he then admits that he is a eunuch, or that he has furtively attached himself to the *Samgha*, or that he has gone over to the *Titthiyas*; or that he is an animal, or that he has murdered his mother, or his father, or an *Arahat*, or that he has violated a *Bhikkhuni*, or that he has caused a schism in the *Samgha*, or that he has shed (a Buddha's) blood, or that he is an hermaphrodite, then the *Samgha* becomes the owner.'

18.

1. Now at that time the *Bhikkhus* made use elsewhere of beds which were appurtenances² to the *Vihâra* of a certain lay-disciple (*upâsaka*).

Then that *upâsaka* murmured, &c.

They told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Things appurtenant to one place are not, O *Bhikkhus*, to be used in another. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*.'

Now at that time the *Bhikkhus*, fearing to offend if they took (things to sit upon) even into the

¹ That is, the *navakammiko* loses his privileges (his lien on the best sleeping-place, &c.).

² *Vihâra-paribhogam*. 'Meant for use only in that *Vihâra*.' Compare above, VI, 14, 1.

Uposatha Hall, or the meeting-place, sat on the ground; and their legs and robes got soiled.

They told the matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to take things away for a certain time only¹.'

Now at that time a large Vihâra belonging to the Samgha went to ruin². The Bhikkhus, fearing to offend, did not take the bedding in it away.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to take away things in order to save them from destruction.'

19.

1. Now at that time there was a very valuable rug, and a very valuable piece of cloth, among the bedding furniture belonging to the Samgha.

They told this matter to the Blessed One³.

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to barter either of these things in order to increase the stock of legally permissible furniture⁴.'

Now at that time the Samgha had received a

¹ *Tâvakâlikam*. The word occurs in *Gâtaka* I, 121, 393 (on which see Rh. D. in 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 170, and 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 241), in Buddhaghosa's notes on *Mahâvagga* VII, 5, 1 (above, II, 154, note 7), in the *Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga*, *Pâṭṭiya* XXV, 2, and in *Kullavagga* X, 16, 1.

² *Samghassa vihâro udriyati*. The whole phrase has already occurred at *Mahâvagga* III, 8.

³ Because such things were forbidden by *Mahâvagga* V, 10, 4, though *kambala* is not there specially mentioned.

⁴ *Phâtikammatthâyâ ti vaddhikammatthâyâ ti*. *Vaddhikammatthâyâ phâtikammam k' ettha samakam vâ atirekam vâ agghanakam mañka-pi/hâdi-senâsanam eva va/tati* (B.).

bear-skin, and a *kakkali*¹ rug, and a *kolaka* cloth².

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to use them as mats to wipe your feet on³.’

20.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus walked over the mats used for sleeping upon with unwashed or wet feet, or with their sandals on; and the matting was soiled.

They told these matters to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to do so. Whosoever does, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*⁴.’

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhus spat on the newly prepared floor⁵, and the colour was spoilt.

¹ According to VI, 2, 2, and VI, 3, 5, this could also be used as a screen or curtain over the space in a wall left for a window.

² According to Mahāvagga VIII, 18, this might be used to wipe faces with; and according to Kullavagga V, 9, 4, VI, 19, to place crockery or furniture on. The word *kola* means simply cotton cloth, but it is clear from these passages that *kolaka* has some special connotation.

³ Not to sit upon.

⁴ With this should be compared the other rule in Mahāvagga V, 6, 1, according to which the Bhikkhus were to wear sandals when getting upon bedsteads or chairs, lest these should become soiled. The two passages are parallel in wording throughout.

⁵ Parikammakatāya. The floors were of earth, not of wood, and were restored from time to time by fresh clay or dry cowdung being laid down, and then covered with a whitewash, in which sometimes black or red (*geruka*) was mixed. See above, V, 11, 6; VI, 3, 1; 17, 1; 27. From the parallel passage at Mahāvagga I, 25, 15, and Kullavagga VIII, 3, 1, it would seem that the red colouring was used rather for walls, and the black one for floors.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to do so. Whosoever does, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a spittoon.’

Now at that time the legs of the bedsteads and chairs made scratches on the newly prepared floor.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cover it up with floor-cloth.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus leant up against the newly prepared walls¹, and the colouring was spoilt.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to do so. Whosoever does, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a board to lean up against².’

The board scratched the floor at the bottom, and ruined the wall at the top.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cover it at the top and bottom with cloth.’

Now at that time, fearing to offend, they would not lie down on places over which it was permissible to walk with washen feet³.

¹ The walls were no doubt usually made with ‘wattle and daub;’ that is, sticks with clay between the interstices. This was treated from time to time like the flooring (see last note).

² *Apassena-phalakaṃ*. This article of furniture is mentioned, with the spittoon, in *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 15, 16, and in the parallel passage at *Kullavagga* VIII, 1, 3. We have rendered it in the *Mahāvagga* by ‘board to recline on.’ Compare the use of *apas-sayam* in *Buddhaghosa’s* note on *Kullavagga* VI, 2, 4 (above, p. 153, note 3) of an arm-chair or sofa.

³ *Dhotapāḍakā ti dhotapāḍakā hutvā dhotēhi pāḍēhi akkamitabbaṃhāne nipaggiṭum kukkukāyanti*. *Dhotapāḍake ti pi pāṭho*. *Dhotēhi pāḍēhi akkamitabbaṃhānass’ eva etam adhivaṭṭanam* (B.).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to lie down in such a place when you have spread something over it.’

21.

1. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Âḷavi as long as he thought fit, he set out on his journey towards Râgagaha. And proceeding straight on, he arrived in due course at Râgagaha. And there, at Râgagaha, the Blessed One stayed at the Veḷuvana in the Kalandaka Nivâpa.

Now at that time there was a scarcity of food at Râgagaha¹. The people were unable to provide food for the (whole) *Samgha*; and they were desirous of providing food² (to be sent to the Vihâra) for the use of a special Bhikkhu (designated by the donor)³, or for special Bhikkhus invited (by the donor in his own house)⁴, or for (single Bhikkhus) appointed by ticket (issued by the *Samgha*)⁵, or of providing food during a fortnight⁶, or on Uposatha

¹ Other special rules for times of scarcity will be found at Mahāvagga VI, 17, 7; 18, 4; 19, 2; 20, 4 (repealed for times of plenty in VI, 32). Compare also Pârâgika IV, 1, 1.

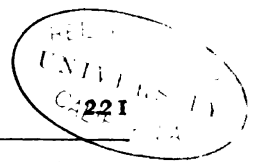
² The above modes of receiving food (instead of collecting in a bowl morsels of food given in alms) are the dispensations allowed by Mahāvagga I, 30, 4.

³ Uddesa-bhattam *kâtum*. Compare the story of Upananda at Mahāvagga VI, 19, 1.

⁴ Nimantanam *kâtum*. The word is only used in this special technical sense. Compare the whole story of *Kulla-panthaka* at Gâtaka I, 116, and especially the last line.

⁵ Salâka-bhattam *kâtum*. See especially above, *Kullavagga* IV, 9; IV, 10.

⁶ Pakkhikam *kâtum*. Both Childers sub voce and Frankfurter



days (that is, on the last days of each fortnight) or on the first days of each fortnight.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, each of three ways of obtaining food.’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus having received good food for themselves, gave over the worse food (which they had also received) to the other Bhikkhus.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to appoint as apportioner of rations¹ a Bhikkhu who is possessed of the following five qualifications—(&c., as in IV, 9, down to the end of the *Kammavākā*).’

Now the Bhikkhus who were apportioners of rations, thought: ‘How then are the rations to be apportioned?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to apportion them by arranging the food in small heaps, and fastening tickets or marks upon them².’

2. Now at that time the *Samgha* had no dis-

(‘Pali Handbook,’ p. 165), in interpreting the passage at *Mahāvagga* I, 30, 4, take this to mean a feast given on the eighth day of the month. But *paksha* is the half-month. The expression much more probably means, therefore, to provide food either during the whole of a half-month for one or more specially invited Bhikkhus, or for a larger number on any one day of the half-month to be chosen by the *Samgha*.

¹ Compare above, *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 1.

² *Buddhaghosa* says, *Salākāya vā paṭikāya vā upanibandhitvā opuññhitvā uddisitun ti vātanato rukkhasāramayāya salākāya vā veḷuvilivatālapamādinayāya paṭikāya vā asukassa nāma salākabhattachan ti evaṃ akkharāni upanibandhitvā paṭṭhiyam vā kīvarabhoge vā katvā sabbā salākāyo omuññhitvā [sic] punappunam heṭṭhā-vasena āloetvā . . . dātabbā.*

tributor of lodging-places—no overseer of stores—no receiver of robes—no distributor of robes, of congey, or of fruits—and no distributor of dry foods, and through not being distributed it went bad.

They told each of these matters¹ to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to appoint as distributor of lodging-places, &c., a Bhikkhu who has (&c., as in § 1, down to the end of the *Kammavākā*, inserting throughout the appropriate variations in the fifth qualification).

3. Now at that time articles of trifling value had accumulated in the storehouse of the *Samgha*.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to appoint as disposer of trifles a Bhikkhu who has (&c., as before, down to the end of the *Kammavākā*). Each separate needle, and pair of scissors, and pair of sandals, and girdle, and pair of braces, and filtering cloth, and regulation strainer², and plait³, and half-plait³, and gusset³, and half-gusset³, and binding⁴, and braiding⁴, is to be given away. If the *Samgha* has any ghee, or oil, or honey, or molasses, he is to give it away for personal consumption only, and if it be wanted, he is to give it a second and a third time⁵.’

¹ There is another officer (*âsana-paññâpaka*) mentioned at *Kullavagga* XII, 2, 7, whose omission from the list here is worthy of notice.

² *Dhamma-karako*. See V, 13, 1.

³ On these words, see *Mahāvagga* VIII, 12, 2.

⁴ On these two words, see *Mahāvagga* VIII, 1, 5.

⁵ These things were to be used only as medicines, according to *Mahāvagga* VI, 1, 1–5, where butter is also added. That would be under the charge of the distributor of dry foods (§ 2), as if kept it would go bad. According to VI, 15, 10, none of these five

Now at that time the *Samgha* had no receiver of under-garments¹, or of bowls,—no superintendent of those who kept the grounds in order (the *Ârâ-mikas*), and the *Ârâ-mikas* not being looked after, the necessary work was not done,—no superintendent of *sâmaneras*, and the *sâmaneras* not being looked after did not perform their duties.

They told each of these matters to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to appoint as receiver of under-garments, &c., a Bhikkhu who has (&c., as before, down to the end of the *Kammavâkâ*).’

End of the Sixth Khandhaka, on Sleeping Arrangements, &c.

kinds of medicine were to be kept for a period exceeding seven days, but that was a rule that was not very probable to be strictly followed.

¹ *Sâ/iya*; no doubt the same as is spelt elsewhere *sâ/ikâ* or *sâ/akâ*, and is used for such purposes as bathing in.

SEVENTH KHANDHAKA.

DISSENSIONS IN THE ORDER.

1¹.

1. Now at that time the Blessed One was staying at Anupiyâ². Anupiyâ is a town belonging to the Mallas³. Now at that time the most distinguished of the young men of the Sâkyan clan had renounced the world in imitation of the Blessed One.

Now there were two brothers, Mahânâma the Sâkyan, and Anuruddha the Sâkyan. Anuruddha the Sâkyan was delicately nurtured; and he had three storeyed residences, one for the cold season, one for the hot season, and one for the season of the rains⁴. During the four months spent in the

¹ With the whole of the following story compare the, in many respects, fuller account given by the commentator on the Dhammapada (Fausböll, pp. 139 and following).

² This was the spot where Gotama spent the first week after his renunciation of the world, before he went on to Râgagaha (Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' I, 87). Professor Fausböll there (*Gâtaka* I, 65) reads *Anûpiyam*, but all his MSS. have the *û* short. It is noteworthy that in our text the locative is formed as if the word were feminine, though the neuter form is used for the nominative.

³ The more usual mode of adding this description in similar passages at the commencement of all the Suttas would lead us to expect here *Mallânam nigame*.

⁴ Compare Mahâvagga I, 7, 1, where the same thing is said of Yasa.

residence for the season of the rains, he was waited upon by women performing music¹, and came not down from the upper storey of his residence.

Then Mahânâma the Sâkyan thought : ' Now the most distinguished of the young men of the Sâkya clan have already renounced the world in imitation of the Blessed One, but from our own family no one has gone forth from the household life into the houseless state. Let therefore either I, or Anuruddha, renounce the world.' And he went to Anuruddha the Sâkyan, and said [so to him, adding], ' Either therefore do you go forth, or I will do so.'

' I am delicate. It is impossible for me to go forth from the household life into the houseless state. Do you do so.'

2. ' But come now, O beloved Anuruddha, I will tell you what is incident to the household life. First, you have to get your fields ploughed. When that is done, you have to get them sown. When that is done, you have to get the water led down over them. When that is done, you have to get the water led off again. When that is done, you have to get the weeds pulled up². When that is done, you have to get the crop reaped. When that is done, you have to get the crop carried away. When that is done, you have to get it arranged.

¹ Nippurisehi turiyehi. That Childers's rendering, ' without men, without people,' is inadequate is clear from the context at the passage which he quotes from *Gâtaka* I, 53.

² *Niddâpeti*. Buddhaghosa says, ' Pull up the weeds' (*tinâni*). The word occurs also at *Gâtaka* I, 215, where there is a similar list of farming operations, which, though smaller, contains one or two items not given here.

into bundles. When that is done, you have to get it trodden out¹. When that is done, you have to get the straw picked out. When that is done, you have to get all the chaff removed. When that is done, you have to get it winnowed. When that is done, you have to get the harvest garnered². When that is done, you have to do just the same the next year, and the same all over again the year after that.

‘The work is never over: one sees not the end of one’s labours. O! when shall our work be over? When shall we see the end of our labours? When shall we, still possessing and retaining the pleasures of our five senses, yet dwell at rest? Yes! the work, beloved Anuruddha, is never over; no end appears to our labours. Even when our fathers and forefathers had completed their time³, even then was their work unfinished.’

‘Then do you take thought for the household duties. I will go forth from the household life into the houseless state.’

And Anuruddha the Sākyan went to his mother, and said to her: ‘I want, mother, to go forth from the household life into the houseless state. Grant me thy permission to do so.’

And when he had thus spoken, his mother replied

¹ Maddâpeti. There is mention of threshing (prati-han) already in the Vedas. See the passages collected by Zimmer, ‘Altindisches Leben,’ p. 238. But treading out is even still a very common, if not the more usual, process throughout India and Ceylon.

² Atiharâpeti. See Milinda Pañha, p. 66. The simple verb occurs also in a similar connection in the Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga in the introductory story to Pāṭṭiya VII.

³ That is, had died.

to Anuruddha the Sâkyan, and said: 'You two, O beloved Anuruddha, are my two only sons, near and dear to me, in whom I find no evil. Through death I shall some day, against my will, be separated from you; but how can I be willing, whilst you are still alive, that you should go forth from the household life into the houseless state?'

[And a second time Anuruddha the Sâkyan made the same request, and received the same reply. And a third time Anuruddha the Sâkyan made the same request to his mother.]

3. Now at that time Bhaddiya the Sâkya Râga held rule over the Sâkyas; and he was a friend of Anuruddha the Sâkyan's. And the mother of Anuruddha the Sâkyan, thinking that that being so, the Râga would not be able to renounce the world, said to her son: 'If, beloved Anuruddha, Bhaddiya the Sâkyan Râga will renounce the world, thou also mayest go forth into the houseless state.'

Then Anuruddha the Sâkyan went to Bhaddiya the Sâkyan Râga, and said to him: 'My renunciation of the world, dear friend, is being obstructed by thee.'

'Then let that obstruction, dear friend, be removed. Even with thee will I¹—renounce thou the world according to thy wish.'

'Come, dear friend, let us both renounce the world together!'

¹ *Aham tayâ.* Buddhaghosa explains that the Râga is beginning to say that he will go with his friend. But a desire for the glory of sovereignty comes over his heart, and he leaves the sentence unfinished. (The Pâli is given in the notes on the text, p. 323.)

‘I am not capable, dear friend, of giving up the household life. Whatsoever else you can ask of me, that I will do¹. Do you go forth (alone).’

‘My mother, dear friend, has told me that if thou dost so, I may. And thou hast even now declared “If thy renunciation be obstructed by me, then let that obstruction be removed. Even with thee will I—renounce thou the world, according to thy wish.” Come, then, dear friend, let us both renounce the world.’

Now at that time men were speakers of truth, and keepers of their word which they had pledged. And Bhaddiya the Sâkya Râga said to Anuruddha the Sâkya: ‘Wait, my friend, for seven years. At the end of seven years we will renounce the world together.’

‘Seven years are too long, dear friend. I am not able to wait for seven years.’

[And the same offer was made successively of six years and so on down to one year, of seven months and so on down to one month, and even of a fortnight, and still there was ever the same reply. At last the Râga said,]

‘Wait, my friend, for seven days, whilst I hand over the kingdom to my sons and my brothers.’

‘Seven days is not too long. I will wait thus far’ (was the reply).

4. So Bhaddiya the Sâkya Râga, and Anuruddha, and Ânanda, and Bhagu, and Kimbila, and Devadatta—just as they had so often previously gone

¹ Tyâham. See Dr. Morris’s remarks on this elision in his introduction to the *Kariyâ Piṭaka* (Pâli Text Society, 1882), where he makes it equal to tad aham. This seems to us open to question, at least in this passage, where it may possibly stand for te aham.

out to the pleasure-ground with fourfold array—even so did they now go out with fourfold array, and Upâli the barber went with them, making seven in all.

And when they had gone some distance, they sent their retinue back, and crossed over into the neighbouring district, and took off their fine things, and wrapped them in their robes, and made a bundle of them, and said to Upâli the barber: ‘Do you now, good Upâli, turn back. These things will be sufficient for you to live upon.’

But as he was going back, Upâli the barber thought: ‘The Sâkyas are fierce. They will think that these young men have been brought by me to destruction, and they will slay me. But since now these young men of the Sâkya clan can go forth from the household life into the houseless state, why indeed should not I?’ And he let down the bundle (from his back), and hung the bundle on a tree, saying, ‘Let whoso finds it, take it, as a gift,’ and returned to the place where the young Sâkyans were.

And the Sâkya youths saw him coming from afar, and on seeing, they said to him: ‘What have you come back for, good Upâli?’

Then he told them [what he had thought, and what he had done with the bundle, and why he was returned].

‘Thou hast done well, good Upâli (was the reply), in that thou didst not return; for the Sâkyas are fierce, and might have killed thee.’

And they took Upâli the barber with them to the place where the Blessed One was. And on arriving there, they bowed down before the Blessed One, and

took their seats on one side. And so seated they said to the Blessed One : ' We Sâkyas, Lord, are haughty. And this Upâli the barber has long been an attendant, Lord, upon us. May the Blessed One admit him to the Order before us, so that we may render him respect and reverence, and bow down with outstretched hands before him (as our senior), and thus shall the Sâkya pride be humbled in us Sâkyans¹.'

Then the Blessed One received first Upâli the barber, and afterwards those young men of the Sâkya clan, into the ranks of the Order. And the venerable Bhaddiya, before that rainy season was over, became master of the Threefold Wisdom², and the venerable Anuruddha acquired the Heavenly Vision³, and the venerable Ânanda realised the effect of having entered upon the Stream⁴, and Devadatta attained to that kind of Iddhi which is attainable even by those who have not entered upon the Excellent Way⁵.

¹ This reputation of the Sâkya family for pride is referred to in *Gâtaka* I, 88, 89.

² *Tisso viggâ*, see Rh. D.'s remarks at pp. 161, 162 of 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli' (S. B. E., vol. xi). They are probably here the three *viggas* referred to in the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, *Pârâgika* I, 1, 6-8, as the second of those is the Heavenly Vision, here mentioned in the next clause.

³ *Dibbañakkhu*, a full description of the details of which will be found in the stock paragraph translated by Rh. D. in 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli' (S. B. E., vol. xi, pp. 216-218).

⁴ *Sotâpatti-phala*; that is, he became free from the delusion of self (*sakkâyadiññi*), from doubt (*vitikikkhâ*), and from dependence upon ceremonies or works (*silabbata-pârâmaṣa*). See Rh. D.'s manual, 'Buddhism,' pp. 108-110.

⁵ *Pothugganikâ iddhi*. What this may be is unknown to us. A fourfold Iddhi is described in detail in the stock passage

5¹. Now at that time the venerable Bhaddiya, who had retired into the forest to the foot of a tree, into solitude, gave utterance over and over again to this ecstatic exclamation: 'O happiness! O happiness!' And a number of Bhikkhus went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and bowed down before him, and took their seats on one side. And, so seated, they [told the Blessed One of this], and added, 'For a certainty, Lord, the venerable Bhaddiya is not contented as he lives the life of purity; but rather it is when calling to mind the happiness of his former sovereignty that he gives vent to this saying.'

Then the Blessed One addressed a certain Bhikkhu, and said: 'Do you go, O Bhikkhu, and in my name call Bhaddiya the Bhikkhu, saying, "The Teacher, venerable Bhaddiya, is calling for you."'

'Even so, Lord,' said that Bhikkhu, in assent to the Blessed One. And he went to Bhaddiya, and called him [in those words].

6. 'Very well,' said the venerable Bhaddiya, in

translated by Rh. D. in 'Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli,' S. B. E., vol. xi, p. 214, and the fourfold Iddhi of the ideal king in the similar passage, loc. cit., pp. 259-261. The Iddhi here referred to may be the former of these two, though that list does not include the power ascribed to Devadatta in the next chapter. At *Gâtaka* I, 140, the expression of our text here is replaced by *ghâna*, though the account there is otherwise the same.

It is worthy of notice that Devadatta, though a Bhikkhu, is not honoured with the standing epithet, 'venerable,' always used of the other members of the Order, even when they are represented to have been of bad character.

¹ The following incident, with a summary of the preceding sections, forms the introductory story to the 10th *Gâtaka* (Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' i. pp. 190-193). The legend may have first arisen as an explanation of the name Bhaddiya, which means 'the fortunate one.'

assent to that Bhikkhu ; and he came to the Blessed One, and bowed down before him, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated, the Blessed One said to the venerable Bhaddiya :

‘ Is it true, as they say, that you Bhaddiya, when retired into the forest to the foot of a tree, into solitude, have given utterance over and over again to this ecstatic exclamation, “O happiness! O happiness!” What circumstance was it, O Bhaddiya, that you had in your mind when you acted thus?’

‘Formerly, Lord, when I was a king, I had a guard completely provided both within and without my private apartments, both within and without the town, and within the (borders of my) country. Yet though, Lord, I was thus guarded and protected, I was fearful, anxious, distrustful, and alarmed. But now, Lord, even when in the forest, at the foot of a tree, in solitude, I am without fear or anxiety, trustful and not alarmed ; I dwell at ease, subdued¹, secure², with mind as peaceful as an antelope’s³. It was when calling this fact to mind, Lord, that I gave utterance over and over again to that cry, “O happiness! O happiness!”’

Then the Blessed One, on hearing that, gave utterance at that time to this song :

¹ Pannalomo. See our note 2 on Kullavagga I, 6, 1 (above, vol. ii, p. 339).

² Paradavutto. This is the reading of the Sinhalese MS., and is the correct one. See Oldenberg’s note at p. 363 of the edition of the text. Our translation is conjectural.

³ Migabhûtena ketasâ. The meaning of miga in this phrase is not certain ; and the figure may be drawn from the careless mind of any animal in its natural state. We have not noticed the idiom elsewhere ; but compare the converse figure, bhanta-miga-sappa/ibhâgo sâsane anabhirato, at Gâtaka I, 303, 6.

‘The man who harbours no harsh thoughts within
him,
Who cares not whether things are thus or thus,
His state of joy, freedom from grief or care,
The very gods obtain not to behold!’

2.

1. Now when the Blessed One had stayed at Anupiyâ as long as he thought fit, he set out on his journey towards Kosambî. And journeying straight on he arrived in due course at Kosambî, and there, at Kosambî, he stayed at the Ghosita Ârâma.

Now the following thought occurred to Devadatta, when he had retired into solitude, and was plunged in meditation: ‘Whom now¹ can I so gain over that, he being well pleased with me, much gain and honour may result to me? And it occurred to him, ‘Now this prince Agâtasattu is young, and has a lucky future before him. Let me then gain him over; and he being well pleased with me, much gain and honour will result.’

Then Devadatta folded up his sleeping-mat, and set out, fully bowled and robed, for Râgagaha; and in due course he arrived at Râgagaha. Then he laid aside his own form, and took upon himself the form of a child clad in a girdle of snakes, and appeared on the lap of prince Agâtasattu². Then was

¹ In the text, for kin nu read kam nu.

² This taking upon oneself another shape is not one of the powers of Iddhi included in the first list referred to at note 5, p. 230.

prince Agâtasattu terrified, and startled, and anxious, and alarmed.

And Devadatta said to prince Agâtasattu, 'Are you afraid of me, O prince?'

'Yes, I am. Who are you?'

'I am Devadatta.'

'If you, Sir, are really the worthy Devadatta, be good enough to appear in your own shape.'

Then Devadatta, laying aside the form of the child, appeared there before prince Agâtasattu with his inner and outer robes on, and with his bowl in his hand. And prince Agâtasattu was well pleased with Devadatta by reason of this marvel of Iddhi, and morning and evening he used to go in five hundred chariots to wait upon him, and food was brought and laid before him in five hundred dishes.

Then there arose in Devadatta's mind, possessed and vanquished by gain and hospitality and fame¹, some such thought as this: 'It is I who ought to lead the Bhikkhu-saṃgha.' And as the idea rose up within him, (that moment) was Devadatta deprived of that his power of Iddhi.

2. Now at that time a Koliyan, by name Kakudha, who had been (as Bhikkhu) the attendant on Moggallâna, had just died, and had appeared again in a certain spiritual body², possessed of a personality as large as two or three of the common rice-fields of a Mâgadha village, and yet so constituted³ that he was

¹ Compare Mahāvagga V, 1, 22, on this expression. Also below, § 5.

² *Aññataram manomayam kāyam upapanno*. Perhaps 'in a mode of existence in which his body was changeable at will.' (See Childers, sub voce *manomayo*.)

³ *Attabhâvo*. See IX, 1, 3.

not in the way either of himself or of others¹. And this celestial being, Kakudha, went to the venerable Moggallâna, and bowed down before him, and took his stand on one side. And so standing, he told the venerable Moggallâna [of the thought that had arisen in Devadatta's mind, and of the result thereof]. And when he had told him, he bowed down before the venerable Moggallâna, and keeping him on his right side as he passed him, he vanished away.

And the venerable Moggallâna went to the place where the Blessed One was, and told him [the whole matter]².

'What then, Moggallâna, have you so penetrated the mind of that celestial being Kakudha, that you know that whatsoever he speaks, that will be accordingly, and not otherwise³?'

'I have, Lord.'

'Keep that saying, Moggallâna, secret; keep that saying secret. Even now that foolish man will himself make himself known.

3⁴. 'There are, Moggallâna, these five kinds of teachers now existing in the world. What are the five?

'In the first place, Moggallâna, there is one kind of teacher whose conduct not being pure, he yet

¹ Vyâbâdheti. He could occupy the same space as other beings without incommoding them. The word occurs in the same sense in the passage quoted from Buddhaghosa in Rh. D.'s note 1 on the Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta V, 10, but originally occurring in the Ânguttara Nikâya.

² The last paragraph is here repeated in the text.

³ On the use here of *ketasâ keta parikkâ*, compare Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta I, 16, 17.

⁴ The following two sections are repeated below, VII, 3, 10, to all the Bhikkhus.

gives out that he is a person of pure conduct, one whose conduct is pure, and innocent, and without stain. His disciples know that that is so, but they think, "If we announce the fact to the laity, he will not like it. And how can we conduct ourselves towards him in a way that is displeasing to him? And besides he is honoured with gifts of the requisite clothing, food, lodging, and medicine for the sick. He will sooner or later become known by that which he himself will do." Such a teacher, Moggallâna, do his disciples protect in respect of his own conduct. And being as he is, he expects¹ to be protected by his disciples in respect of his own conduct.

4. 'Again, Moggallâna,' &c. [as before, putting successively 'mode of livelihood,' 'preaching of the Dhamma,' 'system of exposition,' &c., 'insight arising from knowledge,' for 'conduct']. 'These, Moggallâna, are the five kinds of teachers now existing in the world. But I being pure in conduct, mode of livelihood, preaching of the Dhamma, system of exposition, and insight arising from knowledge, give out that I am so, that I am pure, innocent, and without stain in all these things. And neither do my disciples protect me in respect of my own conduct, nor do I expect them to do so.'

5. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Kosambī as long as he thought fit, he set out on his journey towards Râgagaha. And journeying straight on, he arrived in due course at Râgagaha; and there, at Râgagaha, he stayed at the Veluvana in the Kalandaka Nivâpa.

¹ *Pakkâsimsati*. Perhaps this word here means 'he requires, needs.'

And a number of Bhikkhus went to the Blessed One, and bowed down before him, and took their seats on one side. And when so seated, they said to the Blessed One: 'Prince Agâtasattu is in the habit of going morning and evening with five hundred carts to wait upon Devadatta, and food is brought and laid before him in five hundred dishes.'

'Envy not, O Bhikkhus, the gain and hospitality and fame of Devadatta. So long, O Bhikkhus, as Agâtasattu [so waits upon him and gives him alms] so long may we expect Devadatta not to prosper, but to decline in virtuous qualities¹. Just, O Bhikkhus, as if you were to burst a gall (bladder)² before the nose of a fierce dog, the dog would thereby become so much the fiercer, just so long, O Bhikkhus (&c., as before). To his own hurt, O Bhikkhus, has this gain, hospitality, and fame come to Devadatta, to his own destruction. Just, O Bhikkhus, as a plantain, or a bamboo, or a reed gives fruit to its own hurt and its own destruction³, just so to his own hurt (&c., as before). Just as a young she-mule conceives to her own hurt and her own destruction⁴, just so, O Bhikkhus, to his own hurt has this gain, &c., come to Devadatta.

'Its fruit destroys the plantain-tree ; its fruit the bamboo and the reed.

¹ This phrase runs in the same mould as the one so constantly repeated at the commencement of the Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta (I, §§ 4-11).

² *Pittam bhindeyyum*. Literally, 'should break a gall.'

³ These three plants die after producing fruit.

⁴ Because she would die if she did. On *assatarî*, compare above, VI, 4, 3, and our note there.

‘Honour destroys the evil man, just as its foal destroys the young she-mule.’

Here endeth the First Portion for Recitation.

3.

1. Now at that time the Blessed One was seated preaching the Dhamma, and surrounded by a great multitude, including the king and his retinue. And Devadatta rose from his seat, and arranging his upper robe over one shoulder, stretched out his joined hands to the Blessed One, and said to the Blessed One :

‘The Blessed One, Lord, is now grown aged, he is old and stricken in years, he has accomplished a long journey, and his term of life is nearly run¹. Let the Blessed One now dwell at ease in the enjoyment of happiness reached even in this world. Let the Blessed One give up the Bhikkhu-saṃgha to me, I will be its leader.’

‘Thou hast said enough, Devadatta. Desire not to be the leader of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha.’

[And a second time Devadatta made the same request, and received the same reply. And a third time Devadatta made the same request.]

‘I would not give over the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, Devadatta, even to Sâriputta and Moggallâna.

¹ This string of epithets recurs in *Pârâgika* I, 1, 2, of old and venerable Brâhmans.

How much less, then, to so vile and evil-living a person as you¹.

Then Devadatta thought : ' Before the king and his retinue the Blessed One denies me, calling me "evil-living," and exalts Sâriputta and Moggallâna.' And, angry and displeased, he bowed down before the Blessed One, and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, he departed thence.

This was the first time that Devadatta bore malice against the Blessed One.

2. And the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus, ' Let then the *Samgha*, O Bhikkhus, carry out against Devadatta the Act of Proclamation² in Râgagaha, to the effect that whereas the nature of Devadatta used to be of one kind it is now of another kind, and that whatsoever he shall do, either bodily or verbally, in that neither shall the Buddha be recognised, nor the Dhamma, nor the *Samgha*, but only Devadatta.

' And thus, O Bhikkhus, shall the Act be carried out. Some discreet and able Bhikkhu (&c.,

¹ In the text read *kāhassa khe/âpakassa*. On the first word, compare V, 2, 8. For the second the Dhammapada commentator (Fausböll, p. 143) reads, as does the Sinhalese MS. in our passage, *khe/âsika*. Buddhaghosa, explaining it, says, ' In this passage (we should recollect) that those who obtain the requisites (of a Bhikkhu) by an evil mode of life are said by the Noble Ones to be like unto spittle. The Blessed One calls him *khe/âpaka* (to express that) he eats, (that is, 'gains a living) in sin like that.' (For the Pâli, see the edition of the text, p. 323, where the comma after *khe/asa* *disâ* should be before it.)

² *Pakâsaniya-kamma*. This is not one of the regular official acts of the *Samgha*, as described in *Kullavagga* I, and is only mentioned in this passage. It is not referred to by the Dhammapada commentator.

in the same form as in I, 1, 4, down to the end of the Kammavâḥā.)'

And the Blessed One said to the venerable Sâriputta, 'Do you then, Sâriputta, proclaim Devadatta throughout Râgagaha.'

'In former times, Lord, I have sung the praises of Devadatta in Râgagaha, saying, "Great is the power (Iddhi) of the son of Godhi! Great is the might of the son of Godhi!" How can I now proclaim him throughout Râgagaha?'

'Was it not truth that you spoke, Sâriputta, when you [so] sang his praises?'

'Yea, Lord!'

'Even so, Sâriputta, do you now, speaking the truth, proclaim Devadatta throughout Râgagaha.'

'Even so, Lord,' said Sâriputta, in assent to the Blessed One.

3. And the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: 'Let then the *Samgha* appoint Sâriputta to the office of proclaiming Devadatta throughout Râgagaha to the effect (&c., as before, § 2). And thus, O Bhikkhus, should he be appointed. First, Sâriputta should be asked, &c. (as usual in official appointments¹, down to the end of the Kammavâḥā).'

Then Sâriputta, being so appointed, entered Râgagaha with a number of Bhikkhus, and proclaimed Devadatta accordingly. And thereupon those people who were unbelievers, and without devotion or insight, spake thus: 'They are jealous, these Sakyaputtiya Samanas! They are jealous of the gain and hospitality that fall to Devadatta!' But those who were believers, full of devotion, able, and gifted with in-

¹ See, for instance, I, 22, 2.

sight, spake thus: 'This cannot be any ordinary affair¹, in that the Blessed One has had Devadatta proclaimed throughout Rāgagaha!'

4. And Devadatta went to Agātasattu the prince, and said to him: 'In former days, prince, people were long-lived, but now their term of life is short. It is quite possible, therefore, that you may complete your time while you are still a prince. So do you, prince, kill your father, and become the Rāga; and I will kill the Blessed One, and become the Buddha.'

And prince Agātasattu thought, 'This worthy Devadatta has great powers and might; he will know (what is right).' And fastening a dagger² against his thigh, he entered with violence and at an unusual hour³, though fearful, anxious, excited, and alarmed, the royal chamber. And when the ministers who were in attendance in the private chamber saw that, they seized him. And when, on searching him, they found the dagger fastened on his thigh, they asked him:

'What were you going to do, O prince?'

'I wanted to kill my father.'

'Who incited you to this?'

'The worthy Devadatta.'

Then some of the ministers advised 'The prince should be slain, and Devadatta, and all the Bhikkhus.' Others of them advised 'The Bhikkhus ought not to be slain, for they have done no wrong;

¹ Na orakam bhavissati. See Mahāvagga I, 9, 1, and Kullavagga VI, 4, 10, and our note on the latter passage.

² Potthanikam. This word has already occurred at Mahāvagga VI, 23, 3.

³ Divādivassa. See the use of this word at Gāṭaka II, 1.

but only the prince and Devadatta.' Others of them again said, 'Neither should the prince be slain, nor Devadatta, nor the Bhikkhus. But the king should be told of this, and we should do as the king shall command.'

5. So these ministers, taking the prince with them, went to the Râga of Magadha, to Seniya Bimbisâra, and told him what had happened.

'What advice, my friends, did the ministers give?'

[When they had told him all (as before) he said]: 'What, my friends, can the Buddha, or the Saṃgha, or the Dhamma have to do with this? Has not the Blessed One had a proclamation already made throughout Râgagaha concerning Devadatta, to the effect that whereas his nature used to be of one kind, it is now of another; and that whatsoever he shall do, either bodily or verbally, in that shall neither the Buddha, nor the Dhamma, nor the Saṃgha be required, but only Devadatta?'

Then those ministers who had advised that the prince and Devadatta and all the Bhikkhus should be slain, them he made incapable (of ever again holding office). And those ministers who had advised that the prince should be slain, and Devadatta, them he degraded to lower offices. But those ministers who had advised that neither should the prince be slain, nor Devadatta, nor the Bhikkhus, but that the king should be informed of it, and his command be followed, them he advanced to high positions.

And the Râga of Magadha, Seniya Bimbisâra, said to prince Agâtasattu: 'Why did you want to kill me, O prince?'

‘I wanted a kingdom, O king!’

‘If you then want a kingdom, O prince, let this kingdom be thine!’ And he handed over the kingdom to Agâtasattu the prince¹.

6. Then Devadatta went to prince² Agâtasattu, and said, ‘Give such orders, O king, to your men that I may deprive the Samana Gotama of life.’ And Agâtasattu the prince gave orders to his men: ‘Whatsoever the worthy Devadatta tells you, that do!’

Then to one man Devadatta gave command: ‘Go, my friend, the Samana Gotama is staying at such and such a place. Kill him, and come back by this path.’ Then on that path he placed other two men, telling them, ‘Whatever man you see coming alone along this path, kill him, and return by that path.’ Then on that path he placed other four men [and so on up to sixteen men].

7. And that man took his sword and shield, and hung his bow and quiver at his back, and went to the place where the Blessed One was, and when at some little distance from the Blessed One, being

¹ The early literature already mentions that Agâtasattu eventually killed his father. (See, for instance, *Sâmañña-phala Sutta*, p. 154.) Bigandet I, 261 (3rd edition) adds that the mode adopted was by starving him to death in prison.

² The Buddhist writers being so especially careful in their accurate use of titles, it is particularly noteworthy that Agâtasattu is here called prince (*kumâra*) and not king (*râga*). It is almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that this paragraph stood originally in some other connection; and that the events it describes must then have been supposed to have taken place before Agâtasattu actually became king. That the Dhammapada commentator says here (Fausböll, p. 143) *tasmim* (that is, Agâtasattu) *ragge patitthite*, is no evidence the other way; for that account is either taken from this, or depends ultimately upon it.

terrified, anxious, excited, and alarmed, he stood stark still and stiff¹.

On the Blessed One seeing him so, he said to the man : ' Come hither, friend, don't be afraid.'

Then that man laid aside his sword and his shield, took off his bow and his quiver, and went up to the Blessed One ; and falling at his feet, he said to the Blessed One : ' Transgression, Lord, has overcome me even according to my folly, my stupidity, and my unrighteousness, in that I have come hither with evil and with murderous intent. May the Blessed One accept the confession I make of my sin in its sinfulness, to the end that in future I may restrain myself therefrom !'

' Verily, my friend, transgression has overcome thee [&c., down to] intent. But since you, my friend, look upon your sin as sin, and duly make amends for it, we do accept (your confession of) it. For this, O friend, is progress in the discipline of the Noble One, that he who has seen his sin to be sin makes amends for it as is meet, and becomes able in future to restrain himself therefrom².'

Then the Blessed One discoursed to that man in due order, that is to say (&c., as usual in conversions³, down to) May the Blessed One accept me as a disciple, as one who, from this day forth as long as life endures, has taken his refuge in him.

And the Blessed One said to the man : ' Do not, my friend, leave me by that path. Go by this path,' and so dismissed him by another way.

¹ Patthaddha; that is, prastabdhā. See Sutta-vibhaṅga, Pārāgika I, 10, 17, 21.

² This confession and acceptance are in a standing form, which occurs, for instance, at Mahāvagga IX, 1, 9 ; Kullavagga V, 20, 5.

³ See, for instance, Kullavagga VI, 4, 5.

8. But the two men thought, 'Where now can that man be who was to come alone? He is delaying long.' And as they were going to meet him, they caught sight of the Blessed One sitting at the foot of a certain tree. On seeing him they went up to the place where he was, and saluted him, and took their seats on one side. To them also the Blessed One discoursed, [and they were converted as the other man had been, and he sent them back by another way. And the same thing occurred as to the four, and the eight, and the sixteen men ¹.]

9. And the one man returned to Devadatta, and said to him: 'I cannot, Lord, deprive the Blessed One of life. Great is the power (Iddhi ²) and might of the Blessed One.'

'That will do, friend. You need not do so. I will slay the Blessed One myself.'

Now at that time the Blessed One was walking up and down (meditating) in the shade below ³ the mountain called the Vulture's Peak. And Devadatta climbed up the Vulture's Peak, and hurled down a mighty rock with the intention of depriving the Blessed One of life. But two mountain peaks came together and stopped that rock, and only a splinter ⁴ falling from it made the foot of the Blessed One to bleed ⁵.

¹ The last two paragraphs of § 7 are repeated in full in the text in each case.

² The Iddhi here must be the power of religious persuasion.

³ *Pakkhâyâyam*. See Mahāvagga V, 1, 5, and Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta II, 31 (p. 22 of the text).

⁴ Papatikā. In the text, by a misprint, this and the preceding word have been joined together.

⁵ Pâde ruhiraṃ uppâdesi, where ruhira is equal to lohita.

Then the Blessed One, looking upwards, said to Devadatta : 'Great, O foolish one, is the demerit you have brought forth for yourself¹, in that with evil and murderous intent you have caused the blood of the Tathâgata to flow.'

And the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus : 'This is the first time that Devadatta has heaped up (against himself) a Karma which will work out its effect in the immediate future², in that with evil and murderous intent he has caused the blood of the Tathâgata to flow.'

10. And the Bhikkhus having heard that Devadatta was compassing the death of the Blessed One, walked round and round the Vihâra, making recitation in high and loud tones, for a protection and guard to the Blessed One. On hearing that noise the Blessed One asked the venerable Ânanda what it was. And when Ânanda [told him], the Blessed One said : 'Then, Ânanda, call the Bhikkhus in my

It is so used at *Gâtaka* II, 275, in the *Milinda Pañha*, p. 125, and in the account of the present incident in the *Dhammapada* commentary (p. 144). In *Mahâvagga* I, 67, where it is said that one who has shed (a Buddha's) blood cannot be received into the Order, the expression is *lohitam uppâdeti*: and in numerous passages elsewhere it is added that such a *lohituppâdako* becomes ipso facto discharged from one or other of the duties and privileges of a member of the Order, just as if he had thrown off the robes.

¹ *Pasûtam*. By a misprint the text has *pasutam*. Compare the end of § 16 below.

² *Ânantarika-kammam*. That is, that will work out its effect, (not in the next birth, as is the case of all other Karma,) but immediately, in the present life. There are five such deeds (see Childers, sub voce *pañhâ*, and *Milinda Pañha*, p. 25). The Bodisats, according to *Gâtaka* I, 45 (verse 256), are free from such sins.

name, saying, "The Teacher sends for the venerable ones."

And he [did so], and they came, and saluted the Blessed One, and took their seats on one side. And when they were so seated, the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: 'This, O Bhikkhus, is an impossible thing, and one that cannot occur, that one should deprive a Tathâgata of life by violence. The Tathâgatas, O Bhikkhus, are extinguished (in death) in due and natural course.

'There are, O Bhikkhus, these five kinds of teachers now living in the world (&c., as in VII, 2, 3, 4, down to the end). And this, O Bhikkhus, is an impossible thing, and one that cannot occur, that a Tathâgata should be slain by any act set on foot by any one besides himself. The Tathâgatas, O Bhikkhus, are extinguished (in death) in due course (of nature). Go, therefore, O Bhikkhus, each one to his Vihâra, for the Tathâgatas require no protection.'

11. Now at that time there was at Râgagaha an elephant named Nâlâgiri, fierce, and a manslayer. And Devadatta went into Râgagaha, and to the elephant stables, and said to the elephant-keepers¹: 'I, my friends, am a relative of the râga's, and am able to advance a man occupying a low position to a high position, and to order increase of rations or of pay. Therefore, my friends, when the Samana Gotama shall have arrived at this carriage-road², then loose the elephant Nâlâgiri, and let him go down the road.'

¹ Hatthi-bhande. See the note on Mahâvagga VI, 37, 2.

² Rakkham; that is, rathyâm. Compare Gâtaka I, 346, and the Old Commentary on the Bhikkhuni-vibhaṅga, Pâṭittiya VII.

‘Even so, Sir,’ said those elephant-keepers in assent to Devadatta.

And when the Blessed One early in the morning had dressed himself, he entered Râgagaha duly bowled and robed, and with a number of Bhikkhus, for alms; and he entered upon that road. On seeing him the elephant-keepers loosed Nâlâgiri, and let it go down the road. And the elephant saw the Blessed One coming from the distance; and as soon as it saw him, it rushed towards the Blessed One with uplifted trunk, and with its tail and ears erect.

When those Bhikkhus saw the elephant Nâlâgiri coming in the distance, they said to the Blessed One: ‘This elephant, Lord, Nâlâgiri, is fierce, and a manslayer, and it has got into this road. Let the Blessed One, Lord, turn back: let the Happy One turn back.’

‘Come on, O Bhikkhus. Be not alarmed. There is, O Bhikkhus, no possibility [&c., as in last section, down to the end].’

[And a second and a third time the Bhikkhus made the same appeal, and received the same reply.]

12. Then at that time the people climbed up on to the upper storeys of the houses, and on to the balconies, and on to the roofs. And those of them who were unbelievers and without faith or insight, said, ‘Truly the countenance of the great Samana is beautiful; but the elephant will do him a hurt¹.’ But those who were believers, full of

¹ The setting of this paragraph is parallel to § 3 above in this chapter; the speech of the unbelievers is the same as that of the *Gasilas* at Mahâvagga I, 15, 4.

devotion, able, and gifted with insight, said, 'Twill be long e'er the elephant can fight a fight with the elephant (of men) !'

And the Blessed One caused the sense of his love to pervade the elephant Nālâgiri¹; and the elephant, touched by the sense of his love, put down his trunk, and went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and stood still before him. And the Blessed One, stroking the elephant's forehead with his right hand, addressed him in these stanzas :

'Touch not, O elephant, the elephant of men; for sad, O elephant, is such attack²,

'For no bliss is there, O elephant, when he is passed from hence, for him who strikes the elephant of men.

'Be not then mad, and neither be thou careless³, for the careless enter not into a state of bliss,

'Rather do thou thyself so act, that to a state of bliss thou mayest go.'

And Nālâgiri the elephant took up with his trunk the dust from off the feet of the Blessed One, and sprinkled it over its head, and retired, bowing backwards the while it gazed upon the Blessed One.

And Nālâgiri the elephant returned to the elephant stables, and stood in its appointed place, and

¹ Mettena kittena phari; literally, 'he suffused him with loving heart.' Compare Rh. D.'s 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' i. p. 112.

² In nâgamâsado the m is inserted for euphony. See the instances given by Kuhn, 'Beiträge zur Pâli-grammatik,' p. 63. Many others might be added; siva-m-añgase, Gâtaka. vol. i, verse 27; samana-m-aḥala, Childers sub voce, &c. Compare the curious use of âsâdeti at Kullavagga I, 27.

³ A play on the words is here lost in English (mâ mado mâ ka pamâdo).

became once more the tame Nālāgiri. And at that time the people sung these verses :

‘They can be tamed by sticks, and goads, and whips,

‘But the great Sage has tamed this elephant without a weapon or a stick.’

13. The people were angry, murmured, and became indignant, saying, ‘How wicked is this Devadatta, and how wretched¹, in that he can go about to slay the Samana Gotama, who is so mighty and so powerful.’ And the gain and honour of Devadatta fell off, while that of the Blessed One increased.

² Now at that time, when the gain and honour of Devadatta had fallen off, he went, surrounded by Bhikkhus, to people’s houses, appealing for alms³.

The people were angry, murmured, and became indignant, saying, ‘How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas live on food that they ask for at people’s houses? Who is not fond of well-cooked food? Who does not like sweet things?’

The Bhikkhus heard (&c., down to) the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: ‘Therefore do I lay down this rule, O Bhikkhus, for the Bhikkhus that

¹ Alakkhiko ti ettha na lakkhetṭi alakkhiko na gānāṭṭi attho. Apākata-kammaṃ karomīti na gānāṭṭi na lakkhitabbo ti alakkhaṇo passitabbo ti attho (B.). We venture to differ from both of these explanations, and to follow rather the derivation of the word, and the meaning of the corresponding Sanskrit term *alakṣhmīka*.

² From here down to the ‘decision’ is identical with the introductory story in the Sutta-vibhaṅga to the 32nd Pāṭṭiya,—a rule the previous existence of which is implied in the decision given here.

³ Viññāpeti is continually used in the Sutta-vibhaṅga in this sense, and even occurs already in the Pātimokkha, Pāṭṭiya 39.

(not more than) three shall enjoy an alms (together) at people's houses—and this for the sake of three reasons; (to wit) for the restraint of the evil-minded, and for the ease of the good¹, lest those who have evil desires should, in reliance upon a particular party (among the Bhikkhus), break up the *Samgha*², and (lastly) out of compassion for the laity³. (A Bhikkhu) who shall enjoy an alms in parties of more than three, shall be dealt with according to law⁴.

14⁵. Now Devadatta went to the place where Kokâlîka, and Katamoraka-tissaka, and the son of Khandâ-devî and Samudda-datta were, and said to them, 'Come, Sirs, let us stir up a division in the Samana Gotama's *Samgha*, and in the body of his adherents⁶.'

When he had thus spoken, Kokâlîka said to Devadatta, 'The Samana Gotama, Sir, is mighty and powerful. How can we [do such a thing]?'

'Come, Sirs, let us go to the Samana Gotama, and make the following five demands, saying,

¹ This whole phrase recurs in Sutta-vibhaṅga, Pârâgika I, 5, 11, and in the Ânguttara Nikâya II, 17, 2. In the latter passage Dr. Morris reads *dummaññûnam*; see his note at pp. 127, 128. But the Sanskrit Buddhist vocabulary Vyutpatti (teste Bôhtlingk-Roth, s. v. *mañku*) authorises the use of *dummañku*.

² So the Ânguttara, loc. cit., has, in the same connection, *gihînam anukampâya pâpikkhânam pakkhupakkhedâya*.

³ See last note. The idea is here, of course, lest any particular layman should be burdened by providing for many Bhikkhus.

⁴ That is, under the 32nd Pâkittiya, on which rule the Sutta-vibhaṅga explains the phrase *gana-bhogana*.

⁵ Sections 14, 15, and the greater part of 16 recur, word for word, as the introductory story to the 10th *Samghâdisesa*.

⁶ In *kakka-bhedam* the first word no doubt connotes 'kingdom, lordship,' as in *dhamma-kakka*, *kakkavatti*, &c.

"The Blessed One, Lord, has declared in many a figure the advantages of the man who wishes for little, who is easy to satisfy in the matter of support and nourishment, who has eradicated evil from his mind, has quelled his passions, and is full of faith, of reverence, and of the exercise of zeal¹. The following five things, Lord, conduce to such a condition². It would be good, Lord, if the Bhikkhus should be, their lives long, dwellers in the woods—if whosoever goes to the neighbourhood of a village should thereby commit an offence. It would be good if they should, their lives long, beg for alms—if whosoever should accept an invitation, should thereby commit an offence. It would be good if they should clothe themselves, their lives long, in cast-off rags—if whosoever should accept a gift of robes from a layman³, should thereby commit an offence. It would be good if they should dwell, their lives long, under the trees⁴—if whosoever should (sleep) under a roof, should thereby commit an offence. It would be good if they should, their lives long, abstain from fish⁵—if whosoever should

¹ This is part of the standing 'religious discourse' so often ascribed to the Buddha in the Vinaya texts, and given at full in the *Kullavagga* I, 1-3.

² It was on precisely the same reasoning that a certain Bhikkhu in *Mahāvagga* VIII, 28, 1, endeavoured to get the Buddha to convert to the rejection of all clothing.

³ At *Mahāvagga* VIII, 1, 35, it is laid down that a Bhikkhu may either dress in cast-off rags, or accept robes from a layman, according as he likes.

⁴ This dwelling under trees is expressly forbidden, as regards the season of the rains, in *Mahāvagga* III, 12, 5.

⁵ The rule of the Order is merely that no one may knowingly eat fish which he has seen or heard or suspected to have been caught for that purpose. See *Mahāvagga* VI, 31, 14.

eat fish, should thereby commit an offence." The Samana Gotama will not grant these things. Then will we gain over the people by means thereof.'

'Yes; it may be possible so to stir up divisions in the Samgha, and in the party of the Samana Gotama. For the people believe in rough measures.'

15. And Devadatta went to the Blessed One, surrounded by his friends, and made these demands [in the words just set out].

'No, Devadatta. Whosoever wishes to do so, let him dwell in the woods; whosoever wishes to do so, let him dwell in the neighbourhood of a village. Whosoever wishes to do so, let him beg for alms; whosoever wishes to do so, let him accept invitations from the laity. Whosoever wishes to do so, let him dress in rags; whosoever wishes to do so, let him receive gifts of robes from laymen. Sleeping under trees has been allowed by me, Devadatta, for eight months in the year; and the eating of fish that is pure in the three points—to wit, that the eater has not seen, or heard, or suspected that it has been caught for that purpose.'

And Devadatta, pleased and delighted that the Blessed One had refused the five demands, arose from his seat, and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, departed thence with his friends. And he entered into Rāgagaha, and urged his view upon the people by means thereof, saying, 'Such and such things did we ask, Sirs, of the Samana Gotama. He would not allow them, but we live in accordance with them.'

16. Then those of the people who were unbelievers, and without reverence or insight, said, 'These Sakyaputtiya Samanas have eradicated evil

from their minds, and have quelled their passions, while on the other hand the Samana Gotama is luxurious, and his mind dwells on abundance¹. But those of the people who were believers, and full of reverence and insight, were indignant, became vexed, and murmured, saying, 'How can Devadatta go about to stir up division in the Samgha of the Blessed One, and in the party that is subject to him.'

The Bhikkhus, hearing them so murmuring, told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Is it true, O Devadatta, as they say, that thou goest about to stir up division in the Samgha, and in the body of my adherents?'

'It is true, Lord.'

'(Thou hast gone far) enough, Devadatta. Let not a division in the Samgha seem good to thee²; —grievous is such division. Whosoever, O Devadatta, breaks up the Samgha, when it is at peace, he gives birth to a fault (the effect of) which endures for a kalpa³, and for a kalpa is he boiled in niraya. But whosoever, O Devadatta, makes peace in the Samgha, when it has been divided, he gives birth to the highest merit, and for a kalpa is he happy in heaven⁴. Thou hast gone far enough,

¹ Bâhulliko bâhullâya keteti. Both these expressions occur above in Mahāvagga VI, 15, 9, 10, and elsewhere (see, for instance, the introductory stories to Gâtaka, Nos. 6 and 32) as the standing expression for the opposite of the state of mind in which a good Bhikkhu ought to live.

² Mâ te rukhî samghabhedo. For the connotation of this phrase, compare below, VII, 4, 4.

³ Kappa//hikam kibbisam. At Gâtaka I, 172, 213, 215, Prof. Fausbøll reads kappa//hiya. In saying that the fault itself (kibbisam) is to endure for a kalpa, the meaning of course is that its effects on the Karma will endure so long.

⁴ Either the text has here preserved (as in other cases elsewhere)

Devadatta. Let not a division in the *Samgha*, O Devadatta, seem good to thee. Grievous, O Devadatta, is such division.'

17. Now the venerable Ānanda, having dressed himself early in the morning, went duly bowled and robed into Rāgagaha for alms. And Devadatta saw the venerable Ānanda proceeding through Rāgagaha for alms. On seeing that he went up to the venerable Ānanda, and said to him: 'At once, from this day forth, friend Ānanda, I intend to perform Uposatha, and to carry out the formal proceedings of the Order, without either the Blessed One or the Bhikkhu-samgha.'

And when the venerable Ānanda had gone through Rāgagaha for alms, and had returned from his rounds, and had finished his meal, he went to the Blessed One, and bowed down before him, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated, he told the Blessed One [what Devadatta had said, and added], 'This very day, Lord, Devadatta will break up the *Samgha*.'

Then the Blessed One, when he heard that, gave utterance at that time to this expression of strong emotion:

'Easy is a good act to the good, a good act is hard to the wicked;

'Easy is evil to the evil, but evil is hard for the Noble Ones to do.'

Here ends the Second Portion for Recitation.

the fragments of earlier verses, or the poetical forms of the verses below at VII, 5, 4, have crept into the prose here, where we should otherwise expect sagge and niraye.

4.

1. Now Devadatta on that day, which was Upo-satha day, arose from his seat, and gave out voting-tickets¹, saying, 'We went, Sirs, to the Samana Gotama and asked for the Five Points, saying— (&c., as above in VII, 3, 14 and 15). These the Samana Gotama will not allow; but we live in accordance therewith. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the Five Things, let him take a ticket.'

Now at that time there were five hundred Bhikkhus, Vesâliyans, and belonging to the Vaggian clan², who had but recently joined the Order, and were ignorant of what he had in hand³. These took the voting-tickets, believing [the Five Points to be according to] the Dhamma, and the Vinaya, and the teaching of the Master. And Devadatta, having thus created a division in the Samgha, went out to the hill Gayâ-sisa, taking those five hundred Bhikkhus with him.

Then Sâriputta and Moggallâna went to the Blessed One, and bowed down before him, and took their seats on one side. And when they were so seated, Sâriputta said to the Blessed One: 'Deva-

¹ It may be noticed that Devadatta here takes upon himself the office of a *salâka-gâhâpako* without having been appointed to it in the manner required by the rule laid down in *Kullavagga* IV, 9 and 10. On the process to be followed when voting with tickets, see IV, 4, 26.

² So it is the Vaggians from Vesâlî who are represented, below XII, 1, 1, to have put forward those Ten Points which gave rise to the Council and the schism at Vesâlî a hundred years after the Buddha's death.

³ *Apakataññuno*.

datta, Lord, has gone forth to Gayâ-sîsa, taking five hundred Bhikkhus with him.'

'Verily, Sâriputta and Moggallâna, there must be a feeling of kindness towards those young Bhikkhus among you both. Go therefore, both of you, before they have fallen into entire destruction.'

'Even so, Lord,' said Sâriputta and Moggallâna, in assent to the Blessed One. And rising from their seats, they bowed down before him, and keeping him on their right hand as they passed him, they set out for Gayâ-sîsa.

Then at that time a certain Bhikkhu, standing not far from the Blessed One, began to weep. And the Blessed One said to him: 'Why, O Bhikkhu, dost thou weep?'

'Those, Lord, who are the Blessed One's chief disciples, Sâriputta and Moggallâna, even they have gone to Devadatta's side, approving the Dhamma of Devadatta.'

'That, O Bhikkhu, would be impossible, that Sâriputta and Moggallâna should approve his teaching. They are gone only to gain those Bhikkhus over again¹.

2. Now at that time Devadatta, surrounded by a great number of adherents, was seated, preaching the Dhamma. And when he saw from afar Sâriputta and Moggallâna coming towards him, he said to the Bhikkhus: 'See, O Bhikkhus, how well preached must be my doctrine, in that even the two chief disciples of the Samana Gotama—Sâriputta

¹ Bhikkhu-sa^ññattiyâ. The phrase occurs above at IV, 14, 26, and below XII, 2, 8, and corresponds to the expression *ganam sa^ññâpeti* (above, VII, 3, 14), used of Devadatta's trying to gain the people over to his views.

and Moggallâna—are coming to join me, being pleased with my Dhamma.'

When he had thus spoken Kokâlika said to Devadatta: 'O venerable Devadatta, trust not Sâriputta and Moggallâna, for they are inclined towards evil, and under the influence of evil desires.'

'Nay, my friend, let us bid them welcome since they take pleasure in my teaching (Dhamma).'

And Devadatta invited Sâriputta to share his own seat, saying, 'Come, friend Sâriputta. Sit thou here!'

'Nay (there is no need of that),' said Sâriputta; and taking another seat, he sat down on one side. And Devadatta instructed and incited and aroused and gladdened the Bhikkhus far into the night with religious discourse; and then made request to Sâriputta, saying, 'The assembly, friend Sâriputta, is still alert and sleepless. Will you, friend Sâriputta, be so good as to think of some religious discourse to address to the Bhikkhus¹? My back is tired, and I would stretch myself a little.'

'Even so, friend,' said the venerable Sâriputta, in assent to Devadatta. And Devadatta spread his waist-cloth folded in four on the ground, and lay down on his right side. And in a moment even sleep overcame him who was tired, and had lost his presence of mind and his self-consciousness².

3. Then the venerable Sâriputta taught and exhorted the Bhikkhus in a religious discourse touching the marvels of preaching, and the venerable

¹ Pa/ibhātu tam bhikkhūnam dhammī kathā. See our note above on Mahāvagga V, 13, 9.

² Compare Mahāvagga VIII, 16 = Sutta-vibhaṅga, Saṃghādisesa I, 2, 1.

Moggallâna taught and exhorted the Bhikkhus in a religious discourse touching the marvels of Iddhi. And whilst they were being so taught and exhorted those Bhikkhus obtained the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth ¹—(that is, the knowledge that) whatsoever has a beginning, in that is inherent also the necessity of dissolution. Then the venerable Sâriputta addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'Let us go, my friends, to the Blessed One's side. Whosoever approves of his doctrine (Dhamma), let him come.'

And Sâriputta and Moggallâna went back to the Veḷuvana, taking those five hundred Bhikkhus with them. But Kokâlika awoke Devadatta, and said: 'Arise, friend Devadatta! Your Bhikkhus have been led away by Sâriputta and Moggallâna. Did I not tell you, Devadatta, not to trust Sâriputta and Moggallâna, in that they were inclined towards evil, and were under the influence of evil desires?'

Then hot blood came forth from Devadatta's mouth ².

4. But Sâriputta and Moggallâna went to the place where the Blessed One was, and bowed down before him, and took their seats on one side. And when they were so seated, Sâriputta said to the Blessed One:

'It were well, Lord, that Bhikkhus who have turned aside to schism should be received afresh into the higher grade of the Order.'

'Nay, Sâriputta, let not the reordination of schis-

¹ This expression is the standing one in conversions; see, for instance, *Mahāvagga* I, 7, 6; *Kullavagga* VI, 4, 5, VII, 3, 6.

² The later legends preserved in Spence Hardy and Bigandet say that Devadatta died on the spot.

matical Bhikkhus seem good to thee. But rather cause such Bhikkhus to confess that they have committed a *thullaṅkāya* offence. And how, Sâriputta, did Devadatta treat you ?'

'When Devadatta, Lord, had instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened the Bhikkhus far into the night with religious discourse, he then made request to me, saying, "The assembly, friend Sâriputta, is still alert and sleepless. Will you, friend Sâriputta, think of some religious discourse to address to the Bhikkhus? My back is tired, and I would stretch myself a little." This, Lord, was the way in which Devadatta behaved to me.'

5. Then the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'Once upon a time, O Bhikkhus, there was a great pond in a forest region. Some elephants dwelt beside it; and they, plunging into the pond, plucked with their trunks the edible stalks of the lotus plants, washed them till they were quite clean¹, masticated them² without any dirt, and so eat them up. And that produced in them both beauty and strength, and by reason thereof they neither went down into death, nor into any sorrow like unto death. Now among those great elephants, O Bhikkhus, there were young elephant calves, who also, in imitation of those others, plunged into that pond, and plucked with their trunks the edible stalks of the lotus plants; but they did not wash them till they were clean, but masticated them, dirt and all, and so eat them up. And that produced in them

¹ The last three lines have occurred word for word in Mahāvagga VI, 20, 2.

² *Samkhāditvā*. Compare the use of this word at Gāṭaka I, 507.

neither beauty nor strength ; and by reason thereof they went down into death, and into sorrows like unto death. Just so, O Bhikkhus, will Devadatta die who, poor creature, is emulating me.

‘Like the elephant calf who eateth mud in imitation of the great beast¹

That shakes the earth, and eats the lotus plant, and watches through the night among the waters’—

So will he, poor creature, die that emulateth me.’

6. ‘A Bhikkhu who is possessed of eight qualifications is worthy, O Bhikkhus, to do the work of an emissary. And what are the eight ? The Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, must be able to hear and to make others listen, able to learn, able to bear in mind, able to discern and to make others discern, skilful to deal with friends and foes, and no maker of quarrels. These are the eight qualifications of which when a Bhikkhu is possessed, he is worthy, O Bhikkhus, to do the work of an emissary.

‘Sâriputta, O Bhikkhus, being possessed of eight qualifications, is worthy to do the work of an emissary. What are the eight (&c., as in last paragraph)?

‘He who on entering a company that is violent of speech,

¹ Mahâ-varâha. At Abhidhânappadîpikâ, verse 1115, varâha is said to mean ‘elephant’ as well as ‘boar ;’ and so here Buddhaghosa says Mahâ-varâhassa mahâ-nâgassa. As this explanation possibly rests only on such passages as the present, we have chosen an ambiguous rendering.

² Nadîsu gaggato ti. Ettha so kira hatthi-nâgo sâyanhasamayam tam nadî-nâmakam pokkharanîm ogâhetvâ kilanto sabbarattim vitinâmesi gâlikam karoti. Tena vuttam nadîsu gaggato ti (B.).

Fears not, forgoes no word, disguises not his message,

Is unambiguous in what he says, and being questioned angers not,

Of such is surely the Bhikkhu worthy to go on a mission¹.

7. 'Devadatta, O Bhikkhus, being overcome, his mind being taken up by eight evil conditions², is irretrievably (doomed to) remain for a Kalpa in states of suffering and woe³. And what are the eight? He is overcome, his mind is taken up by gain, by want of gain, by fame, by want of fame, by honour, by want of honour, by his having wicked desires, and by his having wicked friends. These, O Bhikkhus, are the eight evil conditions by which Devadatta being overcome, and his mind being taken up, he is irretrievably (doomed to) remain for a Kalpa in states of suffering and woe.

'It would be well, O Bhikkhus, that Bhikkhus should continue in complete ascendancy over any gain or loss, any fame or the reverse, any honour or

¹ On these lines compare some similar expressions at Mahāvagga X, 6, 3.

² Asaddhamma. It is very difficult to find a proper rendering for this expression. Dhamma here means, no doubt, 'quality,' 'condition' (as it does in the title of the Sanskrit work *Saddharma-pundarīka*, unhappily rendered by Burnouf, 'Lotus de la bonne loi'). But the details of the various particulars suggest rather the rendering 'surrounding occurrences' or 'matters,' for they are objective, external, and not (or only incidentally and secondarily) subjective, internal.

³ *Āpâyiko nerayiko*. 'Liable to re-birth in apāya and in niraya.' Of these the former includes the latter, and also the states of being an animal, a disembodied ghost (*peta*), or an asura. Hell, though a convenient, is a misleading translation of the latter of the two words, for the reasons given by Rh. D. on Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta I, 23. All the expressions used here recur below at VII, 5, 4.

dishonour, any evil longing or evil friendship, that may accrue to them. And for what reason¹? For as much, O Bhikkhus, that bad influences (*âsavas*) arise, full of vexation and distress², to one who is not continuing in complete ascendancy over each of these eight things, but to one, who is so continuing, such influences arise not. This is the reason, O Bhikkhus, why it would be well (&c., as before). Let us then, O Bhikkhus, continue in complete ascendancy over any gain or loss, any fame or the reverse, any honour or dishonour, any evil longing or evil friendship, that may accrue to us. And thus, O Bhikkhus, should you train yourselves.

‘There are three evil conditions, O Bhikkhus, by which Devadatta being overcome, and his mind being taken up, he is irretrievably doomed to remain for a Kalpa in states of suffering and woe. And what are the three? His having wicked desires, and his having wicked friends, and his having come to a stop on his way (to Nirvâna or Arahatsip) because he had already attained to some lesser thing³. These are the three (&c., as before).’

¹ Kim (read kam) *atthavasam paṭikkā*. So also above, *Mahāvagga* VIII, 15, 7; *Kullavagga* VII, 1, 6, and in the *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* V, 28, and *Dhammapada*, verse 289. The whole of the previous sentence is here repeated in the text.

² *Vighāta-pariāhā*. This is a standing epithet of the *Âsavas*, recurring, for instance, many times in the *Sabbāsava Sutta*, §§ 18–37 (Rh. D.’s ‘*Buddhist Suttas*,’ pp. 302 and following). The word ‘influence,’ here chosen as a rendering for *âsava*, is suggested by Dr. Morris as being similar, both in its derivation and in the history of its meaning, to the Pāli one. The principal objection against it is that it has never acquired the bad connotation of *âsava*, and requires, therefore, to be supplemented by some epithet.

³ *Oramattakena visesādhigamena antarā vosānam āpādi*. On this phrase, which recurs in full in the *Mahā-parinib-*

8. "Verily! let no wicked desire whatever arise
within you!

Know rather from this what is the outcome
thereof.

'Known was he as wise, reputed to be trained;
Aglow with glory did Devadatta stand' (thus have
I heard).

He gave himself to vanity, to attacking¹ the Ta-
thâgata:

He fell into the Avîki hell, guarded fourfold and
terrible².

The injurer of the good, of the man who does no
wrong,

Him sin pervades, the man of cruel heart, and void
of love.

Though one should think the ocean to befoul with
but one poison pot,

Yet could he not befoul it, for awful³ is the sea,
and great;

Just so though one should injure the Tathâgata by
words,—

bâna Sutta I, 7, see Buddhaghosa's note there, quoted by Rh. D., 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 7. The 'lesser thing' here referred to is doubtless the pothugganikâ iddhi mentioned above in § 4.

¹ *Anukinno âsaggaṇam*. On the former of these two words the passages at Dipavamsa I, 18, and Gâtaka I, 20 (verse 126), and below, VII, 5, 2 = Mahāvagga X, 5, 4, may be referred to. The latter seems to bear the same relation to âsâdana, 'attack,' as vikubbana does to vikarana. Buddhaghosa's notes (text, p. 325) presuppose different readings of both words.

² 'Guarded fourfold' is *katudvâram*, that is, 'having gates and the ramparts (through which they pass) on all four sides.' On the general sentiment of these stanzas, and especially of this line, compare the Kokâliya Sutta in the Sutta Nipâta (III, 10).

³ *Bhasmâ* is explained by Buddhaghosa as equal to *bhayâ-nako*.

That perfect one, that peaceful heart,—against him
the words would not avail.

Let the wise Bhikkhu make a friend of, and resort
to him

By following whose way he will come to the end of
griefs!"

5.

1. Now the venerable Upâli went up to the Blessed One, and bowed down before him, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated, the venerable Upâli said to the Blessed One: 'The expressions, Lord, "disunion in the *Samgha*," and "schism in the *Samgha*," are used¹. How much, Lord, goes to make disunion and not schism in the *Samgha*, and how much goes to make both disunion and schism in the *Samgha*?'

'If one is on one side, Upâli, and two on the other side, and a fourth makes a formal proposition, and gives them voting-tickets, saying, "This is according to the Dhamma, and according to the Vinaya, and according to the teaching of the Master. Take this (ticket) and give your sanction to this (opinion)"—then this, Upâli, is disunion in the *Samgha*, and not schism.

'If, Upâli, two are on one side, and other two are on the other side, and a fifth . . . (and so on up to) and an eighth tell them something (&c., as before)—then this, Upâli, is disunion in the *Samgha*, and not schism.

'If, Upâli, four are on one side, and other four

¹ *Samgha-râgi* and *samgha-bhedo*. See Mahāvagga X, 1, 6, where other expressions, not here referred to, are also used.

are on the other side, and a ninth tell them (&c., as before)—then this, Upâli, is both disunion in the *Samgha*, and it is schism¹.

‘(A separation) of nine, Upâli, or of more than nine, is both disunion in the *Samgha*, and it is schism.

‘A Bhikkhuni, Upâli, cannot make (one of the requisite number to cause) a schism, though she may help to produce a schism—nor a woman novice, nor a *Sâmaṇera*, male or female, nor a layman, nor a laywoman. It is only a Bhikkhu who is in full possession of all his privileges, and belongs to the same communion, and is domiciled in the same district² who can make (one of the number requisite to form) a schism.’

2. ‘There is the expression, Lord, “schism in the *Samgha*.” How much, Lord, does it require to constitute a schism in the *Samgha*?’

‘They put forth³, Upâli, what is not Dhamma as Dhamma (1), or what is Dhamma as not-Dhamma (2), or what is not Vinaya as Vinaya (3), or what is Vinaya as not Vinaya (4), or what has not been taught and spoken by the Tathâgata as taught and spoken by him (5), or what has been taught and spoken by the Tathâgata as not taught

¹ That is, stated shortly, it requires the breaking up of a body of at the least nine Bhikkhus to make a schism.

² *Pakatatto samâna-samvâsako samâna-sîmâya hito*. On the two last of these expressions, see our notes on Mahâvagga IX, 4, 8. The first is there wrongly rendered, and should be translated as it is here; see the frequent passages in which the word occurs (e.g. Kullavagga I, 5, 1; I, 6, 1; I, 27, 1; II, 1, &c., where we have rendered it shortly ‘a regular Bhikkhu’).

³ The first ten of the following list recur word for word in the *Âṅguttara Nikâya* I, 11, 1–20 (*Adhammâdi-vagga*), and the whole eighteen above in the Mahâvagga X, 5, 4, 5.

and spoken by him (6), or what has not been practised by the Tathâgata as practised by him (7), or what has been practised by the Tathâgata as not practised by him (8), or what has not been ordained by the Tathâgata as ordained by him (9), or what has been ordained by the Tathâgata as not ordained by him (10), or what is no offence as an offence (11), or what is an offence as no offence (12), or what is a slight offence to be a grievous offence (13), or what is a grievous offence to be a slight offence (14), or what is (a rule regarding) an offence to which there is an atonement as without atonement (15), or what is (a rule regarding) an offence to which there is no atonement as admitting of atonement (16), or what is a grave offence as not a grave offence (17), or what is not a grave offence as a grave offence (18). In these Eighteen Points they hinder and mislead (their followers)¹, and perform independently Uposatha, and Pavâranâ, and (official) acts of the *Samgha*. So much, Upâli, does it require to constitute a schism in the *Samgha*.'

3. 'There is the expression, Lord, "concord in the *Samgha*." What, Lord, does it require to constitute concord in the *Samgha* ?'

'They put forth, Upâli, what is not Dhamma as not Dhamma' (and so on through the Eighteen Points down to the end).

²4. 'To what (result of Karma), Lord, does that

¹ Both the exact Pâli form and the interpretation of these terms are uncertain. Buddhaghosa's notes will be found at p. 325 of H. O.'s edition of the text, and most probably we should there read *parisam* in both cases.

² On the whole of the following section, compare above, VII, 3, 16, where much of the phraseology recurs.

man give rise who brings about a schism in the *Samgha* when it is in concord ?'

'He gives rise, Upâli, to a fault (the result of which) endures for a Kalpa, and for a Kalpa is he boiled in Niraya.'

"He who breaks up the *Samgha* is (doomed) to remain for a Kalpa in states of suffering and woe¹.

He who delights in party (strife), and adheres not to the Dhamma, is cut off from Arahatsip :

Having broken up the *Samgha* when it was at peace he is boiled for a Kalpa in Niraya."

'To what (result of Karma), Lord, does that man give rise who brings about reconciliation in the *Samgha* when it has been split up ?'

'He gives rise, Upâli, to the highest merit, and for a Kalpa is he happy in heaven.

"Blessed is concord in the *Samgha*, and the support of those who are at peace!

He who delights in peace, adhering to the Dhamma, is not cut off from Arahatsip :

On reconciling the *Samgha*, when it was at strife, he is happy for a Kalpa in heaven."

5. 'Can it be, Lord, that one who breaks up the *Samgha* is irretrievably (doomed) to remain for a Kalpa in states of suffering and woe ?'

'Yes, Upâli, that can be.'

'Can it be, Lord, that one who breaks up the *Samgha* is not doomed to be reborn in states either of suffering or of woe ; that he is not doomed to remain so in such states for a Kalpa ; and that he (his position) is not irretrievable ?'

'Yes, Upâli, that can be.'

¹ On this line see our note above on VII, 4, 7.

‘Who then, Lord, [comes under the first head?]

‘In case, Upâli, a Bhikkhu gives out what is not Dhamma as Dhamma, directing his opinion and his approval and his pleasure and his intention¹ (to what he says and does); and in belief that the doctrine (he propounds) is against the Dhamma, and that the schism resulting therefrom would be against the Dhamma²; and makes publication thereof³, giving out tickets, and saying, “Take this (voting-ticket): approve this (opinion)⁴. This is Dhamma; this is Vinaya; this is the teaching of the Master,”—a man, Upâli, who thus divides the *Samgha*, is irretrievably doomed to remain for a *Kalpa* in states of suffering and woe.’

[The above paragraph is then repeated in full, reading successively for ‘in belief that the doctrine (he propounds) is against the Dhamma, and the schism resulting therefrom would be against the Dhamma,’ each of the following clauses :—

(b) . . . in belief that the doctrine is against the Dhamma, but that the schism resulting therefrom would be in accordance with the Dhamma . . .

¹ Vinidhâya di//him, vinidhâya khantim, vinidhâya rukim, vinidhâya bhâvam. These expressions all recur in the Sutta-vibhaṅga, Pâkittiya I, 2, 2 and following sections, where the question at issue is whether an erroneous statement is, or is not, a conscious lie. The meaning of the whole is clear, though each of the words is used in a rather uncommon sense. On khanti, compare di//he sute khantim akubbamâno (of the Arahata) at Sutta Nipâta IV, 13, 3, and the standing use of the verb khamati, at the end of the Kammavâtthas.

² Bhede adhamma-di//hi; literally, ‘in the schism (there will be) doctrine that is against the Dhamma.’

³ Anussâveti, which is here equivalent to the technical ‘publication’ required in the English law of libel and slander.

⁴ See the note above on VII, 4, 1.

(c) . . . in belief that the doctrine is against the Dhamma, but in uncertainty whether the schism resulting therefrom would be against the Dhamma or not . . .

(d) . . . in belief that the doctrine is in accordance with the Dhamma, but that the schism resulting therefrom would be against the Dhamma . . .

(e) . . . in belief that the doctrine is in accordance with the Dhamma, but in uncertainty whether the schism resulting therefrom would be against the Dhamma or not . . .

(f) . . . in uncertainty whether the doctrine is against the Dhamma or not, but in the belief that the schism resulting therefrom would be against the Dhamma . . .

(g) . . . in uncertainty whether the doctrine is against the Dhamma or not, and in the belief that the schism resulting therefrom would be against the Dhamma . . .

(h) . . . in uncertainty whether the doctrine would be against the Dhamma, and in uncertainty whether the schism resulting therefrom would be against the Dhamma or not . . .]

[The whole paragraph is then again repeated, reading successively for 'gives out that which is not Dhamma as Dhamma' each of the Eighteen Points given in full in VII, 5, 2.]

6. 'Who then, Lord, is one who breaks up the *Samgha*, and yet is not doomed to be reborn in states either of suffering or of woe; is not doomed to remain in such states for a *Kalpa*; and is not so doomed that his position is irretrievable?'

'In case, Upâli, a *Bhikkhu* gives out what is not Dhamma as Dhamma [and so on successively

through the whole Eighteen Points] without directing his opinion and his approval and his pleasure and his intention thereto, and in the belief that the doctrine he propounds is in accordance with the Dhamma, and that the schism resulting therefrom would be so too¹.

Here ends the Third Portion for Recitation.

Here ends the Seventh Khandhaka, on Divisions
in the *Samgha*.

¹ The sum of the last two sections seems to come to this, that practically such a schism as would have the awful effects set out above in § 4 would be impossible in Buddhism. For not only is a formal putting forward and voting on the false doctrine essential to schism as distinct from mere disagreement, but the offending Bhikkhu must also be quite aware that the doctrine so put forth is wrong, or at least doubtful, and also that the schism resulting from his action will be, or will probably be, disastrous to the Dhamma. In other words, the schism must be brought about by deliberately putting forward a doctrine known to be false, or at least doubtful, or with the express intention or hope of thereby injuring the cause of the Dhamma (that is, of the Truth).

THE EIGHTH KHANDHAKA.

REGULATIONS AS TO THE DUTIES OF THE BHIKKHUS TOWARDS ONE ANOTHER.

1.

1. Now at that time the Blessed One was staying at Sâvatthi, in Anâtha Pindîka's Ârâma.

Now at that time incoming Bhikkhus entered the Ârâma with their sandals on¹, or with sunshades held up over them², or with their heads muffled up³, or with their upper robe carried in a bundle on their heads⁴; and they washed their feet in the drinking-water; and they did not salute resident Bhikkhus senior to them, nor ask them where they (the incomers) should sleep.

And a certain incoming Bhikkhu undid the bolt⁵ of an unoccupied room (Vihâra), and opened the door⁶, and so entered by force; and a snake fell

¹ That this was a sign of disrespect is clear from Mahâvagga V, 12, and the 61st and 62nd Sekhîyas.

² See our discussion of the sunshade question in the note on Kullavagga V, 23, 2.

³ *Ogunthitâ*. See the 23rd and the 67th Sekhîyas.

⁴ *Sîse katvâ*. Compare VIII, 6, 3.

⁵ *Ghaṭikâ*. This word is discussed at Kullavagga V, 14, 3.

⁶ Such an act has been already guarded against by the rule laid down at the end of Kullavagga V, 9, 5, where the same expression is made use of.

on to his back from the lintel above¹, and he was terrified, and made an outcry².

The Bhikkhus, running up, asked him why he did so. He told them that matter. Then those Bhikkhus who were moderate in their desires were vexed and indignant, and murmured, saying, 'How can incoming Bhikkhus enter the Ârâma . . . ? (&c., as before, down to) . . . where they should sleep³.'

They told the matter to the Blessed One (&c., as usual, I, 1, 2, 3, down to) he addressed the Bhikkhus, and said, 'Therefore, O Bhikkhus, do I establish a rule of conduct for incoming Bhikkhus, according to which they ought to behave.

2. 'An incoming Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, when he knows he is about to enter an Ârâma, ought to take off his sandals, turn them upside down⁴, beat them (to get the dust) off, take them (up again) in his

¹ *Upari-piṭṭhito*. On *piṭṭha* (which we should possibly read here), as the lintel of a door, see our note above at *Kullavagga* V, 14, 3. It recurs immediately below, VIII, 1, 3.

² *Vissaraṃ akâsi*. As Childers, sub voce, expresses doubt as to the meaning of this word, it may be well to note that this phrase occurs above, *Kullavagga* V, 10, 2 and VI, 3, 4, and also in the *Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga*, *Pâkittiya* LX, and always in the sense here given. The meaning of the allied idiom, *vissaro me bhavissati*, might be just doubtful as used in a peculiar connection at *Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga*, *Pârâgika* I, 1, and *Samghâdisesa* III, 3, were it not clear from *ibid.*, *Pâkittiya* LXXXVI, that it means simply 'there will be an outcry against me.'

³ The form of this speech bears very clear testimony to the artificial way in which these introductory stories are put together, for the speech does not arise out of the story. Similar instances are not infrequent. See VIII, 5, 1.

⁴ *Niṣam katvâ*. So also at VIII, 6, 2. The word is used below and at *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 11 and 15 of a bedstead and chair, and below, VIII, 4, 4, of a bowl when it is being washed.

hand, put down his sunshade, uncover his head, arrange his upper robe on his back¹, and then carefully and slowly enter the Ârâma.

‘When he enters the Ârâma he ought to notice where the resident Bhikkhus are gone to; and whithersoever they are gone—whether to the service hall, or to the portico (*mandapa*), or to the foot of a tree—thither he ought to go, and laying his bowl on one side, and his robe on one side, he ought to take a suitable seat, and sit down.

‘He ought to ask as to the drinking-water, and the water for washing², which is appropriated to the one use, and which to the other. If he has need of drinking-water, he ought to fetch it and drink. If he has need of water for washing, he ought to fetch it, and wash his feet. In washing his feet he ought to pour the water over them with one hand, and wash them with the other; he ought not to pour the water over them and wash them with one and the same hand.

‘He ought to ask for the cloths with which sandals are cleaned, and clean his sandals. In cleaning his sandals he ought first to wipe them with a dry cloth, and afterwards with a wet cloth: and then he ought to wash the cloths, and lay them on one side³.

¹ See the note below on VIII, 8, 2.

² On these expressions, compare the note above on *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 4 (at the end), and *Kullavagga* VIII, 1, 5 = *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 19.

³ These cloths (*kolakam*) are not specially permitted anywhere in the *Khandhakas*, as cloths for wiping the face and feet are in *Mahāvagga* VIII, 18, and *Kullavagga* VI, 19, respectively. The word is used for ‘duster’ below, VIII, 1, 3, and for ‘tinder’ at *Milinda Pañha*, p. 53.

‘If the resident Bhikkhu be senior, he ought to be saluted; if junior, he ought to be made to salute (the incomer). The incomer ought to ask as to the lodging-place, which has fallen (to his lot)¹, and whether it is occupied or unoccupied. He ought to ask as to lawful and unlawful resorts², and as to what families have been officially declared to be in want³.

‘He ought to ask as to the retiring-places, (where they are), and as to the drinking-water, and as to the water for washing, and as to the staves for walking with, and as to the place for the conferences of the *Samgha*, (and as to) the time at which he ought to enter (it) and at which he ought to leave it.

3. ‘If the Vihâra be unoccupied, he ought to knock at the door, then to wait a minute, then to undo the bolt, and open the door, and then, still standing outside, to look within.

‘If that Vihâra is covered with dust⁴, or the beds or chairs are piled one upon another, and the bedding put in a heap on the top of them⁵,—then if

¹ See the rules as to the division of lodging-places according to the number of applicants at *Kullavagga* VI, 21, 2, and especially VI, 11, 3.

² *Gokâro agokâro*. There were some places or families to which the Bhikkhus of a particular residence were not allowed to resort for alms. See the rule as to ‘turning down the bowl’ with respect to a person at *Kullavagga* V, 20.

³ *Sekha-sammatâni kulâni*. See the note on the 3rd *Pâṇi-desaniya*.

⁴ All the following expressions have occurred together at *Kullavagga* IV, 4, 4, where an example is given of the course of proceeding here laid down. And they are repeated below, VIII, 2, 2.

⁵ *Uklâpo*. Compare *Kullavagga* VI, 3, 9, and below, § 5.

⁶ This was the way in which a Bhikkhu, on going away from it,

he can do so he ought to clean up the Vihâra.
¹ And when cleaning the Vihâra, he ought to take the floor matting out and put it down on one side, and the supports of the bedsteads², and the bolsters³ and pillows, and the mat which is used as a seat. Putting the bedsteads and chairs down on to the ground, and carefully avoiding scratching (the floor with them) or knocking them up against (the door-posts), he ought to take them outside the door, and put them down on one side. The spittoon and the board to lean up against⁴ ought to be taken out, and put down on one side⁵.

‘If the Vihâra is covered with cobwebs, they should first be removed with a cloth⁶. The case-ments should be dusted, especially in the corners and joints.

‘If the wall which had been plastered and red-washed, or the floor which had been laid (with earth) and black-washed⁷, has become dirty in the corners⁸, they should be wiped down with a

was to leave his Vihâra. See below, VIII, 3, 2, and on the details of the terms used, see our note below on VIII, 1, 4.

¹ The rest of this section is repeated in full below, VIII, 7, 2.

² *Paṭipāḍakâ*. Doubtless the same as forms part of the *âhaṅkā-mañṅka* mentioned in the 18th *Pâṭṭiya* and above, VI, 2, 5.

³ *Bhisi*. See the note on *Mahāvagga* VIII, 13.

⁴ *Apassena-phalakam*. See the note on *Kullavagga* VI, 20, 2.

⁵ All the expressions in this sentence and the next are the same as those used in a similar connection at *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 15.

⁶ *Ullokâ*. See the note at *Kullavagga* VI, 2, 7, according to which our rendering at *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 15 should be corrected.

⁷ On this mode of preparing walls and floors, see the notes above on *Kullavagga* VI, 20.

⁸ *Kannakitâ*. See our note above on *Kullavagga* V, 11, 3.

duster¹ that has been first wetted and wrung out. If the floor has not been so prepared, it should be sprinkled over with water and swept², lest the Vihâra should be spoilt³ by dust. The sweepings should be gathered together, and cast aside.

The translation of our present passage at Mahâvagga I, 25, 15, must be corrected accordingly.

¹ Kolaka. See the note on this word in last section.

² Sammagga ti to sweep (not to scrub), as is apparent from Mahâvagga VI, 34, 1.

³ Ūhaññi. So also at Mahâvagga I, 25, 15. At Mahâvagga I, 49, 4, we should have rendered 'defiled their beds' instead of 'threw their bedding about,' correcting uhananti of the text there into ūhadanti. Ūhan (originally 'to throw up,' 'raise,' &c.) seems, like samūhan, to have acquired the meaning of to destroy, injure, spoil. From this meaning of spoiling, ūhan evidently came to be used for, or confounded in the MS. with, ūhad, 'to defile (with excrement).' So the phrase 'ūhananti pi ummihanti pi' (at Mahâvagga I, 49, 4) exactly corresponds in meaning to 'omuttenti pi ūhadayanti pi' in Dhammapada, p. 283. There are other passages showing the same confusion. (1) The gerund, ūhaṅka, which occurs in Gâtaka II, p. 71 ('idâni kho (ahan) tam ūhaṅka'), is explained by the commentator to mean 'vaṅkan te sise katva.' (2) ūhanti, in Gâtaka II, p. 73 ('aggihuttañ ka ūhanti, tena bhinnâ kamandalūti'), must mean the same and be = ūhadeti. For the monkey here referred to is said to have been guilty of the following dirty trick:—'kundikâ bhindati, aggisâlâya vaṅkam karoti.' (3) mutteti ohaneti at Kariyâ Piṭaka II, 5, 4, represents uḅḅâra-pasâvam katvâ at Gâtaka II, 385. In the first of these passages uhaṅka may well be a copyist's blunder, arising from the similarity of the words, for uhagga. Dr. Morris, to whom we owe the comparison of these passages and the suggested emendation of Mahâvagga I, 49, 4, is rather of opinion that the words were confounded by the writers. For it is not an uncommon thing to find two words, not very remote in form or meaning, confounded together. It is well known that the English word livelihood properly and originally meant 'liveliness,' and has only afterwards replaced the earlier livelode, to which the sense of livelihood properly belongs. And something of this kind

4. 'The floor coverings¹ should be dried in the sun, cleaned, beaten to get the dust out, taken back, and spread out again in the place to which they belonged². The supports of the bed should be dried in the sun, dusted, taken back, and put in the place to which they belonged. The bed (*mañña*) and the chairs (*pīḥa*) should be aired in the sun, cleaned, beaten to get the dust out, turned upside down, taken back, carefully avoiding scratching them against the floor, or knocking them up against the door-posts, and then put in the place to which they belonged³. The bolsters and pillows, and the

must have occurred, he thinks, in Pāli in the use of *ūhan* for *ūhad*. The past participle *ūhata* occurs at *Kullavagga* VIII, 10, 3.

¹ *Bhummattharaṇaṃ*; usually, no doubt, matting of various kinds, but occasionally also skins or rugs of the kinds specially allowed by VI, 14, 2.

² *Yathābhāgaṃ*. The use of this word here constitutes the only variation between our passage and that in the *Mahāvagga* I, 25 = below, VIII, 7, 2, where it is replaced by *yathā//hāne* or *yathāpaññattam*.

³ This passage throws a welcome light on the meaning of *mañña* and *pīḥa*: for as they were to be beaten to get the dust out, it is clear that they were upholstered. The *mañña*, or bed, must have been a wooden framework, stuffed (probably with cotton), covered at the top with cotton cloth, and made underneath and at the sides of wood. It had no legs fixed to it, but was supported on movable tressels—the *paṭipādakā*. When using it, the sleeper covered it with a mat, or a cotton sheet, and had over him a coverlet of some kind; and these articles, which he would also use if he slept on the ground, constituted, together with the bolster and pillows, the *senāsanaṃ* or bedding,—that is, in the more special and limited use of that term (as, for instance, above, § 3, and perhaps below, 7, 1). In its larger sense the same word is used, putting the part for the whole, for the whole sleeping apparatus, and is nearly equivalent to *seyyāyo* (so, for instance, in VI, 11 and 12, and below, VIII, 2, 1; 6, 2; and perhaps VIII, 7, 1; whereas the latter term is used in the same connection at VI, 6,

mats used as seats, should be aired in the sun, cleaned, beaten to get the dust out, taken back, and put in the place to which they belonged. The spittoon, and the board for leaning up against, should be put in the sun, dusted, taken back, and put in the place to which they belonged.

¹5. '(Then the incoming Bhikkhu) should put away his bowl and his robe. In putting away his bowl, he should hold it in one hand while he feels under the bed or the chair with the other, and then put it away; and he should not put it on a part of the floor which has been left bare. In putting away his robe, he should hold it in one hand while he feels along the bamboo or the rope used for hanging robes on with the other; and then hang it up with the border turned away from him, and the fold turned towards him.

²' If the winds, bearing dust with them ³, blow from the East, West, North, or South, the window spaces⁴ on the side in question should be closed up (with shutters or lattices). If it is cold weather, the lattices should be opened by day, and closed by

and VI, 11, 3). Sayana, in VI, 8, is a generic term including bed, couch, sofa, and divan, but probably with special reference to these three latter things used in the day-time.

¹ The following paragraph occurs, word for word, at Mahāvagga I, 25, 11, and below, VIII, 7, 2.

² The following paragraph is the same as Mahāvagga I, 25, 18.

³ Saragā vātā. These are the well-known hot winds (like the sand-bearing simoom that blows from North Africa over Italy), against which modern residents endeavour to protect themselves by the use of 'tats.'

⁴ There were, of course, no windows in our modern sense, but only spaces left in the wall to admit light and air, and covered by lattices of three kinds allowed by VI, 2, 2.

night: if it is hot weather, they should be closed by day, and opened by night.

¹ 'If the cell, or the store-room, or the refectory, or the room where the fire is kept, or the privy, is covered with dust, it should be swept out. If there is no drinking-water, or water for washing, they should be provided. If there is no water in the rinsing-pot², water should be poured into it.

'This, O Bhikkhus, is the rule of conduct for incoming Bhikkhus, according to which they ought to behave.'

2.

1. Now at that time resident Bhikkhus, on seeing incoming Bhikkhus, did not prepare seats for them, nor provide water and footstools and towels for them to wash their feet, nor go to meet them and take charge of their bowls and their robes, nor ask them whether they wanted drinking-water³, nor salute such of the incoming Bhikkhus as were their seniors, nor make beds ready for them.

The moderate Bhikkhus murmured, &c., and told the matter to the Blessed One, &c., (down to) he said to the Bhikkhus: 'Therefore, O Bhikkhus,

¹ The following paragraph is the same as Mahāvagga I, 25, 19, and part of it is repeated below, VIII, 10, 3.

² *Āḷamana-kumbhi*. This formed part of the sanitary apparatus for use in the privy. See above, Mahāvagga V, 8, 3, and below, Kullavagga VIII, 9 and 10.

³ All the above expressions are used at the opening of Mahāvagga IX.

do I establish a rule of conduct for resident Bhikkhus, according to which they ought to behave.

2. 'A resident Bhikkhu, on seeing an incoming Bhikkhu, who is senior to him, ought to make ready a seat for him, provide water and a footstool and a towel for him to wash his feet, go to meet him, and take charge of his robe and his bowl, ask him if he wants water to drink, and if he can (bring himself to do so), he ought to wipe his sandals. In wiping the sandals, they should be first wiped with a dry cloth, then with a wet one, and the cloths ought then to be washed, and put aside.

¹ 'An incoming Bhikkhu ought to be saluted. A bed should be laid for him, saying, "This bed is for you." He should be informed whether (the bedroom) is occupied or not, what are lawful and what are unlawful resorts, and what families have been officially declared to be in want. He should be told where the retiring-places are, and the drinking and washing water, and the staves, and the place for the conferences of the *Samgha*, and what is the time when he ought to enter, and ought to leave (it).

3. 'If (the incoming Bhikkhu) be junior to him, then (the resident Bhikkhu), keeping his seat, should tell him where he is to put his bowl and his robe away, and on which mat he is to sit down. The incoming Bhikkhu should be informed where the drinking and washing water are, and the cloths to clean sandals with; he should be allowed to salute the resident Bhikkhu : and he should be told

¹ This paragraph corresponds to the last paragraph of VIII, 1, 2.

where his bed is, saying, "That bed is for you." He should be informed whether (that bedroom) is occupied or not (and so on, as in last paragraph, down to the end).

'This, O Bhikkhus, is the rule of conduct for resident Bhikkhus, according to which they ought to behave.'

3.

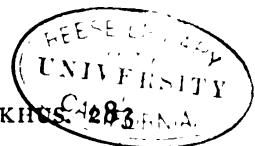
1. Now at that time Bhikkhus, about to leave, started without setting the wooden articles and crockery in order, leaving doors and lattices open, and without giving the sleeping-places in charge to any one. The wooden articles and crockery were spoilt, and the sleeping-places were unprotected.

The moderate Bhikkhus murmured, &c. told the Blessed One, &c. (down to) He said to the Bhikkhus: 'Therefore, O Bhikkhus, do I establish a rule of conduct for Bhikkhus about to leave, according to which they ought to behave.

2. 'A Bhikkhu about to leave should, O Bhikkhus, put the wooden articles and earthenware in order, close the doorways and lattices, give the sleeping-places in charge¹ (to some one, and only) then set out. If there be no Bhikkhu remaining, a Sâmanera should be put in charge. If there be no Sâmanera remaining, the attendant who keeps the grounds in order² should be put in charge. If

¹ *Senâsanam âpuṭṭhā*. Compare the Old Commentary on the 14th and 15th Pâṭṭiyas. The lengthening of the last vowel in *âpuṭṭhā* is noteworthy.

² *Ārāmiko*. In Mahāvagga VI, 15, the king wishing to present a man for this purpose, it is there laid down that the Bhikkhus



there be neither Bhikkhu, nor Sâmañera, nor Ârâmika, the bed frame should be laid on four stones¹, the other bed frames put on the top of it, the chairs should be put one on the top of the other, the bedding piled in a bundle on the top, the wooden articles and the earthenware should be put away in order, and the doorways and lattices should be closed², and then should be set out.

3. 'If the Vihâra leaks, it should be repaired if he can, or he should exert himself to get the Vihâra roofed. If he should thus succeed, it is good. If not, he should put the bed frame on four stones in that part of the Vihâra which does not leak, and then put the other bed frame (&c., as in last paragraph, to the end). If the whole of the Vihâra leaks, he should if he can take all the bedding to the village, or should exert himself to get it taken there. If he should succeed, it is good. If not, he should lay a bed frame on four stones in the open air, put the others on the top of it, put the chairs one on another, pile the bedding on the top, lay the wooden and earthenware utensils in order by them, and cover the whole up with grass or leaves, so that at least the principal articles of furniture might remain (uninjured)³; and (only) then go away.

'This, O Bhikkhus, is the rule of conduct for

may accept him ; and at *Kullavagga* VI, 21, 3, a superintendent of such slaves is mentioned as one of the officials of the Order.

¹ This is the usual method still adopted by native servants as a safeguard against white ants, who would eat up into the legs of furniture left standing on the ground.

² This arrangement is referred to above at VIII, 1, 3.

³ *Ângâni pi seseyyum*. See Buddhaghosa's note as appended to the edition of the text (p. 325).

Bhikkhus about to leave, according to which they should behave themselves.'

4.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus did not give thanks in the place where a meal was served. People murmured, &c.; the Bhikkhus heard, &c.; the Blessed One on that occasion, &c.¹ said to the Bhikkhus:

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, the giving of thanks.'

Then the Bhikkhus thought, 'By whom should the thanks be given?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, the elder Bhikkhu (present) to give thanks in the place where a meal is served.'

Now at that time (the turn to provide) the *Samgha* with a meal had fallen to a certain company²; and the venerable Sâriputta was the senior (Bhikkhu in that) *Samgha*. The Bhikkhus, thinking, 'The Blessed One has permitted the senior Bhikkhu to return thanks in the place where a meal is served,' went away, leaving the venerable Sâriputta alone. And the venerable Sâriputta gave thanks to those people, and then came away alone.

The Blessed One saw the venerable Sâriputta coming from the distance; and on seeing him, he said to him: 'Did the meal, then, Sâriputta, pass off well³?'

¹ For the passages here implied, see I, 1, 2, 3.

² *Aññatarassa pûgassa*. This sentence has already occurred at V, 5, 2.

³ On this use of *iddho*, compare *ovâdo iddho* in the *Bhikkhunî-vibhaṅga*, *Pâkittiya* LVI.

‘The meal, Lord, passed off well. But the Bhikkhus went away and left me alone.’

Then the Blessed One, in that connection, having delivered a religious discourse, said to them :

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, four or five of the Bhikkhus, who are senior or next to the seniors, to wait.’

Now at that time a certain elder waited in the dining hall, though he wanted to retire, and through holding himself back, he fainted and fell.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, if necessity should arise, to leave the hall after informing the Bhikkhu sitting immediately next¹ (to the one who wants to go).’

2. Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus went to the place where a meal was to be served with their under-garments or their robes improperly put on, and not decently attired; and turning aside², they pushed on in front of the senior Bhikkhus; and they encroached on (the space intended for) the senior Bhikkhus³ when taking their seats, and they compelled the junior Bhikkhus to give up their seats to them; and spreading out their upper robes

¹ *Anantarikam bhikkhum*. See the note on this phrase at VI, 10, 1. *Ānantarikam* in the text (with long ā) is a misprint.

² *Vokkamma*, which is not, as Childers supposes, equal to *okkamma* with euphonic *v*, but to *vyavakramya* or *vyutkramya*.

³ *Anupakhagga*: which is here used, not in the sense it has at IV, 14, 1, but in the sense in which it is used in the 16th and 43rd *Pāṭitīyas*, in both which passages it is explained by the Old Commentary by *anupavisitvā*. This clause and the next occur also at *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 13.

(as mats)¹ they took their seats in the space between the houses².

The moderate Bhikkhus murmured, &c. . . . told the Blessed One, &c. . . . he said to the Bhikkhus :

‘ Therefore, O Bhikkhus, do I establish a rule of conduct for the Bhikkhus at a meal, which they are to observe thereat.

³ 3. ‘ When time has been called in the Ârâma, a Bhikkhu should put on his waistcloth so as to cover himself all round from above the navel to below the knees, tie his belt round his waist, fold⁴ his upper robes and put them on, fasten the block on⁵, wash (his hands), take his alms-bowl, and then slowly and carefully proceed to the village. He is not to turn aside (from the direct route) and push on in front of senior Bhikkhus⁶. He is to go amidst the houses properly clad, with (his limbs) under control, with downcast eye, with (his robes) not tucked up, not laughing, or speaking loudly, not swaying his body or his arms or his head about, not with his arms akimbo, or his robe pulled over his head, and without walking on his heels. And he is to take his

¹ *Samghâṭim* ottharivâ. This use of the *Samghâṭi* is referred to at *Gâtaka* I, 212, and above, I, 13, 2.

² *Antaraghare*. See *Sekhiyas* 3-26, repeated in the next section. It is perhaps doubtful whether this word may not mean here (as in *Sekhiya* 27 = below, § 6) the inner courtyard of a house which is surrounded by buildings; but we follow the interpretation we have adopted, loc. cit.

³ The following section repeats the *Sekhiyas*, Nos. 3-26, where see further notes. Much of it recurs below in VIII, 5, 2.

⁴ *Sagunam* katvâ. Compare *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 9.

⁵ *Ganthikam*. See the note on V, 29, 3. It was to prevent the robe being blown up by the wind. The word occurs again in VIII, 5, 2.

⁶ The following sentence is repeated, word for word, below, § 6.

seat amidst the houses properly clad (&c., all as before, down to) not with his arms akimbo, or his robes pulled over his head, and without lolling, and without encroaching on (the space intended for) the senior Bhikkhus, or ejecting the junior Bhikkhus from the seats, or spreading his upper robe out (as a mat).

4. 'When the water is being given out (before the meal), he is to hold his bowl with both hands, receive the water (in it), lower the bowl carefully down to the ground so as to avoid scratching the floor, and then wash it. If there be (a person there) whose duty it is to take away the water (which has been so used), (the Bhikkhu) should lower (his bowl on to the ground) and pour the water into the waste tub¹ without splashing the person in question, nor the Bhikkhus near, nor (his own) robes. If there be no such person, he should lower his bowl on to the earth and pour the water away, without splashing the Bhikkhus near or (his own) robes.

'When the boiled rice is being given out, he should hold his bowl with both hands, and receive the rice in it. Room should be left for the curry. If there is ghee, or oil, or delicacies², the senior Bhikkhu should say: "Get an equal quantity for all." The alms (given) are to be accepted with mind alert, paying attention to the bowl, with equal curry, and equally heaped up³. And the senior

¹ *Paṭiggahe*. See the note on V, 10, 3. *Avakkāra-pāṭi*, at *Mahāvagga* IV, 1, 2 = *Kullavagga* VIII, 5, 3, seems to have very nearly the same meaning. The whole of this paragraph is repeated below, § 6.

² *Uttaribhaṅgam*. See the note on VI, 4, 1.

³ On the expressions in this sentence, compare the notes on *Sekhiyas* 27-32.

Bhikkhu is not to begin to eat until the boiled rice has been served out to all.

¹5. 'The alms given are to be eaten with mind alert, paying attention to the bowl, with equal curry, and equally heaped up; without pressing down from the top; without covering up the curry or the condiment with the rice, desiring to make it nicer; and without asking for either rice or curry for the Bhikkhu's own particular use, unless he be sick. Others' bowls are not to be looked at with envious thoughts. The food is not to be rolled up (by the fingers) into balls that are too large, but into round mouthfuls. The door of the mouth is not to be opened till the ball is brought close to it. When eating, the whole hand is not to be put into the mouth. He is not to talk with his mouth full, nor to toss the food into his mouth as he eats, nor to nibble at the balls of food, nor to stuff his cheeks out as he eats, nor to shake (particles of food off) his hands, nor to scatter lumps of rice about, nor to put out his tongue, nor to smack his lips, nor to make a hissing sound as he eats, nor to lick his fingers, or his bowl, or his lips. And the jar containing drinking-water is not to be taken hold of with hands soiled with food.

6. 'The senior Bhikkhu is not to accept water (to rinse out his bowl with) until all Bhikkhus have finished eating. When water is being given out (after the meal . . . &c., as in the first paragraph of § 4, down to the end). The water that has been used for washing the bowl is not to be thrown with the rinsings in it into the inner court².

¹ This paragraph repeats Sekhiyas 31-55, where see our notes.

² This is the 57th Sekhiya.

‘In returning, the junior Bhikkhus are to go back first, and the senior Bhikkhus after them. Each Bhikkhu is to pass amidst the houses properly clad (&c., as above, § 3, down to) without walking on his heels.

‘This, O Bhikkhus, is the rule of conduct that I establish for Bhikkhus at a meal, which they are to observe thereat.’

Here ends the First Portion for Recitation.

5.

1. Now at that time Bhikkhus who were going on their rounds for alms did so with their under garments or their robes improperly put on, and not decently attired, and they entered dwellings without deliberation, and left them without deliberation, and they entered dwellings roughly, and left them roughly, and they stood at too great a distance or too near, and they stood too long or turned back too soon.

And a certain Bhikkhu, on his round for alms, entered a dwelling without noticing where he was going to, and taking (a doorway) for a house-door he passed into an inner chamber. A woman was lying asleep naked on her back in that chamber; and when the Bhikkhu saw her he went out again, perceiving that that was no house-door, but a chamber. Now the husband of that woman, seeing his wife in that position in the chamber, thought: ‘My wife has been defiled by that Bhikkhu.’ And he seized him, and beat him.

But the woman, being woke up by the noise, said to the man, 'Why, Sir, are you beating this Bhikkhu?'

'You have been defiled by this Bhikkhu.'

'Not so, Sir. This Bhikkhu has done nothing' (said she), and had the Bhikkhu set free.

Then the Bhikkhu, on going to the Ârâma, told the matter to the Bhikkhus murmured told the Blessed One he said to the Bhikkhus :

'Therefore, O Bhikkhus, do I establish a rule of conduct for Bhikkhus going their rounds for alms, which they are to observe therein.

2. 'A Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who intends to go his round for alms, should put on his waistcloth (&c., as in chapter 4, § 3, sentences 1 and 3, down to the end).

'When he enters a dwelling, he should take notice (where he goes, saying to himself), "By this way will I go in, and by this way will I come out." He should not go in, nor come out, roughly. He should not stand too far off, nor too near, nor too long; and he should not turn back too easily.

'As he stands still he should notice where (the people in the house) seem willing or not willing to give (him food). If she lays aside her work, or rises from her seat, or wipes a spoon, or wipes or puts ready a dish, he should stand still, perceiving that she seems willing to give.

'When food is being given to him, he should lift up his robe (*Samghâti*) with his left hand so as to disclose his bowl¹, take the bowl in both his hands,

¹ The bowl is always carried by the left hand under the robe. On *pañameti*, see the note at V, 9, 5.

and receive the food into it. And he should not look into the face of the woman who is giving the food.

‘He should take notice whether she seems willing or not to give curry. If she wipes a spoon, or wipes or puts aside a dish, he should stand still, perceiving that she seems willing to give.

‘After the food has been given, he should cover up the bowl with his robe, and turn back slowly and carefully. He should pass through the houses (on his way back) properly clad . . . (&c., as in § 3, sentence 3, down to the end).

¹ 3. ‘He who comes back first from the village, from his round for alms, should make seats ready, and place the water and footstools and towels ready there for washing feet, and clean the waste-tub² and put it ready, and put ready water to drink and water for washing.

‘He who comes back last from the village, from his round for alms, may eat if there be any food left (from the meal of the other Bhikkhus), if he desires to do so. If he does not desire to do so, he should throw away the leavings on the (ground at a place) which is free from grass, or pour them away into water in which there are no living things. He should put away the water, footstools, and towels used for washing feet, clean the waste-tub and put it away, put away the drinking-water and the water

¹ The following section is, word for word, parallel to Mahāvagga IV, 1, 2-4.

² Avakkâra-pâtî. We have had paṭiggaha used just above (VIII, 4, 4) in a very similar sense and connection. The present word occurs also at Mahāvagga IV, 1, 2.

for washing, and sweep the room where the meal was eaten.

‘Whosoever sees a pot for drinking-water or for washing-water, or a chamber utensil empty and void, should put it in its proper place. If he is not able to do so single-handed, he should call some one else, and they should put it away with their united effort, and silence should not be broken on that account¹.

‘This, O Bhikkhus, is the rule of conduct which I establish for Bhikkhus going their rounds for alms, which they are to observe therein.’

6.

1. Now at that time a number of Bhikkhus dwelt in the woods; and they provided neither drinking-water, nor water for washing, nor fire, nor drill sticks nor tinder (for starting a fire)²; nor did they know the stations of the constellations, nor the divisions of the (ten) ‘directions’ (of the sky).

Thieves went there and said to the Bhikkhus, ‘Have you, Sirs, got drinking-water?’

¹ *Vâkam bhindati*. To break silence by speaking. See Mahāvagga IV, 1, 3, where it makes good sense.

² *Arāṇi-sahitaṃ*, on which Buddhaghosa merely says *arāṇi-sahite sati aggim kâṭum pi vaṭṭati*. In the *Gâtaka Commentary* (I, 212, ed. Fausbøll) we have the phrase *arāṇi-sahitaṃ nîharitvâ aggim karonti*. At p. 34 of the *Assalâyana Sutta* (ed. Fischel) we hear of there being an upper and lower stick to the *arāṇi*; and at p. 53 of the *Milinda Pañha* (ed. Trenckner) we find the same upper and lower sticks, the thong by which to turn the latter, and the piece of rag for tinder mentioned as the constituent parts of this ancient means of producing fire. The expression in the text is probably a collective term for the whole of these.

‘No, friends, we have not.’

‘Have you, Sirs, got water for washing?’

‘No, friends, we have not.’

‘Have you, Sirs, got fire?’

‘No, friends, we have not.’

‘Have you, Sirs, got sticks and tinder for producing fire?’

‘No, friends, we have not.’

‘With what (constellation is the moon now in conjunction?)’

‘That, friends, we do not know.’

‘Which direction is this?’

‘That, friends, we do not know.’

[On hearing these answers]¹, the thieves said, ‘These are thieves. These men are no Bhikkhus.’ And they beat them, and went away.

The Bhikkhus told this matter to the Bhikkhus. The Bhikkhus told it to the Blessed One. Then the Blessed One, on that occasion and in that connection, after delivering a religious discourse, said to the Bhikkhus :

‘Therefore, O Bhikkhus, do I establish a rule of conduct for Bhikkhus dwelling in the woods, according to which they are to behave themselves therein.

2. ‘A Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, who is dwelling in the woods, should rise betimes, place his bowl in the bag², hang it over his shoulder, arrange his upper robe over his back (over both shoulders)³, get on

¹ They are all repeated in the text.

² Thavikâ. This is possibly one of the bags referred to in the permission granted by Mahāvagga VIII, 20, but it was only to be used when the bowl had to be carried a long distance, and not when passing through a village. (See the beginning of the next section.)

³ K’ivaram khandhe katvâ: either in contradistinction to

his sandals, put the utensils of wood and earthenware in order, close the doorway and lattice, and then leave his lodging-place.

‘When he perceives that he is about to enter a village, he should take off his sandals, turn them upside down¹, beat them to get the dust out, put them into a bag, hang it over his shoulder, put on his waistcloth [and so on as laid down for a Bhikkhu entering the village for alms above, VIII, 5, 2, paragraph 1, to the end].

3. ‘On leaving a village he should put the bowl into its bag, hang it over his shoulder, roll his robes up, put them on his head², get on his sandals, and then go.

‘A Bhikkhu living in the woods, O Bhikkhus, should keep drinking-water, and water for washing, and fire, and drill sticks and tinder, and walking staves ready. He should learn the stations (of the moon) in the constellations, either in the whole or in part, and he should know the directions of the sky.

‘This, O Bhikkhus, is the rule of conduct that I lay down for Bhikkhus dwelling in the woods, according to which they should behave themselves therein.’

7.

1. Now at that time a number of Bhikkhus carried on robe-making in the open air. The *Khaggaya* Bhikkhus beat their bedding to get

ekamsam kīvaram katvā (on which question there is a great division among modern Buddhists. Compare Rh. D.’s note on the *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* VI, 47), or possibly ‘put it in a roll on his back.’

¹ On this expression, see above, VIII, 1, 2.

² See *Mahāvagga* VIII, 13, 1.

the dust out in the open space¹ to windward of them, and covered the Bhikkhus (who were at work) with dust.

The moderate Bhikkhus murmured, &c. . . . told the Blessed One, &c. . . . and he said to the Bhikkhus:

‘Therefore, O Bhikkhus, do I establish a rule of conduct for the Bhikkhus in respect of lodging-places, according to which they are to behave themselves in respect thereof.

2. ‘In whatever Vihâra he is staying, if that Vihâra is dirty, he should, if he can, make it clean. When cleaning the Vihâra, he should first take out his bowl and his robe and the mat used for sitting upon, and the bolster and pillows, and put them down on one side. Taking the bed-frame down (from its stand), he should carry it out [and so on as in VIII, 1, 2, down to the end]².

‘He should not beat the bedding to get the dust out close to the Bhikkhus, or to the Vihâra, or to the drinking-water, or to the water for washing, or in the open space (in front of the Vihâra) to windward of it or the Bhikkhus, but to leeward.

¹ *Āṅgana*. This is not ‘courtyard,’ as Childers renders it, but a part of the *Ārāma*, immediately in front of the hut or Vihâra, which is kept as an open space, and daily swept. The Sinhalese name for it is *midula*; there those who sleep in the hut spend the greater part of the day, and not even grass is allowed to grow upon it. The term is a very common one, and its meaning is not doubtful. Compare the *Gâtaka* book, I, 124, 151, 421; II, 249, 250, 345. *Ekaṅganaṃ bhavati*, at *ibid.* I, 53, 12, is to become one open space, as *ekaṅganaṃ karoti* at II, 357, is to clear a forest, and turn it into an open space.

² The order is slightly different, but all the details are the same. The only addition is that in speaking of taking out the floor coverings, he is directed to notice where they lay.

3. 'The floor coverings should be dried in the sun [and so on as in VIII, 1, 4, and 5, to the end, reading "in the place where it stood (or lay)" for "in the place to which it belongs"].

4. 'If he is dwelling in the same Vihâra with an older (Bhikkhu), no recitation should be given, nor examination held, nor exhortation made, nor Dhamma spoken¹ (to a pupil), without leave being asked of the senior. Nor should a lamp be lighted or extinguished, nor the lattices opened or closed, without his leave.

'If he is walking up and down on the same Kaṅkama with an older (Bhikkhu), then he should turn back at the spot where his senior turns back; and he should not touch his senior even with the corner of his robe.

'This, O Bhikkhus, is the rule of conduct that I lay down for the Bhikkhus in respect of lodging-places, according to which they are to behave themselves therein.'

8.

1. Now at that time the Kḥabbaggiya Bhikkhus, on being hindered by the senior Bhikkhus in (their use of) the hot bath-room, out of spite piled up a quantity of sticks (in the fireplace), set fire to them, closed up the doorway, and sat down in the doorway. The Bhikkhus, scorched by the heat, and not being allowed a way out, fell down in a faint.

The sober Bhikkhus murmured, &c. . . . told the Blessed One, &c. . . . He said to the Bhik-

¹ All the preceding expressions have occurred at Mahāvagga I, 26, 1; see also 32, 1, and 38, 6.

khus, 'No one, O Bhikkhus, is to [do so]. Whosoever does, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭṭha.

2. 'Therefore, O Bhikkhus, do I establish a rule of conduct for the Bhikkhus, in respect of the hot bath-room¹, according to which they ought to behave themselves therein.

'Whosoever first enters the bath-room, if ashes have accumulated (in the fireplace) should throw the ashes out. If the hot bath-room, or its prepared flooring, or the cell, or the ante-chamber of the bath, or the cooling-room, or the hall are dirty, they should be swept. The chunam should be pounded, the clay moistened with water, and water poured into the water-jar.

'When entering the hot bath-room, the face should be smeared over with clay, and the person well covered up in front and behind before entering. A seat is not to be taken so as to hustle the senior Bhikkhus, and junior Bhikkhus are not to be ousted from their seats. If possible, shampooing is to be performed for the senior Bhikkhus in the hot bath-room.

'When leaving the hot bath-room, the chair (that has been used to sit on before the fire) should be carried off, and the person well covered up before and behind before leaving. If possible, shampooing is to be performed for the senior Bhikkhus in the water also.

'A bath is not to be taken in front of the senior Bhikkhus, nor above them. One who has bathed

¹ *Gantāghara*, not simply bath-room, but room in which hot or steam baths were taken. Most of the following expressions occur in *Mahāvagga* I, 25, 12, or above at V, 14, 3.

and is getting up out (of the water) is to make way for one who is getting down into the water.

‘Whoso comes last out of the hot bath-room is to wash it, if it be dirty; to wash the vessel in which the clay is kept, to put the chairs used in the hot bath-room in order, to extinguish the fire, to close up the doorway, and then come out.

‘This, O Bhikkhus, is the rule of conduct which I lay down for the Bhikkhus, in respect of the hot bath-room, according to which they are to behave themselves therein.’

9 and 10.

[These chapters deal with the manner of using the privies, and other sanitary arrangements described in V, 35, where see our note.]

11, 12, 13, and 14.

[These chapters simply repeat, word for word, Mahāvagga I, 25, 14-24; I, 26, 1-11; I, 32, 3; and I, 33 respectively.]

Here ends the Eighth Khandhaka, containing
the Rules for Conduct.

NINTH KHANDHAKA.

ON EXCLUSION FROM THE PÂTIMOKKHA CEREMONY.

1.

1. Now at that time the Blessed One was staying at Sāvattthi, in the Eastern Ārâma, the mansion of the mother of Migâra. And at that time, it being Uposatha Day, the Blessed One was seated in the midst of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha. And the venerable Ānanda, when the night was far spent, when the first watch was passing away, arose from his seat, arranged his robe over one shoulder, and stretching out his joined hands towards the Blessed One, said to the Blessed One :

‘The night, Lord, is far spent. The first watch is passing away. For a long time has the Bhikkhu-saṃgha been seated here. Let my lord the Blessed One recite to the Bhikkhus the Pâtimokkha.’

When he had thus spoken, the Blessed One remained silent. And a second time, when the second watch was passing away [he made the same request with the same result]. And a third time, when the third watch had begun, and the dawn was breaking¹ [he made the same request].

‘The assembly, Ānanda, is not pure².’

¹ Nandimukhiyâ rattiyâ ti aruṇadhata-kâle pîti-mukhâ viya ratti khâyati ten’ âha nandimukhiyâ ti (B.). See also our note on this at Mahāvagga VIII, 13, 1.

² That is, there is some one present who is disqualified by some

2. Then the venerable Mahā Moggallāna thought, 'What individual can the Blessed One be referring to in that he says, "The assembly, Ānanda, is not pure."' And the venerable Mahā Moggallāna considered the whole Bhikkhu-saṃgha, penetrating their minds with his. Then the venerable Mahā Moggallāna perceived who was that individual,—evil in conduct, wicked in character, of impure and doubtful¹ behaviour, not a Samāna though he had taken the vows of one, not a religious student though he had taken the vows of one, foul within, full of cravings, a worthless creature,—who had taken his seat amongst the Bhikkhu-saṃgha. On perceiving which it was, he went up to that individual, and said to him, 'Arise, Sir! The Blessed One has found you out. There can be no communion² between you and the Bhikkhus!'

When he had thus spoken, that man kept silence. And a second and a third time the venerable Mahā Moggallāna addressed to him [the same words, and with the same result]. Then the venerable Mahā Moggallāna took that man by the arm and made him go out beyond the porch³, and bolted the door,

fault from taking part in the proceedings, which would therefore be invalid.

¹ *Samkassara*. See the passages quoted by Dr. Morris in the introduction to his edition of the *Anguttara* (pp. viii, ix), though we cannot accept his conclusions. We may add that the Tibetan rendering of *Dhammapada* 312, given in Rockhill's 'Udāna-varga,' p. 49, from which we might expect some help, throws no light on the exact meaning of the word, the translator contenting himself with an ambiguous phrase.

² *Samvāso*. See *Mahāvagga*, I, 79, 2, and *Kullavagga*.

³ On these expressions, see the notes above, V, 14, 3, in accordance with which we should read here, in the text *sūṭhi*, for *sūṭi*.

and went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and said to him, 'Lord, I have made that man go out. The assembly is now undefiled. May my lord the Blessed One recite the Pâtimokkha to the Bhikkhus.'

'How astonishing and curious a thing it is, Moggallâna, that that foolish fellow should have waited up to the very point when he had to be taken by the arm.'

3. And the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: 'There are, O Bhikkhus, in the great ocean, then, eight astonishing and curious qualities, by the constant perception of which the mighty creatures take delight in the great ocean. And what are the eight?

'The great ocean, O Bhikkhus, gets gradually deeper, slope following on slope, hollow succeeding hollow, and the fall is not precipitously abrupt¹. This is the first [of such qualities]².

'Again, O Bhikkhus, the great ocean remains of the same nature³, and passes not beyond the shore. This is the second [of such qualities].

'Again, O Bhikkhus, the great ocean will not brook association with a dead corpse. Whatsoever dead corpse there be in the sea, that will it—and quickly—draw to the shore, and cast it out on the dry ground⁴. This is the third [of such qualities].

'Again, O Bhikkhus, all the great rivers—that is to say, the Gaṅgâ, the Yamunâ, the Akravattî, the

¹ Na âyataken' eva. See Kullavagga V, 3, 1, and V, 17, 2.

² Paragraph 1 is here, and in the succeeding paragraphs, repeated in full.

³ *Thita-dhammo*, 'has characteristics which are stable.'

⁴ For *ussâreti* read *ussâdeti*. See our note on VI, 11, 3.

Sarabhû, and the Maht—they, when they have fallen into the great ocean, renounce their names and lineage, and are reckoned thenceforth as the great ocean. This is the fourth [of such qualities].

‘Again, O Bhikkhus, though all the streams in the world flow on till they reach the great ocean, and all the waters of the sky fall into it, yet does it not thereby seem to be the more empty or more full. This is the fifth [of such qualities].

‘Again, O Bhikkhus, the great ocean has only one taste, the taste of salt. This is the sixth [of such qualities].

‘Again, O Bhikkhus, the great ocean is full of gems, of gems of various kinds; among which are these gems—that is to say, the pearl, the diamond, the catseye, the chank, rock, coral, silver, gold, the ruby, and the cornelian¹. This is the seventh [of such qualities].

‘Again, O Bhikkhus, the great ocean is the dwelling-place of mighty beings, among which are these—that is to say, the Timi, the Timiṅgala, the Timitiṅgala, the Asuras, the Nâgas, and the Gandhabbas. There are in the great ocean creatures so constituted that they stretch from one to five hundred leagues². This is the eighth [of such qualities].

4. ‘And just in the same way, O Bhikkhus, there are in this doctrine and discipline eight marvellous and wonderful qualities, by the constant perception

¹ On these gems, compare Rh. D.’s note on the Mahâ-sudassana Sutta I, 4, in ‘Buddhist Suttas from the Pâli,’ pp. 249, 250.

² On this belief, compare above, VII, 2, 2, of land creatures, where the same term, attabhâva, is used.

of which the Bhikkhus take delight in this doctrine and discipline. What are the eight ?

‘Just, O Bhikkhus, as the great ocean gets gradually deeper, slope following on slope, hollow succeeding hollow, and the fall is not precipitately abrupt—just so, O Bhikkhus, in this doctrine and discipline is the training a gradual one, work following on work, and step succeeding step ; and there is no sudden attainment to the insight (of Arahatsip)¹. This is the first [of such qualities].

‘Just, O Bhikkhus, as the great ocean remains of the same nature, and passes not beyond the shore—just so, O Bhikkhus, is the body of precepts which I have established for those who are hearers of my word, and which they, their lives long, do not pass beyond. This is the second [of such qualities].

‘Just, O Bhikkhus, as the great ocean will not brook association with a dead corpse ; but whatsoever dead corpse there be in the sea that will it—and quickly—draw to the shore, and cast it out upon the dry land—just so, O Bhikkhus, if there be any individual evil in conduct, wicked in character, of impure and doubtful behaviour, not a Samana though he have taken the vows of one, not a religious student though he have taken the vows of one, foul within, full of cravings, a worthless creature ; with him will the Samgha brook no association, but quickly, on its meeting together, will it cast him out. And what though that man should himself be seated in the midst of the Bhikkhusamgha, verily, both is he afar off from the Samgha,

¹ Aññâ-paṭivedho. On the use of aññâ, standing alone, in this sense, see the note above on Mahāvagga V, 1, 19.

and the *Samgha* from him. This is the third [of such qualities].

‘Just, O Bhikkhus, as the great rivers—that is to say, the Gaṅgâ, the Yamunâ, the Akiravattî, the Sarabhû, and the Mahtî—when they have fallen into the great ocean, renounce their name and lineage and are thenceforth reckoned as the great ocean—just so, O Bhikkhus, do these four castes—the Khattiyas, the Brahmans, the Vessas, and the Suddas—when they have gone forth from the world under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathâgata, renounce their names and lineage, and enter into the number of the Sakyaputtiya Samanas. This is the fourth [of such qualities].

‘Just, O Bhikkhus, as though all the streams in the world flow on till they reach the great ocean, and all the waters of the sky fall into it, yet does it not seem thereby to be either more empty or more full—just so, O Bhikkhus, though many Bhikkhus pass entirely away in that kind of passing away which leaves not a trace behind, yet does not [the *Samgha*] thereby seem to be either more empty or more full. This is the fifth [of such qualities].

‘Just, O Bhikkhus, as the great ocean has only one taste, the taste of salt—just so, O Bhikkhus, has this doctrine and discipline only one flavour, the flavour of emancipation. This is the sixth [of such qualities].

‘Just, O Bhikkhus, as the great ocean is full of gems, of gems of various kinds—that is to say, the pearl, the diamond, the catseye, the chank, rock, coral, silver, gold, the ruby, and the cornelian—just so, O Bhikkhus, is this doctrine and discipline full of gems, of gems of various kinds, among which are

these gems,—that is to say, the four Earnest Meditations, the fourfold Great Struggle, the four Roads to Iddhi, the five Moral Powers, the five Moral Senses, the seven kinds of Wisdom, and the noble eightfold Path. This is the seventh [of such qualities].

‘Just, O Bhikkhus, as the great ocean is the dwelling-place of mighty beings, among which are the Timi, the Timiṅgala, the Timitimiṅgala, the Asuras, the Nāgas, and the Gandhabbas; just as there are in the great ocean creatures so constituted that they stretch from one to five hundred leagues—just so, O Bhikkhus, is this doctrine and discipline the resort of mighty beings, among whom are he who has entered the First Path (the converted man, the Sotâpanno) and he who has realised the fruit thereof, he who has entered the Second Path (the Sakadâgâmin) and he who has realised the fruit thereof, he who has entered the Third Path (the Anâgâmin) and he who has realised the fruit thereof, the Arahât, and he who has realised the fruit of Arahâtship. This is the eighth [of such qualities].

‘These, O Bhikkhus, are the eight marvellous and wonderful qualities in this doctrine and discipline by the constant perception of which the Bhikkhus take delight therein.’

And the Blessed One, on perceiving that matter, gave forth at that time this ecstatic utterance :

‘The rain falls heavily on that which is covered, not upon that which is revealed.

‘Reveal, therefore, what thou hast concealed, and the rain shall touch thee not¹.’

¹ This enigmatical saying amounts apparently to this: ‘As a usual thing, no doubt, the rain falls not on that which is covered

2.

1. Now the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus, and said : ‘ Now henceforth I, O Bhikkhus, will not hold Uposatha, nor recite the Pâtimokkha ; let you yourselves, O Bhikkhus, henceforth hold Uposatha and recite the Pâtimokkha. It is, O Bhikkhus, an impossible thing and an inexpedient that the Tathâgata should hold Uposatha and recite the Pâtimokkha before an assembly which is not pure. And the Pâtimokkha, O Bhikkhus, is not to be listened to by one who has committed an offence. Whosoever shall so listen to it, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, for whomsoever shall listen to the Pâtimokkha at a time when he is guilty, to interdict for him the Pâtimokkha¹.

‘ And thus, O Bhikkhus, is it to be interdicted. On the day of Uposatha, on the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the month, and at a time when that individual is present, thus shall it be proposed in the midst of the Saṃgha :

“ Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. Such and such an individual is guilty of an offence. For him

with a roof ; but in morals it is precisely where there is already a fault concealed, unconfessed, that new faults rain in upon him who adds deceit to his fault.’ Buddhaghosa says, *Khaṇnam* ativasatīti āpattim āpaggitvā paṭikkhādentō aññam navam āpattim āpaggatīti idam etam sandhāya vuttam. Vivaṭam nātivassatīti āpattim āpaggitvā vivaranto aññam n’ āpaggatīti idam etam sandhāya vuttam.

¹ Pâtimokkham *thapetum* : exactly analogous to *pavāraṇam thapetum* at Mahāvagga IV, 16, 2. H. O. has already pointed out (in his ‘ Buddha,’ p. 381, note 2) that we have evidently here a later innovation. The whole frame of the Pâtimokkha shows that it was at first intended that a guilty Bhikkhu should confess his offence during the recitation, if he had not done so before.

do I interdict the Pâtimokkha to the effect that it shall not be recited when he is present. The Pâtimokkha is accordingly interdicted.”’

3.

1. Now at that time the *K/abbaggiya* Bhikkhus thinking, ‘No one knows that we are guilty,’ listened to the Pâtimokkha. The Thera Bhikkhus, who understood the thoughts of other men, told the Bhikkhus, saying, ‘Such and such a one, Sirs, and such and such a one, *K/abbaggiya* Bhikkhus, thinking, “No one knows that we are guilty,” are listening to the Pâtimokkha.’

When the *K/abbaggiya* Bhikkhus heard that, they, thinking ‘the good Bhikkhus will (otherwise) first interdict the Pâtimokkha to us,’ interdicted the Pâtimokkha to the Bhikkhus who were pure and innocent before (they had time to do so to them), and this without ground and without cause.

Those Bhikkhus who were moderate murmured, &c., . . . (as usual, down to) told the matter to the Blessed One.

‘Is it true, O Bhikkhus, that the *K/abbaggiya* Bhikkhus have [acted thus]?’

‘It is true, Lord!’

Then he rebuked them, and when he had delivered a religious discourse, he said: ‘The Pâtimokkha is not, O Bhikkhus, to be interdicted to pure and innocent Bhikkhus without ground and without cause. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.

2. ‘There is one kind of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha, O Bhikkhus, which is illegal, and one

which is legal. There are two . . . , three . . . , four (&c., up to) ten kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are illegal, and one, two (&c., up to) ten which are legal.

3. 'Which is the one kind of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which is illegal? When one inhibits the Pâtimokkha for a breach of morality without ground. This is the one kind, &c.

'And which is the one kind of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which is legal? When one inhibits the Pâtimokkha for a breach of morality with good ground. This is the one kind, &c.

'And which are the two kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are illegal? When one inhibits the Pâtimokkha for a breach of morality, or for an offence against conduct, and each of them without ground. These are the two kinds, &c.

'And which are the two kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are legal? When one inhibits the Pâtimokkha for a breach of morality, and for an offence against conduct, and each of them with good ground. These are the two kinds, &c.

'And which are the three kinds, &c.? [as the last two, adding "offence against doctrine."]

'And which are the four kinds, &c.? [as the last, adding "offence against the right mode of livelihood."]

'And which are the five kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are illegal? When one inhibits the Pâtimokkha for a Pârâgika, or for a Samghâdisesa, or for a Pâkittiya, or for a Pâtidesantiya, or for a Dukkaṭa, and each of them without ground. These are the five kinds, &c.

'And which are the five kinds of inhibition of the

Pâtimokkha which are legal? [Same as the last, "with good ground."]

'And which are the six kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are illegal? When one inhibits the Pâtimokkha for an offence against morality conduct doctrine¹ without ground, the offence being one of omission—when one inhibits the Pâtimokkha for an offence against morality conduct doctrine without ground, the offence being one of commission². These are the six, &c.

'And which are the six kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are legal? [Same as the last, "with good ground."]

'And which are the seven kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are illegal? When one inhibits the Pâtimokkha for a Pârâgika, or for a Samghâdisesa, or for a Thullaṅkaya, or for a Pâḷittiya, or for a Pâṭidesantya, or for a Dukkata, or for a Dubbhâsita, and each of them without ground. These are the seven kinds, &c.

'And which are the seven kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are legal? [Same as the last, "with good ground."]

'And which are the eight kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are illegal? [The same as the six, adding "offence against the right means of livelihood."]

¹ The paragraph is repeated in the section full for each of these cases.

² Kata akatâ katâkatâ we have rendered here and below as offence of omission—of commission—of both, as seems imperatively demanded by the context. Buddhaghosa, however, says, Akatâyâ ti tena puggalena sâ vipatti katâ vâ hotu akatâ vâ pâtimokkha-/hapanakassa saññâ amûlika-vasena amûlikâ hoti. Katâkatâyâ ti katañ ka akatañ ka ubhayam gahetvâ vuttam.

‘And which are the nine kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are illegal . . . legal? [The same as the six, adding for each kind of offence, “the offence being one both of omission and of commission.”]

‘And which are the ten kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are illegal? When (a Bhikkhu) who has been guilty of a Pârâgika is not seated in that assembly¹,—when no discussion is still going on (in the assembly) as to a Pârâgika offence (supposed to have been committed by a Bhikkhu then present),—when (a Bhikkhu) who has abandoned the precepts² is not seated in that assembly,—when no discussion is still going on (in the assembly) in respect of (a Bhikkhu then present having been charged with) abandoning the precepts,—when (the person charged) submits himself to the legally prescribed concord (of the assembly)³,—when (the person charged) does not withdraw his acceptance of the legally prescribed concord (of the assembly)⁴,—when no discussion is still going on (in the assembly) in respect of the withdrawal of (any member's) acceptance of the legally (prescribed) concord (of the assembly),—when (the Bhikkhu charged) has not been suspected of an offence against morality, nor seen (to have committed one), nor heard (to have committed one)— . . . of an offence against conduct — . . . of an

¹ This and the following phrase are further enlarged upon in § 4 and the following sections.

² See our note on Mahāvagga II, 22, 3.

³ See Mahāvagga X, 5, 13, &c.

⁴ Paṭṭhādiyati. Buddhaghosa says here, paṭṭhādiyati ti puna kâtabbam kammam paṭṭhādiyati. Tena ukkoṇake pāṭṭiyam āpaggati.

offence against doctrine. . . . These are the ten kinds, &c.

‘And which are the ten kinds of inhibition of the Pâtimokkha which are legal? [The same as the last, positive instead of negative.]

4. ‘And how (can it be legally said that) a Bhikkhu who has been guilty of a Pârâgika offence is seated in the assembly?

‘In case, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhu sees that (another) Bhikkhu is incurring a Pârâgika offence by those means, marks, and signs by which the incurring of a Pârâgika offence is brought about. Or in case a Bhikkhu does not himself see that (another) Bhikkhu is incurring a Pârâgika offence, but another Bhikkhu inform the (first-mentioned) Bhikkhu, saying, “Such and such a Bhikkhu, Sir, has been guilty of a Pârâgika offence.” Or in case a Bhikkhu does not himself see that another Bhikkhu is incurring a Pârâgika offence, but that one himself inform the (first-mentioned) Bhikkhu, saying, “I, Sir, have been guilty of a Pârâgika offence.”

‘(In either of these cases), O Bhikkhus, if he seem to do so, the Bhikkhu may, on the ground of what he has seen and heard and suspected, bring forward the following resolution on an Uposatha day, on the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the month, at a time when that individual is present in the midst of the Samgha: “Let the venerable Samgha hear me. Such and such an individual has been guilty of a Pârâgika offence. I interdict for him the Pâtimokkha, to the effect that the Pâtimokkha ought not to be recited at a time when he is present.” That is a legal inhibition of the Pâtimokkha.

‘If, when the Pâtimokkha has been inhibited for

that Bhikkhu, the assembly should rise on account of any one or other of the Ten Dangers¹—danger arising from the king, or from thieves, or from fire, or from water, or from human beings, or from non-human beings, or from beasts of prey, or from creeping things, or danger of life, or danger against chastity—the Bhikkhu may, if he desire to do so, bring forward the following resolution, either in that circle of residence or in another circle of residence, at a time when that individual is present in the midst of the assembly: “Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. A discussion had commenced with regard to a *Pârâgika* offence of such and such a person, but that matter was not decided. If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* decide that matter.” If he thus succeed, it is well. If not, then on an *Uposatha* day, on the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the month, at a time when that individual is present in the midst of the *Samgha*, let him bring forward the following resolution: “Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. A discussion had commenced with regard to a *Pârâgika* offence of such and such a person, but that matter was not decided. I interdict the *Pâtimokkha* for him to the effect that the *Pâtimokkha* ought not to be recited at a time when he is present.” That is a legal inhibition of the *Pâtimokkha*.

5. ‘And how (can it be legally said that a Bhikkhu) who has abandoned the precepts is seated in the assembly?’

[The same as last, reading ‘abandoned the precepts,’ &c., for ‘*Pârâgika* offence,’ &c.]

6. ‘And how (can it be legally said that the person

¹ See the rule laid down in *Mahāvagga* II, 15, 4.

charged) does not submit himself to the legally (prescribed) concord (of the assembly)?'

[Same as last, reading 'not submit himself to the legally (prescribed) concord of the assembly,' &c., instead of 'abandon the precepts,' &c.]

7. 'And how (can it be legally said that the person charged) withdraws his acceptance of the legally (established) concord (of the assembly)?'

[Same as last, reading 'withdraws his acceptance,' &c., for 'does not submit,' &c.]

8. 'And how can it be legally said that the person charged has been seen or heard or suspected of having committed an offence against morality an offence against conduct an offence against doctrine?'

[Same as § 4, reading 'offence against morality,' &c., for 'Pârâgika offence.']

These are the ten kinds of the inhibition of Pâtimokkha which are legal.

Here ends the First Portion for Recitation.

4.

1. Now the venerable Upâli¹ went up to the Blessed One, and bowed down before him, and took his seat on one side. And when he was so seated, the venerable Upâli said to the Blessed One :

'When a Bhikkhu, Lord, intends to take upon himself the conduct (of any matter that has to be

¹ No doubt in his rôle of a chief of the Vinaya-dharas, as in Mahāvagga IX, 6, &c.

decided)¹, under what conditions should he take the conduct thereof upon himself²?’

‘A Bhikkhu, Upâli, who intends to take upon himself the conduct of any matter, should take such conduct upon himself under five conditions.

‘(In the first place.) A Bhikkhu, Upâli, who intends to take the conduct of any matter upon himself, should thus consider: “The conduct of this matter which I intend to take upon myself, is it now the right time for the taking charge of the conduct thereof, or is it not?” If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, so considering, come to the conclusion that it is not the right time, he should not, Upâli, take charge of it.

‘(Secondly.) If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, so considering, come to the conclusion that it is the right time, he should, Upâli, further consider thus: “The conduct of this matter which I intend to take upon myself, is it just, or is it not?” If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, so considering, come to the conclusion that it would not be just, he should not take charge of it.

‘(Thirdly.) If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, so considering, come to the conclusion that it would be just, he should, Upâli, further consider thus: “The conduct of this matter which I intend to take upon myself, would it tend to advantage, or would it not?” If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, so considering, come to the conclusion that it would not tend to advantage, he should not, Upâli, take charge of it.

‘(Fourthly.) If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, so considering, come to the conclusion that it would tend to

¹ As, for instance, in the last chapter (§§ 4 and following) the Bhikkhu who lays the matter before the Saṃgha.

² Attâdânam âdīyati, in our explanation of which we follow Buddhaghosa.

profit, he should, Upâli, further consider thus : "While I am taking the conduct of this matter upon myself, shall I find that the Bhikkhus who are my intimates and associates are on my side in accordance with the Dhamma and the Vinaya, or shall I not?" If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, so considering, come to the conclusion that he will not, he should not, Upâli, take charge of it.

'(Fifthly.) If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, so considering, come to the conclusion that he will find them so, he should further, Upâli, consider thus : "Whilst I am taking the conduct of this matter upon myself, will the Samgha, as a result thereof, fall into strife, quarrel, contention, or dispute, or will there arise a split in the Samgha, disunion in the Samgha, diversity of position in the Samgha, diversity of action in the Samgha¹?" If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, so considering, come to the conclusion that that will happen, he should not take charge of it. But if that Bhikkhu, Upâli, thus considering, should come to the conclusion that that will not happen, he should take charge of it. The taking charge of a matter, Upâli, subject to these five conditions, will not give cause to subsequent remorse.'

5.

1. 'When, Lord, a Bhikkhu who takes upon himself to warn another, is about to do so, of how many qualities should he consider whether they are within himself before he does so?'

(a) 'A Bhikkhu who warns another should, Upâli,

¹ This list has occurred above, Mahāvagga X, 1, 6; X, 5, 13; Kullavagga VII, 5, 1.

when he is about to do so, consider thus : “ Am I pure in the conduct of my body ; pure therein without a flaw, without a fleck ? Is this quality found in me, or is it not ? ” If, Upâli, the Bhikkhu is not so, there will be some who will say to him : “ Come, now, let your reverence continue still to train yourself in matters relating to the body ! ”— thus will they say.

(b) ‘ And further, a Bhikkhu who warns another should, Upâli, when he is about to do so, consider thus : “ Am I pure in the conduct of my speech ; pure therein without a flaw, without a fleck ? Is this quality found in me, or is it not ? ” If, Upâli, the Bhikkhu is not so, there will be some who will say to him : “ Come, now, let your reverence continue still to train yourself in matters relating to speech ! ”— thus will they say.

(c) ‘ And further, a Bhikkhu who warns another should, Upâli, consider thus : “ Is a kindly mind ever present in me, one without anger against those who are my companions in the religious life ? Is this quality found in me, or is it not ? ” If, Upâli, such a mind is not in that Bhikkhu, there will be some who will say to him : “ Come, now, let your reverence continue still to cultivate a friendly feeling towards those who are your companions in the religious life ! ”— thus will they say.

(d) ‘ And further, a Bhikkhu who warns another should, Upâli, consider thus : “ Am I a man versed in the tradition, a custodian of the tradition, a store-house of the tradition ? Whatsoever truths, lovely in their origin, lovely in their progress, lovely in their consummation, magnify the higher life, both in the spirit and in the letter, and in all its points, in

all its perfectness,—in such truths am I well versed, of such am I full, are such laid up in my words, dwelt on in my heart, penetrated throughout through right insight¹? Is this quality found in me, or is it not?” If that Bhikkhu, Upâli, is not such a man, there will be some who will say to him: “Come, now, let your reverence continue still to learn the faith!”—thus will they say.

(e) ‘And further, a Bhikkhu who warns another should, Upâli, consider thus: “Have both the Pâtimokkhas been completely handed down to me in their full extent; have I well divided them, well established them, well investigated them, both Rule by Rule², and in every detail? Is this quality found in me, or is it not?” If, Upâli, that is not so, then when he is asked, “Where has this, Sir, been declared by the Blessed One?” he will not be able to explain³, and there will be some who will say to him: “Come, now, let your reverence continue still to learn the Vinaya!”—thus will they say.

‘These are the five qualities, Upâli, of which a Bhikkhu about to warn another should consider before he does so, whether they are within himself or not.’

2. ‘When, Lord, a Bhikkhu who takes upon himself to warn another, is about to do so, how many qualities should he call up (establish) within himself before he does so?’

¹ On the whole of this and of the next paragraph, which have occurred already above at IV, 14, 19, see our notes there.

² That is, ‘Sutta by Sutta.’ On the whole stock phrase, compare our remarks in p. xviii of the Introduction; and above, Mahāvagga I, 36, 14; Kullavagga IV, 14, 19.

³ Read *na sampāyati*, in accordance with H.O.’s note at p. 364 of the text.

‘A Bhikkhu, Upāli, who is about to warn another, should call up within himself five qualities before he does so, (saying to himself): “At the right time will I speak, not at the wrong time. In truth will I speak, and not in falsehood. Gently will I speak, and not in harshness. To profit will I speak, and not senselessly. In kindly spirit will I speak, and not in anger¹.”

‘These, Upāli, are the five,’ &c.

3. ‘In how many ways, Lord, is repentance to be brought home to a Bhikkhu who has wrongfully warned another Bhikkhu?’

‘In five ways, Upāli, is repentance to be brought home to a Bhikkhu who has wrongfully warned another Bhikkhu, (that is to say, by saying to him): “At the wrong time did you warn him, Sir, not at the right time: wherein is need of repentance. Untruthfully did you warn him, Sir, and not according to fact: wherein is need of repentance. In harshness did you warn him, Sir, and not gently: wherein is need of repentance. Senselessly did you warn him, Sir, and not in a way redounding to profit: wherein is need of repentance. In anger did you warn him, Sir, and not in kindly spirit: wherein is need of repentance.”

‘In these five ways, Upāli, should repentance be brought home to a Bhikkhu who has wrongfully warned another Bhikkhu. And why? That no other Bhikkhu may think that warning is to be given not according to fact.’

4. ‘In how many ways, Lord, is it to be brought

¹ On these phrases, compare the *Kūla Silam*, translated by Rh. D. in ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 190.

about that repentance shall not be brought home to a Bhikkhu who has been wrongfully warned ?'

'In five ways, Upâli, (that is to say, by saying to him): "At the wrong time, Sir, were you warned, and not at the right time : there is no need of repentance,"' [&c., as in § 3, paragraph 2, with similar alterations.]

5. 'In how many ways, Lord, is the contrary of repentance to be brought home to a Bhikkhu who has rightfully warned another Bhikkhu ?'

[The answer is the exact contrary of § 3.]

6. [This section is the contrary of § 5.]

7. 'When, Lord, a Bhikkhu who warns another Bhikkhu, is about to do so, how many things should he call to mind before he does so ?'

'Five things, Upâli—to wit : mercy, seeking the good of others, compassion, the giving up of offences, and deference towards the Vinaya. These are the five,' &c.

'And a Bhikkhu, Lord, who is warned, in how many qualities should he keep himself firm ?'

'In two things, Upâli—to wit : in truth and in freedom from anger.'

Here ends the Ninth Khandhaka, on the
Interdiction of the Pâtimokkha.

TENTH KHANDHAKA.

ON THE DUTIES OF BHIKKHUNÍS.

1.

1. Now at that time the Blessed Buddha was staying among the Sákya in Kapilavatthu, in the Nigrodhârâma. And Mahâ-pagâpatî the Gotamî went to the place where the Blessed One was, and on arriving there, bowed down before the Blessed One, and remained standing on one side. And so standing she spake thus to the Blessed One :

‘It would be well, Lord, if women should be allowed to renounce their homes and enter the homeless state under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathâgata.’

‘Enough, O Gotamî! Let it not please thee that women should be allowed to do so.’

[And a second and a third time did Mahâ-pagâpatî the Gotamî make the same request in the same words, and receive the same reply.]

Then Mahâ-pagâpatî the Gotamî sad and sorrowful for that the Blessed One would not permit women to enter the homeless state, bowed down before the Blessed One, and keeping him on her right hand as she passed him, departed thence weeping and in tears.

2. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Kapilavatthu as long as he thought fit, he set out on his journey towards Vesâlt; and travelling

straight on he in due course arrived thereat. And there at Vesālī the Blessed One stayed, in the Mahāvana, in the Kūṭāgāra Hall.

And Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī cut off her hair, and put on orange-coloured robes, and set out, with a number of women of the Sākya clan, towards Vesālī; and in due course she arrived at Vesālī, at the Mahāvana, at the Kūṭāgāra Hall. And Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī, with swollen feet and covered with dust, sad and sorrowful, weeping and in tears, took her stand outside under the entrance porch.

And the venerable Ānanda saw her so standing there, and on seeing her so, he said to Mahā-pagāpatī: 'Why standest thou there, outside the porch, with swollen feet and covered with dust, sad and sorrowful, weeping and in tears?'

'Inasmuch, O Ānanda, as the Lord, the Blessed One, does not permit women to renounce their homes and enter the homeless state under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathāgata.'

3. Then did the venerable Ānanda go up to the place where the Blessed One was, and bow down before the Blessed One, and take his seat on one side. And, so sitting, the venerable Ānanda said to the Blessed One:

'Behold, Lord, Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī is standing outside under the entrance porch, with swollen feet and covered with dust, sad and sorrowful, weeping and in tears, inasmuch as the Blessed One does not permit women to renounce their homes and enter the homeless state under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Blessed One. It were well, Lord, if women were to have permission granted to them to do as she desires.'

‘Enough, Ānanda! Let it not please thee that women should be allowed to do so.’

[And a second and a third time did Ānanda make the same request, in the same words, and receive the same reply.]

Then the venerable Ānanda thought: ‘The Blessed One does not give his permission, let me now ask the Blessed One on another ground.’ And the venerable Ānanda said to the Blessed One:

‘Are women, Lord, capable—when they have gone forth from the household life and entered the homeless state, under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Blessed One—are they capable of realising the fruit of conversion, or of the second Path, or of the third Path, or of Arahatsip?’

‘They are capable, Ānanda.’

‘If then, Lord, they are capable thereof, since Mahā-pagāpati the Gotamī has proved herself of great service to the Blessed One, when as aunt and nurse she nourished him and gave him milk, and on the death of his mother suckled the Blessed One at her own breast, it were well, Lord, that women should have permission to go forth from the household life and enter the homeless state, under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathāgata¹.’

4. ‘If then, Ānanda, Mahā-pagāpati the Gotamī take upon herself the Eight Chief Rules², let that be reckoned to her as her initiation.’

³[They are these]: (1) ‘A Bhikkhunī, even if of

¹ Ānanda’s conduct in this matter was afterwards charged against him as a dukkaṭa. See below, XI, 1, 10.

² The *Aṭṭha Garudhammā*, on which see further our note above on the 21st Pāṭiṭṭiya, and below, X, 9.

³ The whole of the following eight paragraphs recur in the

a hundred years standing, shall make salutation to, shall rise up in the presence of, shall bow down before, and shall perform all proper duties towards a Bhikkhu, if only just initiated. This is a rule to be revered and revered, honoured and observed, and her life long never to be transgressed.

(2) 'A Bhikkhunī is not to spend the rainy season (of Was) in a district¹ in which there is no Bhikkhu. This is a rule never to be transgressed.

(3) 'Every half month a Bhikkhunī is to await from the Bhikkhu-saṃgha two things, the asking as to (the date of) the Uposatha ceremony², and the (time when the Bhikkhu) will come to give the Exhortation³. This is a rule never to be transgressed.

(4) 'After keeping the rainy season (of Was), the Bhikkhunī is to hold Pavāraṇā (to enquire whether any fault can be laid to her charge) before both Saṃghas—as well that of Bhikkhus as that of Bhikkhunīs—with respect to three matters, namely, what has been seen, and what has been heard, and what has been suspected⁴. This is a rule never to be transgressed.

Sutta Vibhaṅga, Pāṭiṭṭiya XXI, 3, 1. It is very instructive to notice the curious blunders which the Tibetan writers (translated by Rockhill in his 'Life of the Buddha,' pp. 62, 63) make in the rendering of the difficult technical terms in these Eight Rules.

¹ Āvāsa. Compare *Kullavagga* I, 18, 1, VI, 15, 1, VIII, 1, 2. This rule is the 56th Bhikkhunī Pāṭiṭṭiya.

² The Bhikkhunīs are to ask two or three days beforehand whether the Uposatha is to be held on the 14th or 15th day of the month, says Buddhaghosa here. Compare also the 59th Bhikkhunī Pāṭiṭṭiya, where the whole passage recurs.

³ Compare the 21st Pāṭiṭṭiya, and our note there.

⁴ See *Mahāvagga* IV, 1, 13, 14. This rule is the same as the 57th Bhikkhunī Pāṭiṭṭiya. The mode of carrying out this rule is explained in detail below, X, 19.

(5) 'A Bhikkhunī who has been guilty of a serious offence is to undergo the Mānatta discipline towards both the Saṃghas (Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis). This is a rule never to be transgressed.

(6) 'When a Bhikkhunī, as novice, has been trained for two years in the Six Rules¹, she is to ask leave for the upasampadā initiation from both Saṃghas (as well that of Bhikkhus as that of Bhikkhunis²). This is a rule never to be transgressed.

(7) 'A Bhikkhunī is on no pretext to revile or abuse a Bhikkhu³. This is a rule never to be transgressed.

(8) 'From henceforth official admonition⁴ by Bhikkhunis of Bhikkhus is forbidden, whereas the official admonition of Bhikkhunis by Bhikkhus is not forbidden. This is a rule never to be transgressed. .

'If, Ānanda, Mahā-pagāpati the Gotamī take upon herself these Eight Chief Rules, let that be reckoned to her as her initiation.'

5. Then the venerable Ānanda, when he had learnt from the Blessed One these Eight Chief Rules, went to Mahā-pagāpati the Gotamī and [told her all that the Blessed One had said].

¹ *Kāsu dhammesu*. The Six Rules for novices. They are referred to in the Bhikkhunī Vibhaṅga, under Pāṭṭiyyas LXIII-LXVII.

² The actual ordination (upasampadā) itself is not complete till it has been conferred by Bhikkhus (see the rule at X, 2, 2). The whole proceeding is fully set out below, X, 17. Compare also the 63rd and 64th Bhikkhunī Pāṭṭiyyas.

³ This is the 52nd Bhikkhunī Pāṭṭiyya.

⁴ *Vāṇana-patho*. That is, literally, speech. But the reference is, no doubt, to the various kinds of official admonitions given in detail in chapter 20 below.

‘Just, Ānanda, as a man or a woman, when young and of tender years, accustomed to adorn himself, would, when he had bathed his head, receive with both hands a garland of lotus flowers, or of jasmine flowers, or of atimuttaka flowers, and place it on the top of his head; even so do I, Ānanda, take upon me these Eight Chief Rules, never to be transgressed my life long.’

6. Then the venerable Ānanda returned to the Blessed One, and bowed down before him, and took his seat on one side. And, so sitting, the venerable Ānanda said to the Blessed One: ‘Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī, Lord, has taken upon herself the Eight Chief Rules, the aunt of the Blessed One has received the upasampadā initiation.’

‘If, Ānanda, women had not received permission to go out from the household life and enter the homeless state, under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathāgata, then would the pure religion, Ānanda, have lasted long, the good law would have stood fast for a thousand years. But since, Ānanda, women have now received that permission, the pure religion, Ānanda, will not now last so long, the good law will now stand fast for only five hundred years. Just, Ānanda, as houses in which there are many women¹ and but few men are easily violated² by robber burglars³; just so, Ānanda, under

¹ Bahutthikāni. The context shows that we are to understand *itthi* and not *attha*. Compare Rockhill's ‘Life of the Buddha,’ p. 61.

² Suppadhamsiyāni. Compare Bhikkhunī Vibhaṅga, *Samghādisesa* III, 1, 2, and see also *Kullavagga* VII, 5, 4.

³ *Korehi kumbatthenakehi*; on which Buddhaghosa has the following note:—*Kumbatthenakehi ti kumbhe dīpaṃ gāletvā ena ālokena paraghare bhaṇḍam viñitivā thenakakorehi*.

whatever doctrine and discipline women are allowed to go out from the household life into the homeless state, that religion will not last long. And just, Ānanda, as when the disease called mildew falls upon a field of rice in fine condition, that field of rice does not continue long ; just so, Ānanda, under whatsoever doctrine and discipline women are allowed to go forth from the household life into the homeless state, that religion will not last long. And just, Ānanda, as when the disease called blight falls upon a field of sugar-cane in good condition, that field of sugar-cane does not continue long ; just so, Ānanda, under whatsoever doctrine and discipline women are allowed to go forth from the household life into the homeless state, that religion does not last long. And just, Ānanda, as a man would in anticipation build an embankment to a great reservoir, beyond which the water should not overpass ; just even so, Ānanda, have I in anticipation laid down these Eight Chief Rules for the Bhikkhunts, their life long not to be overpassed.'

Here end the Eight Chief Rules for the
Bhikkhunts.

2.

1. Now Mahā-pagāpati the Gotami went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and bowed down before him, and stood respectfully on one side. And, so standing, Mahā-pagāpati the Gotami spake thus to the Blessed One: 'What course, Lord,

should I pursue towards these women of the Sākya clan ?'

Then the Blessed One taught Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī and incited her, and aroused her, and gladdened her with religious discourse ; and she, so taught, incited, aroused, and gladdened, bowed down before the Blessed One, and keeping him on her right hand as she passed him, she departed thence.

Then the Blessed One, in that connexion, delivered a religious discourse, and said to the Bhikkhus, ' I allow Bhikkhunts, O Bhikkhus, to receive the upasampadā initiation from Bhikkhus ¹.'

2. Now those Bhikkhunts said to Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī : ' Neither have you received the upasampadā initiation, nor have we ; for it has thus been laid down by the Blessed One : " Bhikkhunts are to be initiated by Bhikkhus." '

Then Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī went to the venerable Ānanda, and [repeated their words to him]. And the venerable Ānanda went to the Blessed One, and [repeated them to him].

' In that moment, Ānanda, when Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī took upon herself the Eight Chief Rules, that was to her as the upasampadā initiation.'

3.

1. Now Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī went up to the place where the venerable Ānanda was, and bowed down before him, and stood respectfully on one side.

¹ Compare the 6th Garudhamma above, X, 1, 4.

And, so standing, Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī said to the venerable Ānanda: 'One thing, Ānanda, would I ask of the Blessed One. It were well, Sir, if the Blessed One would allow the making of salutations, the rising up in presence of another, the paying of reverence, and the performance of proper duties one towards another, to take place as between both Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis (equally) according to seniority.'

And the venerable Ānanda went to the Blessed One [and repeated her words to him].

'This is impossible, Ānanda, and unallowable, that I should so order. Even those others, Ānanda, teachers of ill doctrine, allow not such conduct towards women; how much less, then, can the Tathāgata allow it?'

And the Blessed One, on that occasion, having delivered a religious discourse, addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to bow down before women, to rise up in their presence, to stretch out your joined hands towards them, nor to perform towards them those duties that are proper (from an inferior to a superior). Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

4.

1. Now Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and bowed down before him, and stood respectfully on one side. And, so standing, Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī said to the Blessed One: 'What course, Lord, shall we pursue with reference to those precepts for the

Bhikkhuns which are applicable also to the Bhikkhus ?'

'Train yourselves, Gotamī, therein in the same manner as the Bhikkhus do.'

'And what course, Lord, should we pursue in reference to those precepts for the Bhikkhuns which are not applicable also to the Bhikkhus ?'

'Train yourselves, Gotamī, therein according to the substance thereof, as they are laid down.'

5.

1. Now Mahā-pagāpatī the Gotamī went to the Blessed One [&c., as before], and said: 'May the Blessed One preach to me the Dhamma (truth, doctrine) in abstract; so that, having heard the doctrine of the Blessed One, I may remain alone and separate, earnest, zealous, and resolved¹.'

'Of whatsoever doctrines thou shalt be conscious, Gotamī, that they conduce to passion and not to peace, to pride and not to veneration, to wishing for much and not to wishing for little, to love of society and not to seclusion, to sloth and not to the exercise of zeal, to being hard to satisfy and not to content²—verily mayest thou then, Gotamī, bear in mind

¹ These last words are the standing expression for the preparatory stage to Arahatsip. Compare Mahāvagga I, 6, 16; Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta V, 68. The whole speech frequently occurs in the Saṃyutta Nikāya at the commencement of conversations with the Buddha.

² Most of these terms have already occurred in the standing 'religious discourse' which is related to have preceded the enunciation of so many of the rules for Bhikkhus (Kullavagga I, 2, 3).

that that is not Dhamma, that that is not Vinaya, that that is not the teaching of the Master. But of whatsoever doctrines thou shalt be conscious, Gotamī, that they conduce to peace and not to passion, to veneration and not to pride, to wishing for little and not to wishing for much, to seclusion and not to love of society, to the exercise of zeal and not to sloth, to content and not to querulousness—verily mayest thou then bear in mind that that is Dhamma, and that is Vinaya, and that the teaching of the Master.'

6.

1. Now at that time the Pâtimokkha was not recited to the Bhikkhunts.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow the Pâtimokkha, O Bhikkhus, to be recited to the Bhikkhunts.'

Now it occurred to the Bhikkhunts: 'By whom should the Pâtimokkha be recited to the Bhikkhunts?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, the Pâtimokkha to be recited to Bhikkhunts by Bhikkhus.'

Now at that time Bhikkhus went to the residence of the Bhikkhunts and recited the Pâtimokkha to the Bhikkhunts there. The people murmured, and were indignant, saying: 'There are their wives, there are their mistresses; now will they take pleasure together.'

The Bhikkhus heard this, and told the matter to the Blessed One.

'Bhikkhus are not, O Bhikkhus, to recite the

Pātimokkha to the Bhikkhunts at their residence. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to recite the Pātimokkha to the Bhikkhunts.'

The Bhikkhunts did not know how to recite the Pātimokkha. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to tell Bhikkhunts how to recite the Pātimokkha.'

2. Now at that time the Bhikkhunts did not confess the faults (they had committed).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'A Bhikkhuni, O Bhikkhus, is not to leave a fault unconfessed. . Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

The Bhikkhunts did not know how to confess their faults. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to tell Bhikkhunts how they should confess their faults.'

Then it occurred to the Bhikkhus: 'By whom ought the confession of a fault to be received from the Bhikkhunts?' They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to receive the confession of a fault from Bhikkhunts.'

Now at that time Bhikkhunts, on seeing a Bhikkhu on the road, or in a street closed at one end, or at the place where four cross-roads met, would place their bowl on the ground, and arranging their robes over one shoulder, would crouch down on their heels, and stretch forth their joined hands, and confess a fault. The people murmured, were indignant, and complained, saying: 'There are their wives, there are their mistresses; they are asking

pardon now after having treated them scornfully overnight.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'Bhikkhus are not, O Bhikkhus, to receive the confessions of a fault from Bhikkhunts. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow Bhikkhunts, O Bhikkhus, to receive the confession of a fault from Bhikkhunts.'

The Bhikkhunts did not know how to receive the confession of a fault. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to tell Bhikkhunts how to receive the confession of a fault.'

3. Now at that time disciplinary proceedings (Kammas) were not carried out against Bhikkhunts. They told that matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow disciplinary proceedings, O Bhikkhus, to be carried out against Bhikkhunts.'

Then the Bhikkhus thought: 'By whom ought disciplinary proceedings to be carried out against Bhikkhunts?' They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to carry out disciplinary proceedings against Bhikkhunts.'

Now at that time Bhikkhunts who had been subjected to disciplinary proceedings, on seeing a Bhikkhu on the road, or in a street closed at one end, or at the place where four cross-roads met, would place their bowls on the ground, and arranging their robes over one shoulder, would crouch down on their heels, and stretching out their joined palms would ask for pardon, thinking that that was the proper time for doing so. The people murmured [&c., as before].

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘Bhikkhus are not, O Bhikkhus, to carry out disciplinary proceedings against the Bhikkhunts. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’ I allow Bhikkhunts, O Bhikkhus, to carry out disciplinary proceedings against Bhikkhunts.’

The Bhikkhunts did not know how to carry out the disciplinary proceedings. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to tell the Bhikkhunts how to carry out disciplinary proceedings.’

7.

1. Now at that time Bhikkhunts in *Samgha* assembled, having fallen into quarrel, strife, and dispute, got to blows, and were unable to settle the point at issue. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to settle for Bhikkhunts a point at issue.’

Now at that time Bhikkhus were settling for Bhikkhunts a point at issue, and as the point at issue was being enquired into, it was found that both Bhikkhunts competent to take part in an official act¹, and Bhikkhunts who had been guilty of an offence (had taken part in the *Samgha* during the official act (the *Kamma*) at which the point in issue arose).

The Bhikkhunts said: ‘It would be well if you, Sirs, would carry out disciplinary proceedings against the guilty Bhikkhunts, or absolve their offence: for

¹ Kammappattā; on which see Parivāra XIX, 6, 7.

thus has it been laid down by the Blessed One :
 “ Bhikkhus are to settle for the Bhikkhuns a point
 at issue.”

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘ I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to set on foot ¹
 an official act for Bhikkhuns, and then to give it in
 charge for Bhikkhuns to carry out the official act
 against Bhikkhuns. And I allow Bhikkhus to set
 on foot the (dealing with an) offence for Bhikkhuns,
 and then to give it in charge for Bhikkhuns to ac-
 cept the confession thereof.’

8.

1. Now at that time a Bhikkhunī, a pupil of the
 Bhikkhunī Uppalavannā, followed the Blessed One
 for seven years, learning the Vinaya ; but she, being
 forgetful, lost it as fast as she received it. And that
 Bhikkhunī heard that the Blessed One was about to
 go to Sāvattthi. Then she thought : ‘ For seven
 years have I followed the Blessed One, learning the
 Vinaya ; and, being forgetful, I have lost it as fast as
 I received it. Hard is it for a woman to follow the
 Blessed One her life long. What now shall I do ?’

And that Bhikkhunī told this matter to the Bhik-
 khuns, and they told it to the Bhikkhus, and the
 Bhikkhus told it to the Blessed One.

‘ I allow Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, to teach the
 Vinaya to Bhikkhuns.’

Here ends the First Portion for Recitation.

¹ Ropetum, on which Buddhaghosa says : Tagganiyādīsu imam
 nāma kammam etissā kâtabban ti evam ropetvâ.

9.

1. Now when the Blessed One had stayed at Vesālī as long as he thought fit, he sat out towards Sāvattthi; and, journeying straight on, he in due course arrived thereat. And there, at Sāvattthi, the Blessed One remained in the *Getavana*, Anātha Pindāka's Park.

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus threw dirty water over Bhikkhunts, thinking, perhaps, they would fall in love with them¹.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'A Bhikkhu is not, O Bhikkhus, to throw dirty water at a Bhikkhunī. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkata*. I allow a penalty, O Bhikkhus, to be imposed on that Bhikkhu.

Then the Bhikkhus thought: 'What penalty is it that ought to be imposed on him?' They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'That Bhikkhu is to be declared to be one who is not to be saluted by the Bhikkhunī-samgha².'

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhus uncovered their bodies, or their thighs, or their private parts, and showed them to Bhikkhunts, or addressed Bhikkhunts with wicked words, or associated with Bhikkhunts, thinking, perhaps, they would fall in love with them³.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

¹ On *sāraggeyyun* compare *sāraggati* at V, 3, 1.

² On this decision compare the 'sending to Coventry' of *Khanna* for levity of conduct towards Bhikkhus at *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* VI, 4, and *Kullavagga* XI, 1, 12 (where the penalty is called *Brahma-danda*).

³ On *sampayogeti* compare *Kullavagga* I, 5, at the end.

‘A Bhikkhu is not, O Bhikkhus, to do [any of these things]. Whosoever does, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow, O Bhikkhus, a penalty to be imposed on that Bhikkhu.’

Then the Bhikkhus thought: ‘What penalty is it that ought to be imposed on him?’ They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘That Bhikkhu is to be declared to be one who is not to be saluted by the Bhikkhū-saṃgha.’

2. [The last section repeated of the *Kḥabbaggiya* Bhikkhūnt, the decision being the same down to]

Then the Bhikkhus thought: ‘What penalty is it that ought to be imposed on her?’ They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to prohibit her (from entering a Vihāra)¹.’

When the prohibition was laid upon them, they would not accept it. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to inhibit them from the Exhortation.’

3. Then the Bhikkhus thought: ‘Is it lawful to hold Uposatha with a Bhikkhūnt who has been inhibited from the Exhortation, or is it not lawful?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘You are not, O Bhikkhus, to hold Uposatha with a Bhikkhūnt who has been inhibited from the Exhortation until such time as her case has been settled.’

Now at that time the venerable Udāyi, after having inhibited the Exhortation (to one or more Bhikkhūnt), went away on a journey. The Bhik-

¹ *Āvaranan ti vihārapavesane nivāraṇam*, says Buddhaghosa.

khunts murmured, were indignant, and complained, saying: 'How can the venerable Udāyi [act so]?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to go on a journey after having inhibited the Exhortation. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time foolish and incompetent Bhikkhus inhibited the Exhortation.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'The Exhortation is not, O Bhikkhus, to be inhibited by a foolish, incompetent Bhikkhu. When such a one does so, he shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time Bhikkhus inhibited the Exhortation without grounds and without cause.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to inhibit the Exhortation without ground and without cause. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time Bhikkhus, who had inhibited the Exhortation, would not give a decision (on the matter out of which the inhibition arose).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'When, O Bhikkhus, you have inhibited the Exhortation, you are not to abstain from giving a decision (on the matter out of which the inhibition arose). Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

4. Now at that time Bhikkhunts did not go to the Exhortation. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'A Bhikkhunt, O Bhikkhus, is not to omit going to the Exhortation. Whosoever does so, shall be dealt with according to the rule¹.'

¹ Bhikkhunī Pāṭittiya LVIII.

Now at that time the whole Bhikkhuni-saṃgha went to the Exhortation together. The people murmured, were indignant, and complained, saying : 'There are their wives, there are their mistresses ; now will they take pleasure together.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'The whole Bhikkhuni-saṃgha is not, O Bhikkhus, to go to the Exhortation together. And if it should so go, it is guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow, O Bhikkhus, four or five Bhikkhunis to go together.'

[The same when four or five went the decision ending,]

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, two or three Bhikkhunis to go together to Exhortation ; and let them go up to some one Bhikkhu, and arrange their robes over one shoulder, and, sitting down on their heels, let them stretch forth their joined palms, and thus address him : "The Bhikkhuni-saṃgha salutes the feet of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, and requests permission to come for the purpose of the Exhortation being held ; may that be granted, they say, to the Bhikkhuni-saṃgha."

'Then he who is entrusted with the recitation of the Pātimokkha is to ask : "Is there any Bhikkhu who has been appointed to hold the Exhortation of the Bhikkhunis?"

'If a Bhikkhu has been appointed thereto, the reciter of the Pātimokkha is to say : "Such and such a Bhikkhu has been appointed to hold Exhortation to the Bhikkhunis. Let the Bhikkhuni-saṃgha come to him accordingly."

'If no Bhikkhu has been appointed thereto, the reciter of the Pātimokkha is to say : "Which of the venerable ones is able to hold Exhortation to

the Bhikkhuns?" If any one is able to do so, and is possessed of the eight qualifications¹, he is to appoint him thereto, and is to say: "Such and such a Bhikkhu is appointed to hold Exhortation to the Bhikkhuns. Let the Bhikkhuns-saṃgha come to him."

'If no one is able to do so, the reciter of the Pātimokkha is to say: "There is no Bhikkhu appointed to hold Exhortation to the Bhikkhuns. May the Bhikkhuns-saṃgha obtain its desire in peace²."'

5. Now at that time Bhikkhus did not accept the (office of holding) Exhortation. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'The Exhortation is not, O Bhikkhus, to be declined. Whosoever shall not accept it, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu was stupid. To him the Bhikkhuns went, and said: 'Sir, please to accept the (duty of holding) Exhortation.'

'I, sister, am stupid. How can I accept the Exhortation?'

'You should take it, Sir; for thus has it been laid down by the Blessed One: "Bhikkhus are to accept the (duty of holding) Exhortation to the Bhikkhuns."'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, all the rest, save the stupid, to accept the Exhortation.'

[The same repeated of a sick Bhikkhu, and a

¹ These are given at length in the Sutta Vibhaṅga, Pāṭiṭṭiya XXI, 2, 1.

² Pāsādikena sampādetu, on which Buddhaghosa has no note. Perhaps 'by means of faith' would be a better rendering.

Bhikkhu on a journey. The same case put of a Bhikkhu living in the jungle. The decision is,]

‘I allow a Bhikkhu living in the jungle, O Bhikkhus, to accept the Exhortation, and to appoint a time and place for the meeting¹, saying: “There will I perform it.”’

Now at that time Bhikkhus accepted the Exhortation, but did not perform it. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘The Exhortation, O Bhikkhus, is not to be neglected. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time Bhikkhunts did not attend at the place appointed. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunt is not, O Bhikkhus, to omit attending at the place appointed. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

10.

1. Now at that time Bhikkhunts wore long girdles, and out of them they arranged fringes². The people murmured, were indignant, and complained, saying: ‘As the women who are still enjoying the pleasures of the world do!’

¹ On *saṃketam*, see our note above on Mahāvagga VIII, 23, 3.

² Pāsuke namentiti gihidārikāyo viya ghanapaṭṭakena kāya-bandhanena pāsuke namanatthāya bandhanti, says Buddhaghosa. Pāsuka is probably equal to the Sanskrit pārsvaka, and means a fringe arranged round the body, as shown in Plate LI of Cunningham’s ‘Bharhut Tope,’ being so called from the rib-like arrangement of the strings or cloth or other substance of which it was made. On corresponding girdles worn by men and forbidden to Bhikkhus, see Kullavagga V, 29, 2.

‘A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to wear a long girdle. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow a Bhikkhunī, O Bhikkhus, a girdle that will go once round the body¹, and fringes are not to be arranged in it. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time Bhikkhunis arranged fringes in cloth of bambū fibre², or in leather, or in white cotton cloth³, or in plaited cotton cloth⁴, or in fringed cotton cloth⁵, or in white or in plaited or in fringed kola cloth⁶, or in plaits or fringes made of thread. The people murmured, were indignant, and complained, saying: ‘As the women who are still enjoying the pleasures of the world do!’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to wear any of these things. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

2. Now at that time Bhikkhunis had their backs scrubbed with the steak-bone of an ox, or slapped with the jaw-bone of an ox; and had their fore-arms⁷,

¹ Ekapariyākatan ti ekavāram parikkhipanakam, says the Samanta Pāsādikā.

² Vilivena pattenāti (sic) saṇheti veḷuviḷvehi (sic) katapaḷḷena.

³ Dussapaḷḷenāti setavatthapaḷḷena.

⁴ Dussaveniyāti dussena kataveniyā.

⁵ Dussapaḷḷiyāti dussena katapaḷḷiyā.

⁶ Kolapaḷḷādisu kolakāvāsam kolan ti veditabbam.

⁷ Hattham koḷḷāpentīti aggam bāham koḷḷāpetvā morapat-tādīhi kīttakam karonti, says Buddhaghosa. The meaning is not clear. No. 10 of the tattoo marks figured on Plate LII of Cunningham’s ‘Bharhut Tope,’ referred to in the note on the next section, is a representation of a peacock’s feathers. On aḷḷilla, see Buddhaghosa’s note at p. 327 of the text. Compare the prohibition of the use by Bhikkhus of back-scratchers and other like things (Kulavagga V, 1, 1) connected with shampooing or luxurious bathing.

and the backs of their hands¹, and their calves², and the upper part of their feet³, and their thighs, and their faces, and their gums, so slapped. The people murmured, were indignant, and complained, saying: 'As the women who are still enjoying the pleasures of the world do!'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to [do any of these things]. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

3. Now at that time the *K/abbaggiya* Bhikkhuns [&c., down to]

'A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to anoint her face, nor to rub ointments on to her face⁴, nor to put chunam on to her face, nor to smear red arsenic on to her face, nor to paint her body, nor to paint her face, nor to paint her body and face. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

4. [Similar paragraph concluding,]

'A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to make (tattoo marks) by the corners of her eyes⁵, or on her cheeks⁷, nor to peep out of window⁸, nor to stand in the

¹ Hattha-kokkhan ti piṭṭhi-hattham.

² Pādan ti gaṅgham.

³ Pāda-kokkhan ti piṭṭhi-pādam.

⁴ This paragraph has already occurred above, V, 2, 5 of the Bhikkhus.

⁵ These two injunctions are found also in the 90th and 91st Bhikkhunī Pāṭittiyas.

⁶ Avaṅgam karontīti avanga-dese adhomukham lekham karonti (B.). Avaṅga=Sanskrit apāṅga.

⁷ Visesakam karontīti ganda-padese vikītra-saṇhānam visesakam karonti (B.). A number of tattoo marks on the cheeks are figured in Plate LII of Cunningham's 'Bharhut Tope.'

⁸ Olokontīti vātapānam vivaritvā vīthim olokonti (B.).

light (of a half-opened door)¹, nor to have dances performed, nor to keep courtesans, nor to keep a tavern, nor to keep a slaughter-house, nor to open a shop, nor to practise usury, nor to supply men slaves or women slaves, or men servants or maid servants, or animals, nor to carry on the business of florist and seedsman², nor to carry the razor case³.

[Similar paragraph concluding,]

'A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to wear robes that are all of a blue, light yellow, crimson, black, brownish-yellow, or dark yellow colour : nor to wear robes with skirts to them which are not made of torn pieces of cloth, or are long, or have flowers worked on them, or cobras' hoods; nor to wear jackets, nor dresses made of the fibre of the Tīrī-taka plant⁴. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

11.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhunī, when on her death-bed, said: 'After I am gone, let my set of necessities⁵ belong to the Samgha.' Then the

¹ Sāloke tiṭṭhantīti dvārom vivaritvā upaddha-kāyam dassentiyo tiṭṭhanti (B.). Compare Theri-gāthā 73.

² Harītaka-pannikam pakinantīti harītakañ k'eva panninīka pakinanti, pakinnakāpanam pasārentīti vuttam hoti (B.). Compare pannika-upāsako in the Gāṭaka I, 411 = II, 180.

³ Namatakam dhāreti. See V, 27, 3, and our note above on V, 11, 1. The expression evidently means here 'to be a barber.'

⁴ This paragraph has already occurred above, in respect to the Bhikkhus (Mahāvagga VIII, 29), where see our notes on the various items.

⁵ Parikkhāro; that is, the eight things over which a member

Bhikkhus and the Bhikkhunts disputed as to it, saying: 'It belongs to us; it belongs to us.'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'If, O Bhikkhus, a Bhikkhuni, or a novice under training to become one (a Sikkhamânâ), when on her death-bed, should say: "After I am gone, let my set of necessities belong to the Samgha," then it is the Bhikkhuni-samgha it belongs to; the Bhikkhu-samgha is not the owner thereof. If a Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, or a novice under training to become one (a Sâmañera), when on his death-bed, should say: "After I am gone, let my set of necessities become the property of the Samgha," then it is the Bhikkhu-samgha it belongs to; the Bhikkhuni-samgha is not the owner thereof¹.'

12.

1. Now at that time a certain woman, who had formerly belonged to the clan of the Mallas², had entered the Order of the Bhikkhunts. She, seeing a weakly Bhikkhu on the road, struck up against him with the edge of her shoulder, and knocked him over. The Bhikkhus murmured, were indignant, and complained, saying: 'How can a Bhikkhuni assault a Bhikkhu?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'A Bhikkhuni is not, O Bhikkhus, to assault a

of the Buddhist Order was allowed proprietary rights—the three robes, the alms-bowl, razor, needle, girdle, and water-strainer.

¹ By the rule laid down in the Mahāvagga VIII, 27, the set of robes and the bowl are to be assigned by the Samgha to those that waited on the sick—at least in the case of Bhikkhus,—and the analogy would doubtless hold good of the Bhikkhunīs also.

² Well known as wrestlers.

Bhikkhu. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I prescribe that a Bhikkhunta, O Bhikkhus, on seeing a Bhikkhu, should get out of the way when still at a distance, and make room for him.'

13.

1. Now at that time a certain woman, while her husband was on a journey, became with child by a paramour. She had a premature delivery, and asked a Bhikkhunta, a confederate of hers, to carry away the foetus in her bowl. And that Bhikkhunta put it into her bowl, and, covering it over with her upper robe, went away.

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu, who was on an alms-pilgrimage, had made a vow not to partake of the first food given to him until he had already given of it either to a Bhikkhu or to a Bhikkhunta. On seeing the Bhikkhunta, that Bhikkhu said: 'Come, sister! take some food.'

'No thank you, Sir.'

[And a second and a third time the Bhikkhu made the same request, and received the same reply. Then he said,]

'Sister! I have made a vow not to partake myself of the first food given to me until I have already given of it either to a Bhikkhu or to a Bhikkhunta. Come, sister! take the food.'

Then that Bhikkhunta, being so pressed by the Bhikkhu, pulled out her bowl, and showed him what was inside of it. And the Bhikkhu was indignant, and annoyed, and remonstrated, saying: 'How can you do such a thing?' And he told the Bhikkhus, and they were indignant, &c., and told the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhant is not, O Bhikkhus, to carry away a foetus in her bowl. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow a Bhikkhant, O Bhikkhus, on seeing a Bhikkhu, to pull out her bowl, and show it to him.’

The following short section will scarcely bear translating into modern English.

15.

1. Now at that time the people gave food to the Bhikkhus, and the Bhikkhus gave to the Bhikkhants. The people murmured, were indignant, and complained, saying: ‘How can their reverences give away to others what was given for them to have—as if we did not know how to give gifts?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhu, O Bhikkhus, is not to give away to others what was given for them themselves to have. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhus had come into the possession of some (meat for) food. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give it to the Samgha.’

Too much came into their possession.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give away that which was given to special individuals (and to keep that which had come into the possession of the Samgha as a whole¹).’

¹ Puggalikam dātum. On this phrase compare the similar one below at X, 24. Buddhaghosa has no note either here or there.

Now at that time food, which had been stored up for the Bhikkhus, had come into their possession.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow food that has been stored up to be enjoyed by the Bhikkhuns after they have had it given over to them by the Bhikkhus.’

2. [The same repeated, reading Bhikkhuni for Bhikkhu, and vice versâ.]

16.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhus had come into the possession of some bedding, and the Bhikkhuns had none. The Bhikkhuns sent a messenger to the Bhikkhus, saying: ‘It would be well if their reverences the Bhikkhus would give us some bedding on loan¹.’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give bedding to the Bhikkhuns on loan.’

2. Now at that time Bhikkhuns, in their courses, sat down or lay down on stuffed bedsteads and chairs, and the stuffing was soiled with blood.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhuni is not, O Bhikkhus, to sit down or lie down on a stuffed bedstead or chair. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow the use, O Bhikkhus, of an indoor’s robe².’

The indoor’s robe got soiled.

¹ *Tāvakālikam*. See the passages quoted in our note above on *Kullavagga* VI, 18.

² *Āvasatha-kīvaram*. See the Old Commentary on this word as occurring in the 47th Bhikkhuni Pāṭittiya.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a thigh-cloth (a cloth to reach nearly down to the knee¹).’

The thigh-cloth slipped down.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow it, O Bhikkhus, to be fastened by a thread to be tied round the thigh.’

The thread broke.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a loin-cloth, and a string going round the hips (to keep it up)².’

Now at that time the *Khabbaggiya* Bhikkhunis used to wear the hip-string always. The people murmured, &c., saying: ‘Like the women who still enjoy the pleasures of the world!’ They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhuni is not, O Bhikkhus, to wear a hip-string for constant use³. I allow its use to one who is in her courses.’

¹ *Âni-kolakam*. Buddhaghosa has no note on this. *Âni* must be here ‘that part of the leg immediately above the knee, the front of the thigh.’ Compare Böhlingk-Roth s. v. Nö. 2.

² *Samvelliyaṃ kaṭi-suttakam*. The *samvelliyaṃ* is the ordinary undress as worn for the sake of decency, even now, by a labourer working in muddy paddy fields, or at any severe task. It is a wedge-shaped strip of cotton cloth about a foot and a half long, about five inches wide at one end, and tapering down to one inch in width at the other. The broad end is fixed on to a string going round the waist (*kaṭi-suttakam*), and hangs down, when put on, in front of the legs. When worn under other clothes, it remains so; but when the other clothes are taken off for work the narrow end is passed under the body between the legs, and twisted round the hip-string behind (at the small of the back) so as to keep it fast. Its use is forbidden to Bhikkhus at V, 29, 5, where Buddhaghosa says, ‘Such as wrestlers and labourers wear.’

³ Its use is also forbidden to Bhikkhus (above, *Kullavagga* V, 2, 1).

17.

1. Now at that time there were found among the Bhikkhunis some who were [deformed in one or other of eleven ways]¹.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that a woman on whom the upasampadā initiation is being conferred, is to be questioned as touching the four-and-twenty Disqualifications². And thus, O Bhikkhus, is she to be questioned :

(1-11) “Have you any one or other of the eleven deformities [each repeated as above]?”

(12-16) “Have you any of the following diseases—leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption, or fits?”

(17) “Are you a human being³?”

(18) “Are you a female?”

(19) “Are you a free woman?”

(20) “Are you free from debts?”

(21) “Are you not in the king’s service?”

(22) “Have your father and mother given their consent?”

(23) “Are you full twenty years of age?”

(24) “Are you duly provided with robes and alms-bowl?”

“What is your name?”

. ¹ Here follow a number of abnormities, deformities, or diseases, all of which have reference to the womb or its accessories. Some of them are unintelligible to us. Compare the corresponding section in respect to Bhikkhus at Mahāvagga I, 68.

² Of these twenty-four, eleven are the deformities just referred to, and the rest are the same as those for Bhikkhus at Mahāvagga I, 76. The number of questions is, in fact, twenty-six, but the last two do not refer to Disqualifications.

³ For the reason of this, see Mahāvagga I, 63.

“What is the name of your proposer¹?”

2. Now at that time Bhikkhus put the questions as touching the Disqualifications to Bhikkhuns², and they who were seeking after the upasampadâ initiation became disconcerted and perplexed, and were unable to answer.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that initiation is to be conferred in the Bhikkhu-saṃgha upon a Bhikkhunī who has been initiated on the one side in the Bhikkhunī-saṃgha, and has there cleared herself (from the Disqualifications).’

Now at that time the Bhikkhuns questioned those who desired to receive the upasampadâ initiation about the Disqualifications, without having had them instructed beforehand (how to answer). The persons who desired to be ordained became disconcerted and perplexed, and were not able to answer³.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you first instruct the women about to be initiated (how to answer), and that you then question them as to the Disqualifications.’

Then they instructed the candidates in the midst of the assembly, and they still became disconcerted, and could not answer.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

¹ Pavattinī; corresponding to upagghāya in the case of Bhikkhus.

² This is in accordance with the rule laid down in X, 2, 2, that Bhikkhus, and not Bhikkhuns, are to confer the upasampadâ.

³ This paragraph is word for word the same as Mahāvagga I, 76, 2 of the Bhikkhus.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that they be instructed aside, and then questioned in the midst of the assembly.

‘And thus, O Bhikkhus, ought they to be instructed:—First they ought to be made to choose an instructor¹; when they have chosen an instructor their robes and bowl must be shown to them: “This is your alms-bowl, this is your waist-cloth, this is your upper garment, this is your under garment, this is your vest, this is your bathing dress². Go and stand in such and such a place.”’

3. Ignorant and incompetent (Bhikkhunis) instructed them, and they became disconcerted, perplexed, and unable to answer.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘They are not to be instructed, O Bhikkhus, by unlearned, incompetent Bhikkhunis. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that they be instructed by learned and competent Bhikkhunis.’

4. Bhikkhunis not appointed (to the office of doing so) instructed them.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, instruct them without

¹ *Upaggham*. It should be observed that this expression is found only here, and in the corresponding section for the Bhikkhus, at Mahāvagga I, 76, 3. Elsewhere, throughout, *Upagghāya* is the form used for Bhikkhus, and *Pavattinī* for Bhikkhunis. The word is probably here also, as in the Mahāvagga I, 76, 3, to be taken as a masculine.

² These last two are omitted in the corresponding section for the Bhikkhus, Mahāvagga I, 76, 3. On *Samkaḍḍhikam*, see the note of the Old Commentator on the 96th Bhikkhunī Pākittiya, and on *Udaka-sāṭṭikā*, the same on the 22nd Bhikkhunī Pākittiya.

having been appointed thereto. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that a Bhikkhuni appointed to the office instruct them.

‘And thus, O Bhikkhus, ought she to be appointed—one may either appoint herself, or one may be appointed by another. And how is a Bhikkhuni to appoint herself? Let a learned, competent Bhikkhuni lay the following motion (*ñatti*) before the *Samgha*: “Let the *Samgha*, reverend Ladies, hear me. N. N. desires to receive the upasampadā initiation from the venerable lady, M. M. If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, I will instruct N. N.” Thus may a Bhikkhuni appoint herself.

‘And how is a Bhikkhuni to be appointed by another? Let a learned, competent Bhikkhuni lay the following resolution before the *Samgha*: “Let the *Samgha*, reverend Ladies, hear me. N. N. desires to receive the upasampadā initiation from the venerable lady, M. M. If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, let A. A. instruct N. N.” Thus may one Bhikkhuni be appointed by another.

5. ‘Then let that so appointed Bhikkhuni go to the person who is seeking to be initiated, and thus address her: “Listen to me, N. N. This is the time for you to speak the truth, to declare that which is. When you are asked about what has happened before the *Samgha*, you ought, if it is so, to answer: “That is so;” if it is not so, to answer: “That is not so.” Be not perplexed, be not disconcerted. I shall ask you thus: “Are you deformed (&c., down to the end of the twenty-six questions in § 1).”’

(After the instruction was over, the instructor and the candidate) returned together to the assembly.

‘They are not to return together. Let the instructor return first, and lay the following resolution before the *Samgha*: “Let the *Samgha*, reverend Ladies, hear me. N. N. desires to receive the upasampadā initiation from the venerable lady, M. M.; and she has been instructed by me. If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, let N. N. come forward.” Then let her be told to come forward. Then let her be told to adjust her upper robe over one shoulder only, to bow down before the Bhikkhuns, to sit down on her heels, and stretching forth her joined palms, to ask for the upasampadā initiation, saying: “I ask the *Samgha*, reverend Ladies, for initiation. May the *Samgha*, reverend Ladies, raise me up (out of the worldly life), having pity on me.” And a second and a third time is she to repeat that request.

6. ‘Then let a learned and competent Bhikkhuni lay the following resolution before the *Samgha*: “Let the *Samgha*, reverend Ladies, hear me. This person, N. N., desires to receive the upasampadā initiation from M. M.; and she has been instructed by me. If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, let me question N. N. as touching the Disqualifications. Listen to me, N. N. [as before, down to the end of the questions].”

7. ‘Then let a learned and competent Bhikkhuni lay the following motion before the *Samgha*: “Let the *Samgha*, reverend Ladies, hear me. This person, N. N., desires to receive the upasampadā initiation from the venerable lady, M. M. She is free from the Disqualifications, and is duly provided with alms-bowl and robes. This person, N. N., asks the *Samgha* for the upasampadā initiation, the vene-

rable lady, M. M., being her proposer. If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* receive N. N., the venerable lady, M. M., being her proposer. That, then, is the motion.

“Let the *Samgha*, venerable Ladies, hear me. N. N. desires to receive the upasampadâ, the lady, M. M., being her proposer. The *Samgha* confers the upasampadâ upon N. N., the lady, M. M., being her proposer. Whosoever of the venerable ones agrees thereto, let her keep silence; whosoever agrees not thereto, let her speak. A second time I say the same thing.” [The whole of this paragraph repeated.] And a third time I say the same thing. [Paragraph repeated.]

‘The *Samgha* has conferred the upasampadâ upon N. N., the lady, M. M., being her proposer. The *Samgha* agrees thereto. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.’

8. ‘Then, further, let her be taken before the Bhikkhu-*samgha*, and there told to arrange her robe over one shoulder only, to bow down before the Bhikkhus, and, sitting down on her heels, to stretch forth her joined palms, and say: “I, Sirs, N. N., who, being desirous of receiving the upasampadâ initiation from M. M., have received it on the one side (of the *Samgha*, from the Bhikkhunts), and have there been declared free (from the Disqualifications), do hereby ask the *Samgha* for the upasampadâ.” [The rest of the proceedings are the same as before the Bhikkhunī-*samgha*.] “May the *Samgha*, reverend Sirs, raise me up (out of the worldly life), having pity on me.” And a second time do I hereby ask [&c., repeated]. And a third time do I hereby ask [the same repeated].

[The rest of the proceedings are the same as in the last sections 6 and 7, putting 'Bhikkhu' for 'Bhikkhunī,' and 'reverend Sirs' for 'reverend Ladies.']

'Then, further, let them (the Bhikkhus) measure the shadow, tell (the newly-received Bhikkhunī) what season and what date it is, tell her what part of the day it is, tell her the whole formula¹, and tell the Bhikkhunis: "You are to teach her what are the three things allowed², and what are the eight things interdicted³."'

18.

Now at that time Bhikkhunis wasted their time in the dining-hall, doubting as to which should take which seat.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that the senior eight Bhikkhunis shall take their seats according to seniority, and the rest as they happen to come in.'

Now at that time Bhikkhunis, on the ground that the Blessed One had so prescribed, let the eight senior Bhikkhunis in every other place take

¹ *Samgāti*. On the meaning of this curious use of the word, see our note on the corresponding section for the Bhikkhus (*Mahāvagga* I, 77).

² The three *Nissayas*, which are doubtless the same as the 1st, 2nd, and 4th of the four Resources mentioned in the corresponding paragraph for Bhikkhus (*Mahāvagga* I, 77). The third is forbidden to Bhikkhunis, below, X, 23.

³ *Aṭṭha akaraṇiyāni*. These must bear the same relation to the eight Bhikkhunī *Pārāgikas* as the four Interdicts in the corresponding paragraph for the Bhikkhus (*Mahāvagga* I, 78) do to the four Bhikkhu *Pārāgikas*.

exclusive possession (of the first eight seats), and the rest arranged themselves as they came in.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, as above, only in the case of the dining-hall. Everywhere else let there be no exclusive right to seats by seniority.’

19.

1. Now at that time the Bhikkhuns did not hold Pavâranâ.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunî is not, O Bhikkhus, to omit holding Pavâranâ. Whosoever does so, shall be dealt with according to law¹.’

Now at that time the Bhikkhuns held Pavâranâ by themselves, and not in the Bhikkhu-saṃgha.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunî is not, O Bhikkhus, to hold Pavâranâ apart, and not in the Bhikkhu-saṃgha. Whosoever does so, shall be dealt with according to law².’

Now at that time Bhikkhuns holding Pavâranâ with the Bhikkhus only, and not apart by themselves, disturbed (the meeting of the Bhikkhu-saṃgha).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunî is not, O Bhikkhus, to hold Pavâranâ with the Bhikkhu-saṃgha only. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkata².’

Now at that time Bhikkhuns spent all their time

¹ The 57th Bhikkhunî Pâkittiya, which is the same as the 4th Garudhamma above, X, 1, 4.

² See last note.

before noon holding Pavāraṇā [and so had no time left for the early meal].

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that they hold Pavāraṇā in the afternoon.’

When holding Pavāraṇā in the afternoon, they had not time enough [to conclude their own ceremony that day, and take part in that of the Bhikkhus].

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow them, O Bhikkhus, to hold their own Pavāraṇā one day, and that with the Bhikkhus the next day.’

2. Now at that time the whole of the Bhikkhuni-saṃgha declaring, each one for herself, her Pavāraṇā before the Bhikkhu-saṃgha, disturbed (the proceedings).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that some one learned and competent Bhikkhuni be deputed to make the Pavāraṇā invitation on behalf of the Bhikkhuni-saṃgha before the Bhikkhu-saṃgha. And thus, O Bhikkhus, is she to be deputed :

“First, the Bhikkhuni is to be asked (whether she be willing to serve). When that has been done, a learned and discreet Bhikkhuni is to lay this motion before the Saṃgha : Let the Saṃgha, venerable Ladies, hear me. If it seem meet to the Saṃgha, let the Saṃgha depute N. N. to make the Pavāraṇā invitation on behalf of the Bhikkhuni-saṃgha before the Bhikkhu-saṃgha. That is the motion.

“Let the Saṃgha, venerable Ladies, hear me. The Saṃgha deposes N. N. to make the Pavāraṇā invitation on behalf of the Bhikkhuni-saṃgha before the Bhikkhu-saṃgha. Whosoever of the venerable

ones approves thereof, let her keep silence. Who-soever approves not thereof, let her speak.

“ N. N. is deputed by the *Samgha* to make the Pavâranâ invitation on behalf of the Bhikkhuni-*samgha* before the Bhikkhu-*samgha*. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”

3. ‘When that Bhikkhuni has been deputed, she, accompanied by the Bhikkhuni-*samgha*, is to go before the Bhikkhu-*samgha*, arrange her robe over one shoulder, bow down before the Bhikkhus, and sitting on her heels, to stretch forth her joined palms, and say: “The Bhikkhuni-*samgha* invites the Bhikkhu-*samgha* (to point out to them any faults they may have committed) in respect of things heard, or seen, or suspected. May the Bhikkhu-*samgha* speak to the Bhikkhuni-*samgha* (if there be anything wherein they have offended) out of compassion toward them. Then will they, if they perceive the offence, confess the same. And a second time the Bhikkhuni-*samgha* [the whole repeated]. And a third time [the whole repeated]¹.”’

20.

Now at that time Bhikkhunis inhibited Bhikkhus from the Upasatha, or from the Pavâranâ, or from the Exhortation, or issued commands to them, or asked them to give them leave to rebuke them, or warned them of some offence they supposed they

¹ This, of course, is the same form that each separate member of the Order uses before his or her own *Samgha*. Compare our notes above on the corresponding passage in the Mahāvagga, IV, 1, 4.

were committing, or called upon them to remember whether or not they had committed an offence¹.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to perform any one of these official acts towards a Bhikkhu. Should she do so, the act is itself invalid, and she is guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time Bhikkhus inhibited Bhikkhunts [&c., as before, giving the contrary decision].

21.

Now at that time the *Kāḍḍaggiya* Bhikkhunts had themselves carried in vehicles to which cows were yoked with a bull between them², or bulls were yoked with a cow between them. People were annoyed, murmured, and became indignant, saying: ‘That is what is done at the feast of the Gaṅgā, and the Maḥi³.’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to be carried in a vehicle. Whosoever does so, shall be dealt with according to law⁴.’

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhunī was sick, and unable to go on foot.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow the use of a carriage, O Bhikkhus, to a sick (Bhikkhunī)⁴.’

¹ On all these official acts of a Bhikkhunī, see the notes above on *Kullavagga* I, 5.

² On all these expressions, see our notes above at *Mahāvagga* V, 9, 3, where they recur word for word.

³ This is the 85th Bhikkhunī Pāṭittiya.

⁴ This is repeated from the 85th Bhikkhunī Pāṭittiya. The corresponding permission is given to Bhikkhus by *Mahāvagga* V, 10, 2.

Now the Bhikkhuns thought: 'Should the carts be yoked with cows or bulls?'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, a cart yoked with cows or bulls, or drawn by hand¹.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhun was much distressed by the jolting of the cart.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a litter or sedan chair².'

22.

1. Now at that time a courtesan named *Addhakâsî*³ had adopted the religious life under the Bhikkhuns, and she wanted to go to Sâvatthi to be received as full member of the Order (to receive the upasampadâ initiation) by the Blessed One himself. And men of abandoned life heard of it, and beset the road. And when *Addhakâsî*, the courtesan, heard that they had done so, she sent a messenger to the Blessed One, saying: 'I want to receive the upasampadâ initiation: what course of action should I adopt?'

Then the Blessed One, in that connection, addressed the Bhikkhus, after delivering a religious discourse⁴, and said: 'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to confer the upasampadâ initiation (upon Bhikkhuns) even by a messenger⁵.'

¹ *Hattha-vaṭṭakam*. See the note on Mahāvagga V, 10, 3.

² So also for Bhikkhus at Mahāvagga V, 10, 3.

³ On the meaning of this nickname or epithet, compare our note on Mahāvagga VIII, 2 (and see also VIII, 1, 1, and 3).

⁴ As set out in *Kullavagga* I, 1; Mahāvagga I, 35, 6.

⁵ The ordinary rule, no doubt, required, as in the case of Bhik-

2. They conferred it by (sending) a Bhikkhu as the messenger.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to confer the upasampadā initiation on a Bhikkhunī by sending a Bhikkhu as messenger. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

They conferred it by sending a female student a male novice a female novice an ignorant, incompetent Bhikkhunī, as the messenger.

[Similar decision in each case.]

'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to confer the upasampadā initiation by sending a learned, competent Bhikkhunī as a messenger.'

3. 'That Bhikkhunī messenger is to go before the Saṃgha, and arranging her robe over one shoulder, is to bow down before the Saṃgha, and sitting on her heels, to stretch forth her joined palms, and say: "N. N., having been desirous of receiving the upasampadā initiation with the lady, M. M. (as her proposer), has received it on the one hand from the Bhikkhunī-saṃgha, and has there been declared free (from the Disqualifications)¹. But she is prevented by some danger or other from coming before the Saṃgha (to have her initiation confirmed)². N. N. asks the Saṃgha for initiation. Let the Saṃgha raise her up (out of the worldly life) out of compassion upon her.' [To be said thrice.]

khus, a Saṃgha of not less than ten persons (Mahāvagga I, 31, 2, and IX, 4, 1), each of ten years standing or more (Mahāvagga I, 31, 8). But even for Bhikkhus there were, under special circumstances, certain relaxations of this rule (Mahāvagga V, 13, 11).

¹ See above, X, 17, 1, for the twenty-four Disqualifications.

² Compare above, X, 1, 4, and X, 17.

‘ Then let a learned, competent Bhikkhu lay the motion before the *Samgha*. “ Let the *Samgha*, venerable Sirs, hear me. N. N., having been desirous [statement of fact, as before]. If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* confer the upasampadâ initiation upon N. N., M. M. being her proposer. That is the motion.

“ Let the *Samgha*, venerable Sirs, hear me. N. N., [statement of fact, as before]. The *Samgha* hereby confers the upasampadâ initiation upon N. N., M. M. being her proposer. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves thereof, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. And a second time I say the same thing. N. N., (&c., down to) let him speak. And a third time I say the same thing. N. N., (&c., down to) let him speak.

“ The *Samgha* has hereby conferred the upasampadâ initiation upon N. N., M. M. being her proposer. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.”’

‘ Then, further, let them (the Bhikkhus) measure the shadow, tell (the messenger that she may tell the newly-received Bhikkhuni) what season and what date it is, tell her what part of the day it is, tell her the whole formula ; and tell the Bhikkhunis to teach her what are the three things allowed, and what are the eight things interdicted¹.’

23.

Now at that time Bhikkhunis dwelt in the forest, and men of abandoned life violated them.

¹ See above, X, 17, 8.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to adopt the forest life. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa¹.’

24.

1. Now at that time a certain lay disciple had given to the Bhikkhunī-saṃgha a servant’s lodge² (to live in).

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of a stable.’

It did not satisfy (their wants)³. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, a separate residence for Bhikkhuns.’

That did not satisfy their wants. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow, O Bhikkhus, building operations⁴ (to be carried on for the benefit of Bhikkhuns).’

¹ Compare Mahāvagga I, 30, 4, and I, 77, and our note above on X, 17, 8.

² This word has already occurred, in a list of various buildings, at Mahāvagga III, 5, 9, where we have rendered it stable. Budhaghosa says here uddositan (MS. udosita) ti bhandā-sālā, and as at Mahāvagga I, 61, assa-bhandā and hatthi-bhandā are evidently grooms attending on horses or elephants (compare Gāṭaka I, 62, 3), bhandā-sālā may mean a servant’s hall for the use of that particular class of servants. A lawsuit about an uddosita forms the Introductory Story to the 1st Bhikkhunī Saṃghādisesa, but the passage throws no light on the special meaning of the term. See also the Sutta-vibhaṅga on Nissaggiya II, 3, 5, and Khudda Sikkhā III, 19. The Sanskrit equivalent might perhaps be udavasita, if the reading of the Samanta Pāsādikā had any traditional value; but the dd is not doubtful in the MSS. of the text at any of the passages quoted. Assa-sālā is the word for stable at Gāṭaka I, 62, 3.

³ Na sammati. See the note on V, 13, 3.

⁴ Navakammam. See the note above at V, 13, 3.

That did not satisfy their wants. They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow Bhikkhuns, O Bhikkhus, to assign certain places to live in to individual members of the Order¹.’

25.

1. Now at that time a certain woman who had already conceived, but did not know it, was received into the Order among the Bhikkhuns. Afterwards her womb moved within her². Then that Bhikkhunī thought: ‘How shall I now conduct myself towards this child?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow her, O Bhikkhus, to bring it up till it have attained to years of discretion³.’

Then the Bhikkhunī thought: ‘It is not permissible for me to live alone, nor for any other Bhikkhunī to live with a male child. What course ought I to pursue?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow the Bhikkhuns, O Bhikkhus, to depute any one Bhikkhunī, and give her as a companion to that (first-mentioned) Bhikkhunī.’

¹ *Puggalikam kâṭum*. See the note above on X, 15, 1.

² There is a touching story founded on a similar incident which is given as the Introductory Story to No. 12 of the *Gāṭakas*, translated in Rh. D.’s ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ pp. 199–205. By the 61st Bhikkhunī *Pākittiya* it is lawful or unlawful to initiate a pregnant woman according as she is unconscious or conscious of the fact of her conception.

³ *Viññutam pāpunāti*. That is, no doubt, to puberty. Compare the opening phrases of the Introductory Story referred to in the last note (*Gāṭaka* I, 231) and also *Gāṭaka* III, 437.

‘And thus, O Bhikkhus, is she to be appointed : First that Bhikkhunī ought to be asked (whether she be willing to undertake the duty). After she has been asked, a learned and competent Bhikkhunī ought to lay the motion before the Saṃgha, saying :

“Let the Saṃgha, venerable Ladies, hear me. If it seem meet to the Saṃgha, let the Saṃgha depute N. N. as a companion to M. M. That is the motion.

“Let the Saṃgha,”’ [&c., as usual, to the end of the Kammavâḥā.]

2. Then that companion Bhikkhunī thought : ‘Now how should I conduct myself towards this child ?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I prescribe that the Bhikkhunis, O Bhikkhus, conduct themselves towards that child precisely as they would towards other men, save only as regards the sleeping under the same roof¹.’

3. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhunī, who had been guilty of a grievous offence, was living subject to the Mānatta penance². Then that Bhikkhunī thought : ‘It is not permissible for me to live alone, and it is not permissible for any other Bhikkhunī to live with me. What now ought I to do ?’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘I allow the Bhikkhunis, O Bhikkhus, to depute any one Bhikkhunī, and to give her as a companion to that Bhikkhunī. And thus, O Bhikkhus, ought

¹ Sāgāram ; on which Buddhaghosa has no note.

² For what this implied, see Kullavagga II, 1, 2, and II, 6, 1, and compare the 5th Garudhamma above, X, 1, 4.

she to be deputed [&c., as in last section but one, down to the end of the Kammavâkâ].'

26.

1. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhuni first abandoned the precepts, and then threw off the robes¹. Afterwards she came back, and asked the Bhikkhunis to admit her into the Order again.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'A Bhikkhuni ought not, O Bhikkhus, to abandon the precepts. But by having thrown off the robes she is ipso facto incapable of being a Bhikkhuni.'

2. Now at that time a certain Bhikkhuni, though still wearing the orange-coloured robe, joined a sect of the Titthiyas. Afterwards she came back, and asked the Bhikkhunis to receive her into the Order again.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'A Bhikkhuni, O Bhikkhus, who, when still wearing the orange-coloured robe, has gone over to the Titthiyas, is not to be received again².'

27.

1. Now at that time Bhikkhunis, fearing to offend, would not let men salute them, or cut their hair or nails, or dress their wounds.

¹ On the distinction between these two phrases, see the note on Mahāvagga II, 22, 3.

² For the similar rule in the case of Bhikkhus, see Mahāvagga I, 38, 1.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow them, O Bhikkhus, to permit those things.'

2. Now at that time Bhikkhunts, when sitting on a divan, allowed (other people thereon) to touch them with their heels.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to sit on a divan¹. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.'

Now at that time a certain Bhikkhunī was sick, and without using a divan she could not be at ease.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'I allow Bhikkhunts, O Bhikkhus, to use a half-divan².'

3. [Rule as to construction of privies³.]

4. Now at that time the Bhikkhunts used chunam at their baths.

People murmured, saying, 'As the women in the world do!'

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

'A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to use chunam at her bath. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of clay and the red powder of rice husks⁴.'

¹ Pallaṅkam. Compare Mahāvagga V, 10, 4, 5; Kullavagga V, 37, VI, 8, VI, 14; and the 42nd Bhikkhunī Pāṭittiya.

² Aḍḍha-pallaṅkam. Probably a cushion, which only one person could use at a time.

³ Compare the Rules for the Bhikkhus, Kullavagga VIII, 9, 10, which we have also left untranslated. Buddhaghosa says here, Heṭṭhā-vivaṭe upariḷḷhanne ti ettha saṅge kūpo khato hoti upari pana padaramattam eva sabba-disāsu paññāyati evarūpe pi vaṭṭati.

⁴ Kukkusam. Buddhaghosa says here, Kukkusam mattikan

[Similar paragraph, ending]

‘A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to use scented clay at her bath¹. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow, O Bhikkhus, the use of common clay.’

Now at that time Bhikkhunis bathing together in the steam-bath room made a tumult.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘Bhikkhunis are not, O Bhikkhus, to bathe in a steam-bath. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time Bhikkhunis bathing against the stream allowed the rush of water against them.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to bathe against the stream. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time Bhikkhunis bathed in a place not a common bathing-place, and men of abandoned life violated them.

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

‘A Bhikkhunī is not, O Bhikkhus, to bathe at a place not a common bathing-place. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa.’

Now at that time Bhikkhunis bathed at a bathing-place used also by men. People murmured, were indignant, and complained, saying, ‘As those women do who are still living in the pleasures of the world¹.’

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

ti *kundakañ* *k* eva *mattikañ* *ka*. The use of these last two was allowed to Bhikkhus by Kullavagga VI, 3, 1, for building purposes.

¹ This is apparently covered by the 88th and 89th Bhikkhunī Pāṭikkhiya.

‘A Bhikkhū is not, O Bhikkhus, to bathe at a bathing-place used also by men. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkaṭa. I allow, Bhikkhuns, O Bhikkhus, to bathe at a bathing-place used by women.’

End of the Third Portion for Recitation.

End of the Tenth Khandhaka, the Bhikkhū-
Khandhaka.

ELEVENTH KHANDHAKA.

ON THE COUNCIL OF RĀGAGAHA.

1¹.

1. Now the venerable Mahâ Kassapa addressed the Bhikkhus, and said: 'Once I was travelling along the road from Pāvā to Kusinârā with a great company of the Bhikkhus, with about five hundred Bhikkhus. And I left the high road and sat myself down at the foot of a certain tree.

'Just at that time a certain naked ascetic (*âgīvaka*), who had picked up a Mandârava² flower in Kusinârā, was coming along the road towards Pāvā. And I saw him coming in the distance, and on seeing I said to him:

"O, friend! surely thou knowest our Master?"

"Yea, friend, I know him. This day the Samāna Gotama has been dead a week. That is how I obtained this Mandârava flower."

'Then, Sirs, of those of the Bhikkhus who were not yet free from their passions, some stretched out

¹ The following section differs from the corresponding passage in the 'Book of the Great Decease' (VI, 36-41) in the very curious and instructive way pointed out by H. O. in the Introduction to his edition of the text, p. xxvi, on which see the remarks of Rh. D. at p. xiii of the General Introduction to his 'Buddhist Suttas.'

² This was a flower which was supposed to grow only in heaven, and its appearance on earth showed that the devas, on some special occasion, had been casting down heavenly flowers upon the earth.

their arms and wept; and some fell headlong on the ground; and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought: "Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!"

'But those of the Bhikkhus who were free from the passions (the Arahats) bore their grief, collected and composed at the thought: "Impermanent are all component things. How is it possible [that they should not be dissolved]?"

'Then I, Sirs, spake thus to the Bhikkhus: "Enough, Sirs! Weep not, neither lament! Has not the Blessed One already declared to us that it is the very nature of all things near and dear unto us that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How then, Sirs, can this be possible—that whereas anything whatever born, brought into being and organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist!"

'Then at that time¹, Sirs, one Subhadda, who had gone out from the world in his old age, was seated there in the company of Bhikkhus. And Subhadda, the late-received one, said to the Bhikkhus: "Enough, Sirs! Weep not, neither lament! We are well rid of the great Samāṇa. We used to be annoyed by being told, 'This beseems you, this beseems you not.' But now we shall be able to do whatever we like; and what we do not like, that we shall not have to do¹."

¹ In the 'Book of the Great Decease' the following speech comes before the preceding one.

‘Come, Sirs, let us chant together the Dhamma and the Vinaya before what is not Dhamma is spread abroad, and what is Dhamma is put aside; before what is not Vinaya is spread abroad, and what is Vinaya is put aside; before those who argue against the Dhamma become powerful, and those who hold to the Dhamma become weak; before those who argue against the Vinaya become powerful, and those who hold to the Vinaya become weak!’

2. ‘Let then the venerable Thera choose out Bhikkhus.’

Then the venerable Mahâ Kassapa chose out five hundred Arahats less one. And the Bhikkhus said to the venerable Mahâ Kassapa: ‘Lord, this venerable one, Ānanda, although he have not yet attained [to Nirvāṇa], yet is he incapable of falling into error through partiality, or malice, or stupidity, or fear, and thoroughly have the Dhamma and the Vinaya been learnt by him from the Blessed One himself. Therefore let our Lord choose the venerable Ānanda. And the venerable Mahâ Kassapa chose also the venerable Ānanda.’

3. Then it occurred to the Thera Bhikkhus: ‘In what place shall we now chant over together the Dhamma and the Vinaya?’ And it occurred to the Thera Bhikkhus: ‘In Râgagaha is alms plentiful, and there is abundance of lodging-places. What, now, if we were to spend the rainy season at Râgagaha, and chant the Dhamma and the Vinaya together there: and if no other Bhikkhus were to go up to Râgagaha for the rainy season¹?’

4. Then the venerable Mahâ Kassapa laid the

¹ This last was necessary, for if other Bhikkhus spent the Was at Râgagaha, either they must take part in the council, or its

resolution before the *Samgha*: 'Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* appoint that these five hundred Bhikkhus take up their residence during the rainy season at Râgagaha, to chant over together the Dhamma and the Vinaya, and that no other Bhikkhus go up to Râgagaha for the rainy season. This is the resolution. Let the venerable *Samgha* hear. The *Samgha* appoints accordingly. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves thereof, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. The *Samgha* has appointed accordingly. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.'

5. So the Thera Bhikkhus went up to Râgagaha to chant over together the Dhamma and the Vinaya. And the Thera Bhikkhus thought: 'The Blessed One has spoken in praise of the repair of dilapidations. Let us, then, during the first month of the rainy season repair such dilapidations, and during the middle month let us chant over the Dhamma and the Vinaya together.' And during the first month they repaired dilapidation.

6. And the venerable Ânanda—thinking, 'Tomorrow is the assembly, now it beseems me not to go into the assembly while I am still only on the way (towards Arahatsip)'—spent the whole night with mind alert. And at the close of the night, intending to lie down, he inclined his body, but before his head reached the pillow, and while his feet were still far from the ground, in the interval he became

decisions would have been invalid through its being incompletely constituted (want of *vaggatta*).

free from attachment to the world, and his heart was emancipated from the *Âsavas* (that is to say, from sensuality, individuality, delusion, and ignorance)¹.

7. And the venerable Mahâ Kassapa laid the resolution before the *Samgha*: 'If the time seem meet to the *Samgha*, I will question Upâli concerning the *Vinaya*.' And the venerable Upâli laid a resolution before the *Samgha*: 'Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, I, when questioned by the venerable Mahâ Kassapa, will give reply.'

Then the venerable Mahâ Kassapa said to the venerable Upâli: 'Venerable Upâli, where was the first *Pârâgika* promulgated?'

'In *Vesâlî*, Sir.'

'Concerning whom was it spoken?'

'Concerning *Sudinna*, the son of *Kalanda*.'

'In regard to what matter?'

'Sexual intercourse.'

Thus did the venerable Mahâ Kassapa question the venerable Upâli as to the matter, as to the occasion, as to the individual concerned, as to the (principal) rule, as to the sub-rule², as to who would be guilty, and as to who would be innocent³, of the first *Pârâgika*.

¹ In other words, he became an *Arahat*. Some MSS. omit the clause about the feet.

² *Anupaññatti*. Turnour (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1837, p. 19) translates this word, which is not in Childers, by 'the sequel or application of the exhortation.' We think the *paññatti* refers to the principal rule (as laid down in the *Sutta Vibhaṅga* at the close of I, 5, 11), and the *anupaññatti* to the additions made to it in the following sections.

³ This last clause doubtless refers to the closing words in the account given in the *Sutta Vibhaṅga* of each rule.

‘Again, venerable Upâli, where was the second Pârâgika promulgated?’

‘At Râgagaha, Sir.’

‘Concerning whom was it spoken?’

‘Dhaniya, the potter’s son.’

‘In regard to what matter?’

‘The taking of that which had not been given¹.’

Thus did the venerable Mahâ Kassapa question the venerable Upâli as to the matter, and as to the occasion, and as to the individual concerned, and as to the (principal) rule, and as to the sub-rule, and as to who would be guilty, and as to who would be innocent of the second Pârâgika.

‘Again, venerable Upâli, where was the third Pârâgika promulgated?’

‘At Vesâlî, Sir.’

‘Concerning whom was it spoken?’

‘A number of Bhikkhus.’

‘In regard to what matter?’

‘Human beings².’

Thus did the venerable Mahâ Kassapa question the venerable Upâli as to [all the particulars, as before] of the third Pârâgika.

‘Again, venerable Upâli, where was the fourth Pârâgika promulgated?’

‘At Vesâlî, Sir.’

‘Concerning whom was it spoken?’

‘The Bhikkhus dwelling on the banks of the Vaggumudâ river.’

‘In regard to what matter?’

¹ That is, ‘theft.’

² That is, murder or manslaughter. ‘The slaying of’ is to be understood.

‘Superhuman conditions.’

Thus did the venerable Mahā Kassapa question the venerable Upāli as to [all the particulars, as before] of the fourth Pārāgika. And in like manner did he question him through both the Vinayas¹; and as he was successively asked, so did Upāli make reply.

8. Then the venerable Mahā Kassapa laid a resolution before the Saṃgha: ‘Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. If the time seems meet to the Saṃgha, I would question Ānanda concerning the Dhamma.’

And the venerable Ānanda laid a resolution before the Saṃgha: ‘Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. If the time seems meet to the Saṃgha, I, as questioned by the venerable Mahā Kassapa, will give reply.’

And the venerable Mahā Kassapa said to the venerable Ānanda: ‘Where, venerable Ānanda, was the Brahmaṅgāla spoken?’

‘On the way, Sir, between Rāgagaha and Nalanda, at the royal rest-house at Ambalattikā².’

‘Concerning whom was it spoken?’

‘Suppiya, the wandering ascetic, and Brahmadatta, the young Brāhman.’

Thus did the venerable Mahā Kassapa question

¹ Ubhato-vinaye. That is, relating on the one hand to Bhikkhus, and on the other to Bhikkhunīs (not Sutta Vibhaṅga and Khandhakas). The Burmese MS. at Berlin reads ubhato-vibhaṅge, suggested possibly by Buddhaghosa’s expression in the corresponding part of his accounts of this Council at the commencement of the Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī and the Samanta Pāsādikā (see Turnour, loc. cit., and H. O., Vinaya III, 290.)

² In the text read rāgāgārake, as suggested in the notes at p. 329, and confirmed by the Sutta itself (ed. Grimblot).

the venerable Ânanda as to the occasion of the Brahmagâla, and as to the individuals concerning whom it was spoken.

‘And again, venerable Ânanda, where was the Sâmañña-phala spoken?’

‘At Râgagaha, Sir; in Givaka’s Mango Grove.’

‘And with whom was it spoken?’

‘With Agâtasattu, the son of the Vedeht.’

Thus did the venerable Mahâ Kassapa question the venerable Ânanda as to the occasion of the Sâmañña-phala, and as to the individual concerned. And in like manner did he question him through the five Nikâyas, and as he was successively asked, so did Ânanda make reply.

9. Then the venerable Ânanda spake thus to the Thera Bhikkhus: ‘The Blessed One, Sirs, at the time of his passing away, spake thus to me: “When I am gone, Ânanda, let the Samgha, if it should so wish, revoke all the lesser and minor precepts¹.”’

‘Did you then, venerable Ânanda, ask the Blessed One which were the lesser and minor precepts?’

‘No, Sirs.’

Some Theras then said that all the rules save the four Pârâgikas; others that all save those and the thirteen Samghâdisesas; others that all save those and the two Aniyatas; others that all save those and the thirty Nissaggiyas; others that all save those and the ninety-two Pâkittiyas; others that all save those and the four Pâidesaniyas were lesser and minor precepts.

Then the venerable Mahâ Kassapa laid a resolution before the Samgha: ‘Let the venerable

¹ ‘Book of the Great Decease,’ VI, 3.

Samgha hear me. There are certain of our precepts which relate to matters in which the laity are concerned. Now the laity know of us that "such and such things are proper for you *Samānas* who are *Sakyaputtiyas*, and such and such things are not." If we were to revoke the lesser and minor precepts, it will be said to us: "A set of precepts was laid down for his disciples by the *Samāna* Gotama to endure until the smoke should rise from his funeral pyre¹. So long as their teacher remained with these men, so long did they train themselves in the precepts. Since their teacher has passed away from them, no longer do they now train themselves in the precepts.'

'If the time seems meet to the *Samgha*, not ordaining what has not been ordained, and not revoking what has been ordained, let it take upon itself and ever direct itself in the precepts according as they have been laid down. This is the resolution.

'Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. [These things being so²] the *Samgha* takes upon itself the precepts according as they have been laid down. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves thereof, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. The *Samgha* has taken upon itself the precepts according as they were laid down. Therefore does it keep silence. Thus do I understand.'

10. Now the Thera Bhikkhus said to the vener-

¹ *Dhūmakālikam*. See our note above on VI, 17, 1. *Buddhaghosa* says here, *Dhūmakālikan ti yāva samanassa Gotamassa parinibbāna-kītika-dhūmo paññāyati tāvakālo ti attho*.

² The whole repeated.

able Ānanda : 'That was ill done by thee, friend Ānanda, in that thou didst not ask the Blessed One which were the lesser and minor precepts. Confess thy fault.'

'Through forgetfulness was it, Sirs, that I did not ask that of the Blessed One. I see no fault therein. Nevertheless, out of my faith in you, I confess that as a fault¹.'

'This also, friend Ānanda, was ill done by thee, in that thou steppedst upon the Blessed One's rainy-season garment to sew it. Confess thy fault.'

'It was not, Sirs, through any want of respect to the Blessed One that I did so. I see no fault therein. Nevertheless, out of my faith in you, I confess that as a fault.'

'This also, friend Ānanda, was ill done by thee, in that thou causedst the body of the Blessed One to be saluted by women first², so that by their weeping the body of the Blessed One was defiled by tears. Confess that fault.'

'I did so, Sirs, with the intention that they should not be kept beyond due time. I see no fault therein. Nevertheless, out of my faith in you, I confess that as a fault.'

'This too, friend Ānanda, was ill done by thee, in that even when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were given thee by the Blessed One, thou didst not beseech him, saying, "Let the Blessed One remain on for a kalpa! Let the Happy One remain on for a kalpa for the good and happiness of the

¹ Compare Mahāvagga X, 1, 8, at the end.

² It is worthy of notice that this episode is not referred to in the 'Book of the Great Decease' (VI, 23-26. Compare V, 46-51).

great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men¹!" Confess that fault.'

'I was possessed (by the Evil One)², friends, when I refrained from so beseeching him. I see no fault therein. Nevertheless, out of my faith in you, I confess that as a fault.'

'This also, friend Ānanda, was ill done by thee, in that thou exertedst thyself to procure admission for women into the Dhamma and Vinaya proclaimed by the Tathāgata³. Confess that fault.'

'That did I do, friends, thinking of Mahā Pagāpati the Gotamī, the sister of the Blessed One's mother; his nurse and comforter, who gave him milk; how she, when she who had borne him was dead, herself suckled him as with mother's milk. I see no fault therein. Nevertheless, out of my faith in you, I confess that as a fault.'

11. Now at that time the venerable Purāṇa was wandering through the Southern Hills with a great company of Bhikkhus, with five hundred Bhikkhus. And when the Thera Bhikkhus had completed the chanting over together of the Dhamma and the Vinaya, he, having stayed in the Southern Hills as long as he thought fit, went on to Rāgagaha to the Veḷuvana, to the Kalandaka Nivāpa, where the Thera Bhikkhus were, and having greeted the Thera Bhikkhus, he took his seat on one side.

¹ This refers to the conversations in the 'Book of the Great Decease,' III, 1-4, and 43-60 (especially 56).

² *Pariyuḥhita-kitto*. The words in parentheses are supplied from the 'Book of the Great Decease,' III, 4, where see Rh. D.'s note on the spelling of the word.

³ *Pabbaggam*, admission into the Order.

When he was so seated, the Thera Bhikkhus said to him :

‘The Dhamma and the Vinaya, friend Purāṇa, have been chanted over together by the Thera Bhikkhus. Do thou, then, submit thyself to and learn the text so rehearsed by them¹.’

‘The Dhamma and the Vinaya, Sirs, have been well sung by the Theras. Nevertheless, even in such manner as it has been heard by me, and received by me from the very mouth of the Blessed One, in that manner will I bear it in my memory.’

12. Now the venerable Ānanda said to the Thera Bhikkhus : ‘The Blessed One, Sirs, said to me at the time of his death : “Let then the Saṃgha, Ānanda, when I am dead, impose the higher penalty on Kḥanna the Bhikkhu².”

‘Didst thou then, friend Ānanda, ask the Blessed One what the higher penalty was ?’

‘I did, Sirs, (and the reply was) : ‘Let Kḥanna the Bhikkhu, Ānanda, say whatever he may wish ; but the Bhikkhus should neither speak to him, nor exhort him, nor admonish him.”’

‘Do thou, then, friend Ānanda, let Kḥanna the Bhikkhu know that the higher penalty has been imposed upon him.’

‘How can I, Sirs, do so ? Passionate is that Bhikkhu, and rough.’

‘Go then, friend Ānanda, in company with a number of other Bhikkhus.’

‘Even so, Sirs,’ said Ānanda, in assent to the Thera Bhikkhus. And he took with him a number

¹ Saṅgatiṃ upehi.

² See ‘Book of the Great Decease,’ VI, 4.

of Bhikkhus, to wit, five hundred Bhikkhus, and embarked on a boat going up stream, and disembarked at Kosambī, and not far from king Udena's park he took his seat at the foot of a certain tree.

13. Now at that time king Udena was enjoying himself in the park together with the ladies of his palace. And the ladies heard that their teacher, the venerable Ānanda, was seated at the foot of a tree not far from the park. And they said to king Udena :

‘ They say that our teacher, the venerable Ānanda, is seated at the foot of a tree not far from the park. We desire, Lord, to go and see him.’

‘ Go, then, and see the Samāna Ānanda.’ And they went and saluted the venerable Ānanda, and took their seats on one side. And he instructed, and aroused, and incited, and gladdened them with religious discourse. And when that discourse was concluded, they presented the venerable Ānanda with five hundred robes, and exalted and thanked him for his discourse, and arose from their seats, and saluted him, and keeping him on their right sides as they passed him, they departed thence.

14. And king Udena saw the ladies coming from the distance. And on seeing them he said to them :

‘ Well, did you succeed in seeing the Samāna Ānanda ?’

‘ We saw him, Sire.’

‘ Did you present the Samāna Ānanda with any gift ?’

‘ We gave, Sire, to the venerable Ānanda five hundred robes.’

Then king Udena was indignant and annoyed, and became angry, saying :

‘How can the Samāna Ānanda accept so many robes? Would he set up as a hawker in cloths, or would he open a shop¹?’

And king Udena went to where the venerable Ānanda was, and after exchanging with him the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility, sat down by his side. And when he was so seated, he said to him :

‘Did our ladies come hither, Ānanda?’

‘Yes, great king.’

‘Did they give anything to your reverence?’

‘They gave me, great king, five hundred robes.’

‘And what does your reverence intend to do with those five hundred robes?’

‘I shall divide them, great king, among those of the Bhikkhus whose robes are worn out.’

‘And what do you intend, Ānanda, to do with the worn-out robes?’

‘Of those, great king, we shall make counterpanes.’

‘And what do you intend to do, Ānanda, with the old counterpanes?’

‘Of those, great king, we shall make bolster cases.’

‘And what do you intend to do, Ānanda, with the old bolster cases?’

‘Of those, great king, we shall make carpets.’

‘And what do you intend to do, Ānanda, with the old carpets?’

‘Of those, great king, we shall make towels for the washing of the feet.’

‘And what do you intend to do, Ānanda, with the old towels?’

¹ Paggâhika-sâlâ, on which Buddhaghosa says nothing.

‘Of those, great king, we shall make dusters.’

‘And what do you intend to do, Ānanda, with the old dusters?’

‘Those, great king, we shall tear in shreds, and beat up with mud, and use them for making flooring of clay.’

Then king Udena thought: ‘These Sakyaputtiya Samanas make general use of everything in a conscientious way, and take nothing as one man’s peculiar property¹.’ And he presented other five hundred pieces of cloth to the venerable Ānanda.

15. But Ānanda went on to the Ghosita Ārāma, and sat down then on the seat spread out for him. And the venerable *Khanna* went to the place where he was and saluted him, and took his seat beside him. And when he was so seated, Ānanda said to him:

‘The *Samgha*, friend *Khanna*, has imposed upon you the higher penalty.’

‘What then, friend Ānanda, is the higher penalty?’

‘You, friend *Khanna*, may say to the Bhikkhus whatever you wish; but the Bhikkhus are neither to speak to you, nor exhort you, nor admonish you.’

‘Shall I not be even a slain man, friend Ānanda, so long as I am neither spoken to, nor exhorted, nor admonished by the Bhikkhus?’ said *Khanna*, and he fainted and fell.

Then the venerable *Khanna*, pained, grieved, and seized with remorse through the higher penalty, remained alone and separate, earnest, zealous, and resolved. And ere long he attained to that supreme

¹ Na kulāvam gāmenti, on which Buddhaghosa says nothing.

goal¹ of the higher life for the sake of which men even of good family go out from all and every household gain and comfort to become houseless wanderers—yea, that supreme goal did he, by himself, and while yet in this visible world, bring himself to the knowledge of, and continue to realise, and to see face to face! And he became conscious that rebirth was at an end for him, that the higher life had been fulfilled, that all that should be done had been accomplished, and that, after this present life, there would be no beyond²!

So the venerable *Khanna* became yet another among the Arahats. And after he had attained to Arahatship, the venerable *Khanna* went to the venerable *Ānanda*, and said :

‘ Remove from me now, friend *Ānanda*, the higher penalty.’

‘ From the moment, friend *Khanna*, that you had realised Arahatship, from that moment was the higher penalty removed from you.’

16. Now whereas five hundred Bhikkhus, without one failing, without one more, took part in this rehearsal of the Vinaya, therefore is that rehearsal of the Vinaya called ‘ that of the five hundred ³.’

Here ends the Eleventh Khandhaka, on the
Rehearsal by the Five Hundred.

¹ That is, Arahatship, *Nirvāna*.

² This *Nirvāna* paragraph is constantly recurring (e.g. ‘ Book of the Great Decease,’ V, 68 ; *Mahāvagga* V, 1, 18 ; *Samyutta* VII, 1).

³ Compare XII, 2, 9.

TWELFTH KHANDHAKA.

ON THE COUNCIL OF VESÂLI.

1.

1. Now at that time, a century¹ after the death of the Blessed One, the Bhikkhus of Vesâli, Vaggians, promulgated at Vesâli the ten theses :—(1) that storing salt in a horn vessel was permissible; (2) that the midday meal might be eaten when the sun's shadow showed two finger breadths after noon; (3) that he who intends to go into the village could begin to eat again after he had once left off; (4) that a number of Bhikkhus residing within the same boundary might hold Uposatha separately; (5) that a *Samgha* not at unity within itself might carry out an official act, undertaking to inform Bhikkhus of it; (6) that it was permissible for a Bhikkhu to do anything adopted as a practice by his *Upagghāya*; (7) that curds might be eaten by one who had already finished his midday meal; (8) that it was permissible to drink unfermented toddy; (9) that a rug or mat need not be of the limited size prescribed if it had no fringe; (10) that it was permissible to receive gold and silver².

¹ As pointed out at p. xxii of our Introduction, we believe this number ought not to be taken too literally, but to be considered a round number.

² The above terms are explained below, §§ 1, 10, and 2, 8.

Now at that time the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka, who was wandering through the Vaggian country, arrived at Vesâlî; and there the venerable Yasa stayed at the Mahâvana, in the Kûâgâra Hall.

Now at that time the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesâlî, on Uposatha day, filled a copper pot with water and placed it in the midst of the Bhikkhu-samgha, and said to such of their Vesâlian lay disciples as came there: 'Give, Sirs, to the Samgha a kahâpana¹, or half a one, or a pâda, or a mâsaka. It will be wanted for the Samgha, for the provision of various utensils.'

When they had thus spoken, the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka, said to the lay disciples: 'Do, Sirs, nothing of the kind. The use of gold and silver is not allowed to the Sakyaputtiya Samanas. The Sakyaputtiya Samanas neither allow it to be given to them, nor take charge of it. The Sakyaputtiya Samanas are men whose gems and jewelry have been laid aside, and who are without silver and without gold.'

Though the lay disciples from Vesâlî had been thus addressed by the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka, they gave money to the Samgha. And the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesâlî, at the close of the night, reserving one portion², divided that money according to the number of the Bhikkhus. And they said to the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka:

'This, friend Yasa, is thy due portion of the money.'

¹ About a penny; on this and the following terms, see Rh. D.'s 'Ancient Coins and Measures, &c.,' p. 6.

² Pañvîso. See Mahâvagga VIII, 27, 4.

‘I have no due portion in that money. I do not allow any money to be given to me.’

2. Then the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesālī said one to another: ‘This brother, Yasa, the son of Kākandaka, upbraids and reviles, and renders dissatisfied believing and faithful followers. Come, let us carry out against him the Act of Reconciliation¹.’ And they did so.

Then the venerable Yasa, the son of Kākandaka, said to them: ‘It has been laid down, Sirs, by the Blessed One, that a companion shall be appointed to go as messenger with a Bhikkhu against whom the Act of Reconciliation has been carried out². Appoint, Sirs, a Bhikkhu, as companion messenger to me.’ And the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesālī deputed a Bhikkhu to that work, and gave him as a companion messenger to the venerable Yasa.

And the venerable Yasa, taking the companion Bhikkhu with him, entered into Vesālī, and said to the believing laymen there:

‘I am said, Sirs, to be upbraiding and reviling, and rendering dissatisfied believing and faithful followers, thereby that I have said what is against the Dhamma to be against the Dhamma, and what is Dhamma to be Dhamma, and what is against the Vinaya to be against the Vinaya, and what is Vinaya to be Vinaya.

3. ‘Now the Blessed One was once, Sirs, staying at Sāvattthi in the Getavana, Anātha Pindika’s pleasure-ground. And there, Sirs, the Blessed One exhorted the Bhikkhus, and said:

¹ *Paṭisāraṇiya-kamma*. See *Kullavagga* I, 18.

² On *Anudūta*, see *Kullavagga* I, 20–22.

“ There are, O Bhikkhus, four obstructions of the sun and moon, by which when the sun and moon are affected, they give no heat and they give no light, and they are no longer glorious. And what are the four ? They are clouds and fog and dusty smoke and Râhu¹, by which when the sun and the moon are affected they give neither heat nor light nor sheen. Just so, O Bhikkhus, there are four stains by which when Samanas and Brâhmanas are affected they give neither heat nor light nor sheen. And what are the four ? There are some Samanas and Brâhmanas who drink strong drink, and things intoxicating, abstaining not therefrom². This is the first of such stains. And further, O Bhikkhus, there are some Samanas and Brâhmanas who practise sexual intercourse, and abstain not therefrom. This is the second of such stains. And further, O Bhikkhus, there are some Samanas and Brâhmanas who accept silver and gold, abstaining not from the use thereof. This is the third of such stains. And lastly, O Bhikkhus, there are some Samanas and Brâhmanas who gain their livelihood by low arts³, abstaining not from such means of life. This is the fourth of such stains.”

‘ Thus spoke, Sirs, the Blessed One : and when the Happy One had thus spoken, the Master further said :

“ Stained by lust and malice, some Samanas and Brâhmanas,

¹ That is, eclipse.

² It is curious that this matter is not, like all the following, referred to in the Sîlas. See Rh. D.’s ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 190.

³ Those, namely, which are set out in the Mahâ Sîla (Rh. D.’s ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ pp. 196–203).

Men blinded by ignorance, praise things that
seem to have delight.

Strong drink they drink and fierce, indulge in
sensual acts,

Devoid of wisdom, silver and gold they take.

And by low arts some Samanas and Brâhmans
live.

Stains are such actions called by the Buddha
of the Solar race,

Stains—by which defiled some Samanas and
Brâhmans,

Impure brutes and unclean, give neither heat
nor light.

Covered rather by darkness, purblind, enslaved
by craving lusts,

They enlarge the realm of death¹, and dread
rebirth they gain."

'It is for upholding this opinion that I, Sirs, have
been said to be upbraiding and reviling and render-
ing dissatisfied believing and faithful followers, in
that I have said what is against the Dhamma to be
against the Dhamma, and what is Dhamma to be
Dhamma ; what is against the Vinaya to be against
the Vinaya, and what is Vinaya to be Vinaya.

4. 'And once the Blessed One was staying, Sirs,
at Râgagaha, in the Veluvana, at the Kalandaka
Nivâpa. Now at that time among the royal atten-
dants sitting together in the women's apartment in
the palace, the following saying was heard : "Silver
and gold is allowed to the Sakyaputtiya Samanas.

¹ That is, by being repeatedly reborn they continually die.
*Vaddhenti kârasin ti punappunam kalevara-nikkhipamâna-
bhûmim vaddhenti*, says Buddhaghosa. The word occurs at
Gâtaka I, 146.

The Sakyaputtiya Samanas accept it, and take it in charge." Now at that time Manikû/aka, a village headman, was present. And he said to the people there: "Say not so, Sirs. Neither is silver and gold allowed to the Sakyaputtiya Samanas, nor do they accept it, nor take it in charge. The Sakyaputtiya Samanas are men who have laid aside gems and jewelry, and are without silver, and without gold." And the headman, Manikû/aka, succeeded in satisfying them.

'Then the headman, Manikû/aka, went to the place where the Blessed One was and saluted him, and took his seat on one side. And he told the Blessed One the whole matter¹, and said:

"Now am I, Lord, in maintaining as I did, one who speaks according to the word of the Blessed One, one who does not falsely represent the Blessed One, one who does not put forth minor matters in the place of the true Dhamma? And is there anything that leads to blame in such discussion, this way and that, as touching the observance of the rules of the order²?"

"Most certainly, Manikû/aka, in maintaining thus you speak in accordance with my word, and do not represent me falsely, nor put forth minor matters as the true Dhamma. Nor is there anything leading to blame in such discussions. For gold and silver is not allowed, Manikû/aka, to the Sakyaputtiya Samanas, nor ought they to accept it, nor take it in charge. Men who have laid aside gems and jewelry are the Sakyaputtiya Samanas,

¹ The whole is repeated in the text.

² The whole of this speech recurs, nearly word for word, in the Mahāvagga VI, 31, 4.

men without silver and without gold. For to whomsoever, *Manikūḷaka*, gold and silver are allowed, to him also the five kinds of sensual pleasure¹ are allowed. And to whomsoever these five kinds of pleasure are allowed, him you may know of a certainty to be following neither the rule of the *Samanas*, nor the rule of the sons of *Sākya*. Although, *Manikūḷaka*, I have said that he who is in need of grass may seek for grass, and he who is in need of wood may seek for wood, and he who is in need of a conveyance may seek for a conveyance, and he who is in need of a servant may seek for a servant; yet have I never said in any way whatever that gold or silver may be sought after or accepted."

'It is for maintaining this opinion that I, Sirs, have been said to be upbraiding and reviling and rendering dissatisfied believing and faithful followers, in that I have said what is against the Dhamma to be against the Dhamma, and what is Dhamma to be Dhamma; that what is against the Vinaya is against the Vinaya, and what is Vinaya is Vinaya.'

5. 'And once, Sirs, the Blessed One at the same place, at *Rāgagaha*, on the occasion of the matter of *Upananda*, the *Sākyan*, distinctly laid down a precept by which gold and silver were forbidden².

'It is for maintaining this opinion that I, Sirs, have been said to be upbraiding and reviling and rendering dissatisfied believing and faithful followers, in that I have said what is against the

¹ Compare *Kullavagga* VII, 1, 2.

² This is set out in full in the *Sutta Vibhaṅga* in the Introduction to the 18th *Nissaggiya Pāṭittiya*.

Dhamma to be against the Dhamma, and what is Dhamma to be Dhamma ; that what is against the Vinaya is against the Vinaya, and what is Vinaya is Vinaya.'

6. When he had thus spoken, the lay brethren said to Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka : ' There is but one, Sirs¹, who is a Sakyaputtiya Samana, our master, Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka. All the rest are no Samanas, neither Sakyaputtiyas. Let the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka, dwell among us. We will exert ourselves to provide him with robes, and food, and medicine, and the necessities for the sick.'

Then the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka, having gained over the lay brethren, returned with the companion Bhikkhu to the Ârâma.

7. And the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesâlî asked the companion Bhikkhu : ' Did Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka, obtain, Sir, the forgiveness of the lay brethren ?'

' Evil, Sirs, hath been wrought against us. Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka, and he alone has been decided to be a Sakyaputtiya Samana, and all of us neither Samanas nor Sakyaputtiyas.'

Then the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesâlî said : ' The venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandaka, without being deputed by us, has proclaimed to laymen (a false doctrine)². Come, let us carry out the Act of Suspension³ against him.' And

¹ They are speaking to Yasa and the anudâta.

² This cannot refer to the 9th Pâkittiya, which only speaks of making known grievous offences. Ânguttara II, 5, 2 refers to laymen as well as to sâmaneras.

³ Ukkhepaniya-kamma. See Kullavagga I, 25.

they assembled together with the intention of doing so.

But the venerable Yasa, the son of Kākandāka, rose up into the sky and descended at Kosambi. And he sent messengers to the Bhikkhus of the Western country, and of Avanti, and of the Southern country¹, saying, 'Let your reverences come! We must take in charge this legal question before what is not Dhamma is spread abroad, and what is Dhamma is put aside; before what is not Vinaya is spread abroad, and what is Vinaya is put aside; before those who argue against the Dhamma become powerful, and those who argue in favour of the Dhamma become weak; before those who argue against the Vinaya become powerful, and those who argue in favour of the Vinaya become weak.'

8. Now at that time the venerable Sambhûta Sāṇavāsî² was dwelling on the Ahogaṅga Hill³. And thither the venerable Yasa, the son of Kākandāka, went; and on his arrival he saluted the venerable Sambhûta Sāṇavāsî, and took his seat on one side: and being so seated he said to him:

'Lord, these Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesālî have

¹ On these terms, compare note on Mahāvagga VII, 1, 1.

² Sāṇavāsî is, literally, he who wears a hempen dress. In the traditions of the Sanskrit Buddhist literature we find mentioned a Sāṇavāsika, said to be a predecessor, in the teacher and pupil line, of Upagupta (Wassilief, p. 44). The Nepalese call him Soṇavāsî (Rajendralâl Mitra, 'Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepâl,' p. 10). He is the hero of the Sāṇavāsî Avadāna part of the Bodhisatva Avadāna Kalpalatâ (Mitra, p. 67, Bendall 'Catalogue of Cambridge MSS.,' p. 42), where the name is explained: 'I wished for an ochre-coloured robe (soṇa); hence I was called Sāṇavāsî.'

³ See, for the position of this mountain, our note last quoted.

put forward ten theses.' And he told him what they were¹, and added: 'Come now, Lord, let us take in charge this last question before what is not Dhamma is spread abroad, and what is Dhamma is put aside; before what is not Vinaya is spread abroad, and what is Vinaya is put aside; before those who argue against the Dhamma become powerful, and those who argue in favour of the Dhamma become weak; before those who argue against the Vinaya become powerful, and those who argue in favour of the Vinaya become weak.'

'Even so, Lord,' said the venerable Sambhûta Sânavâsi, in assent to the venerable Yasa Kâkaṇḍaka-putta.

Then about sixty Bhikkhus from the Western country, all of whom were hermits, all of whom lived only on alms, all of whom dressed only in cast-off clothes, and kept only three robes, and all of whom were Arahats, assembled together at the Ahogaṅga Hill. And about eighty-eight from Avanti and the Southern country, some of whom were hermits, and some of whom lived only on alms, and some of whom dressed only in cast-off clothes, and some of whom kept only three robes, but all of whom were Arahats, met together with them on the Ahogaṅga Hill.

9. And the Thera Bhikkhus, consulting together, came to this conclusion: 'This legal question, now, is hard and subtle. How can we obtain such support that we may have the greater power at the decision thereof²?'

¹ In the text the full words of I, 1 are here repeated.

² Compare below, XII, 2, 1.

Now at that time the venerable Revata was dwelling at Soreyya, and he was wise in the traditions, one who had learned the Âgamas (the four Nikâyas), and knew by heart the Dhamma, the Vinaya, and the Mâtikâs ; intelligent, discreet, and wise, modest, conscientious, devoted to the precepts¹. And the Thera Bhikkhus thought that if they could gain him over to their side, they would attain their end.

And the venerable Revata, by the divine ear, clear and surpassing that of men, heard the Thera Bhikkhus as they were thus consulting together ; and he thought : ' This legal question is both hard and subtle, it would not become me to hold back therefrom. But even now those Bhikkhus (the Vaggians) will be coming. It would be unpleasant travelling for me were I to fall in with them. Let me go on before them.'

So the venerable Revata went from Soreyya to Samkassa. And when the Thera Bhikkhus went to Soreyya, and asked : ' Where is the venerable Revata ?' they said : ' He is gone to Samkassa.'

Now the venerable Revata had gone on from Samkassa to Kannakugga. And when the Thera Bhikkhus came to Samkassa, and asked : ' Where is the venerable Revata ?' they said : ' He is gone on to Kannakugga.' And in the same way they followed him thither, and to Udumbara, and to Aggalapura, and to Sahagâti, and there they met with the venerable Revata.

10. And the venerable Sambhûta Sânavâsi said to the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandâka :

¹ These adjectives have occurred above at Mahāvagga X, 1, 2, and Kullavagga I, 11, 1.

‘Friend, the brother Revata is wise in the traditions, has learnt the Âgamas, knows by heart the Dhamma, the Vinaya, and the Mâtikâs, he is intelligent, discreet, and wise, modest, conscientious, and devoted to the precepts. If we ask the venerable Revata a puzzling question, he is capable of spending the whole night on that one question. And even now the venerable Revata will call upon a Bhikkhu who is an intoner¹, and a pupil of his. Do you, therefore, when the Bhikkhu has concluded, go to the venerable Revata and ask him concerning these ten theses (points).’

‘Even so, Sir,’ said the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandâka, in assent to the venerable Sambhûta Sânavâsi.

And the venerable Revata called upon the Bhikkhu, the pupil of his, the intoner. And when the Bhikkhu had concluded, the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandâka, went to the venerable Revata, and saluted him, and took his seat beside him. And, so seated, he said to the venerable Revata²:

‘Is the horn-salt-license, Lord, allowable?’

‘What, Sir, is this horn-salt-license?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, to carry about salt in a horn with the intention of putting it into food which has not been salted?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Is the two-inch-license, Lord, allowable?’

‘What, Sir, is this two-inch-license?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, to eat the midday meal

¹ Sarabhâṇakam. See our note above at Kullavagga V, 3, 2.

² The whole of the following questions and answers recur below at XII, 2, 8, where the reasons of the answers also appear.

beyond the right time, provided only that the shadow has not yet turned two inches ?'

'No, Sir, it is not allowable.'

'Is the village-trip-license, Lord, allowable?'

'What, Sir, is this village-trip-license?'

'Is it allowable, Lord, for one who has once finished his meal, and refused any more, to eat food which has not been left over, on the ground that he is about to proceed into the village?'

'No, Sir, it is not allowable.'

'Is the circuit-license, Lord, allowable?'

'What, Sir, is this circuit-license?'

'Is it allowable, Lord, for a number of Bhikkhus who dwell within the same circuit, within the same boundary, to hold separate Uposathas?'

'No, Sir, it is not allowable.'

'Is the indemnity-license, Lord, allowable?'

'What, Sir, is this indemnity-license?'

'Is it allowable, Lord, for a *Samgha*, which is not legally constituted¹, to perform an official act on the ground that they will afterwards obtain the sanction of such Bhikkhus who may subsequently arrive?'

'No, Sir, it is not allowable.'

'Is the precedent-license, Lord, allowable?'

'What, Sir, is this precedent-license?'

'Is it allowable, Lord, to do a thing on the ground that, "My preceptor (*upaggahâya*) has practised this; or my teacher (*âkariya*) has practised that?"'

'In some cases, Sir, this is allowable, and in some not².'

¹ *Vaggena*. See our note on the 21st *Pâṭittiya*, and *Kullavagga* V, 2, 1.

² That is, of course, according as the thing enjoined is, or is not,

‘Is the churn-license, Lord, allowable?’

‘What, Sir, is this churn-license?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, for one who has once finished his meal, and has refused any more, to drink milk not left over from the meal, on the ground that it has left the condition of milk, and has not yet reached the condition of curds¹?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, to drink toddy?’

‘What, Sir, is this toddy?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, to drink spirits which have left the condition of not being spirits, and yet have not acquired intoxicating properties²?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Is a rug or mat (when it is beyond the prescribed size) lawful, Lord, because it is unfringed?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Is gold and silver, Lord, allowable?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘These are the ten theses, Lord, which these Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesâlî have put forth. Come, Lord, let us take this legal question in hand before that which is not Dhamma is spread abroad, and that which is Dhamma is put aside; before that which is not Vinaya is spread abroad, and that which is Vinaya is put aside; before those who argue against the Dhamma become powerful, and those

lawful. *Ekaḷḷo kappatî ti idam dhammikaṃ âtinnam sandhâya vuttam*, says Buddhaghosa.

¹ That is, which is neither liquid nor solid: something apparently like buttermilk.

² It is a question constantly arising under the excise laws in India and Ceylon, whether the liquor in the case has become arrack, or is only arrack in the making, and unfermented. This last is called unfermented toddy.

who argue in favour of the Dhamma become weak ; before those who argue against the Vinaya become powerful, and those who argue in favour of the Vinaya become weak.'

'Even so, Sir,' said the venerable Revata, in assent to the venerable Yasa, the son of Kākandaka.

Here ends the First Portion for Recitation.

2.

1. Now the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesālī heard the rumour : 'Yasa, they say, the son of Kākandaka, wishing to take this legal question in hand, is seeking about for support, and support they say he is succeeding in getting.' And they thought : 'This legal question, now, is hard and subtle. How can we obtain such support that we may have the greater power at the decision thereof¹ ?'

And they thought : 'The venerable Yasa, who dwells at Soreyya, is wise in the traditions, and is one who has learnt the Āgamas, who knows by heart the Dhamma, the Vinaya, the Mâtikâs, is intelligent, discreet, and wise, modest, conscientious, and devoted to the precepts. If we could gain him over to our side, we should attain our end.'

Then the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesālī got together much property, requisites, a number of things of the Samanas' life—to wit, bowls and robes, and rugs, and needlecases, and girdles, and filters, and regulation-pots². And, taking this property with

¹ Compare above, XII, 1, 9.

² On Dhamma-karaka, see our note at Kullavagga V, 13, 1.

them, they went up stream by boat to Sahagâti, and there disembarked, and took their meal at the foot of a certain tree.

2. Now to the venerable Sâḥa, who retired apart and was plunged in meditation, there occurred this doubtful problem: 'Are the Bhikkhus of the East, or the Bhikkhus of the West, the more in accordance with the Dhamma in the opinion that they hold?' And having gone over the Dhamma and the Vinaya in his mind, he came to the conclusion, 'The Bhikkhus of the East are not, and the Bhikkhus of the West are, in accordance with the Dhamma in the opinion that they hold.'

And a certain one of the deities in the Pure Abode¹ perceived how this doubtful problem had arisen in the venerable Sâḥa's mind, and as quickly as a strong man could stretch forth his bent arm, or draw it in again when it was outstretched, so quickly did that deity vanish from the Pure Abode, and appeared before the venerable Sâḥa; saying to him: 'Thou art quite right, Sâḥa; it is the Eastern Bhikkhus whose opinions are against the Dhamma, and the Western Bhikkhus whose opinions accord therewith. Do thou, therefore, O Sâḥa, even as the Dhamma is, so take thy stand!'

'Both formerly, O deity, and now, also, do I take my stand even as the Dhamma is. Notwithstanding, I shall not make manifest my opinion until (the Saṃgha) shall have appointed me (judge) over this question².'

3. Now the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesâlî, taking with them the aforesaid property, went to the place

¹ The Heaven, so called.

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² Compare below, § 6.

where the venerable Revata was, and said to him :
 ' Let the venerable Thera receive at our hands these
 requisites of a Samana's life.'

But he refused to receive it, saying, ' Not so, my
 friends. I have all the things¹ I want.'

Now at that time a Bhikkhu named Uttara, who
 had been twenty years admitted into the Order²,
 was the attendant upon the venerable Revata. And
 the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesālī went to him, and
 said : ' Let your reverence receive at our hands
 these requisites of a Samana's life.'

But he made the same reply.

Then they said : ' People used to offer such re-
 quisites to the Blessed One. If he received them,
 they were happy. If he did not receive them, they
 used to offer them to the venerable Ānanda, saying,
 " Let the venerable Thera receive these requisites
 of a Samana's life : that will be just as if the Blessed
 One had received them." Let the venerable Uttara
 receive these things : that will be as if the Thera
 had received them.'

Then the venerable Uttara, being thus importuned
 by the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesālī, accepted one robe,
 saying, ' You may tell me, friends, what you want.'

' Let the venerable Uttara say thus much for us
 to the Thera : " Let the venerable Thera say thus
 much in the meeting of the Saṃgha—" It is in the
 regions of the East that the Buddhas, the Blessed
 Ones, are born. It is the Bhikkhus of the East
 who hold opinions in accord with the Dhamma,
 whereas the Bhikkhus of the West do not.' "'

¹ Literally, 'I have the three robes.'

² Vīsativasso; that is, since his upasampadā.

'Even so, Sirs,' said the venerable Uttara, in assent to the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesâli. And he went to Revata, and told him what they had said.

'Thou urgest me, O Bhikkhu, to that which is against the Dhamma,' said the Thera, and sent away the venerable Uttara¹.

And the Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesâli said to the venerable Uttara: 'What, friend Uttara, did the Thera say?'

'It is an evil you have wrought me, Sirs. The Thera has sent me away, saying, "Thou urgest me, O Bhikkhu, to what is against the Dhamma."'

'Are you not, Sir, of full age, of twenty years (since your upasampadâ)?'

'Yes, Sirs, I am.'

'Then do we take the nissaya under you as your pupils².'

4. Now the Samgha met together with the intention of deciding the legal question. And the venerable Revata laid a resolution before the Samgha, saying,

'Let the venerable Samgha hear me. If we were to settle this question, it might be that those Bhikkhus who had at first taken the matter in hand might raise it again³. If it seem meet to the Samgha, let the Samgha settle it at that place where it arose.'

¹ Panâmesi. That is, permanently from attendance upon him. Compare Mahāvagga I, 27, 2, where the word is used of the formal dismissal or turning away of a pupil.

² Garu-nissayam gaṇhâma; on which Buddhaghosa has nothing, though the phrase does not occur elsewhere in the Khandaḥakas.

³ Compare the 63rd Pāṭiṭṭiya.

Then the Thera Bhikkhus went to Vesālī, with the intention of settling the matter there.

Now at that time the eldest Thera in the world, Sabbakāmi by name, one who was of a hundred and twenty years' standing from the date of his upasam-padā, and who had been a pupil¹ of the venerable Ānanda, was living at Vesālī. And the venerable Revata said to the venerable Sambhūta Sāṇavāsi :

'I shall go to that Vihāra in which the Thera Sabbakāmi dwells. Do you go betimes to the venerable Sabbakāmi, and question him as touching these ten points.'

'Even so, Lord,' said the venerable Sambhūta Sāṇavāsi, in assent to the venerable Revata.

And the venerable Revata came to that Vihāra in which the venerable Sabbakāmi lived ; and a sleeping-place was made ready for the former in the inner chamber, and for the latter in front thereof. And the venerable Revata, thinking, 'This Thera, though so old, does not care to sleep,' did not go to rest. And the venerable Sabbakāmi, thinking, 'This Bhikkhu, though a traveller and tired, does not care to sleep,' did not go to rest.

5. Then when the night was far spent, the venerable Sabbakāmi said to the venerable Revata :

'By what manner of life, beloved one, have you lived now these so many years ?'

'By continuing in the sense of love, honoured friend, have I continued thus so many years.'

'They say that you have continued thus, beloved one, by easiness of life : and that indeed, beloved one, is an easy life, (I mean) the continuing in love.'

¹ Literally, 'had dwelt in the same Vihāra with.'

‘Even long ago, Sir, when I was a layman, was much love laid up in my heart, therefore is it that now also I live much in the sense of love, and indeed since long I have attained to Arahatsip. And by what manner of life have you lived now these many years?’

‘By continuing in the sense of the emptiness (of worldly things) have I, beloved one, lived these many years.’

‘They say that you, honoured friend, have continued thus by the sense of being a man born to greatness¹; and that indeed, honoured friend, is the same feeling, (I mean) the sense of the emptiness of things.’

‘Even long ago, beloved one, when I was a layman, had I a strong sense of the emptiness of things, therefore is it that now also I live much in that feeling, and indeed since long I have attained to Arahatsip.’

6. Now² this conversation between the Thera Bhikkhus was still unfinished when the venerable Sambhûta Sâravâsi arrived there. And he went up to the venerable Sabbakâmi, and saluted him, and took his seat beside him. And, so seated, he said to the venerable Sabbakâmi:

‘These Vaggian Bhikkhus of Vesâlî have put forth in Vesâlî these ten points;’ and he told them all³. ‘Now you, O Thera, have mastered much Dhamma and Vinaya at the feet of your preceptor.

¹ Mahâpurisa. On the subsequent history of which word, see Senart’s *Légende du Buddha*, pp. 54, 107.

² Karahi. Compare ‘Book of the Great Decease,’ III, 53; Childers, p. 32.

³ The text repeats XII, 1, 1.

What, then, is the conclusion to which you, O Thera, come as you lay over in your mind the Dhamma and the Vinaya ;—whose opinion is in accordance with the Dhamma, that of the Bhikkhus of the East, or that of the Bhikkhus of the West ?'

'You also, Sir, have mastered much Dhamma and Vinaya at the feet of your preceptor. What, then, is the conclusion to which you, Sir, come as you lay over in your mind the Dhamma and the Vinaya ;—whose opinion is in accordance with the Dhamma, that of the Bhikkhus of the East, or that of the Bhikkhus of the West ?'

'The conclusion to which I come, Lord, as I so lay over in my mind the Dhamma and the Vinaya, is this—that the Bhikkhus of the East hold an opinion that is not in accord with the Dhamma, while the Bhikkhus of the West are in accord with the Dhamma. Notwithstanding, I do not intend to make manifest my opinion until (the *Samgha*) shall have appointed me (referee) over this question¹.'

'The conclusion to which I also have come, Sir, as I lay over in my mind the Dhamma and the Vinaya, is this—that the Bhikkhus of the East hold an opinion that is not in accordance with the Dhamma, while the Bhikkhus of the West are in accord with the Dhamma. Notwithstanding, I do not intend to make manifest my opinion until (the *Samgha*) shall have appointed me (referee) over this question.'

7. Then the *Samgha* met together with the intention of enquiring into this legal question. But while they were enquiring into it, both was much pointless speaking brought forth and also the sense

¹ Compare above, § 2.

in no single speech was clear¹. Then the venerable Revata laid a resolution before the *Samgha* :

‘Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. Whilst we are discussing this legal question, there is both much pointless speaking, and no sense is clear in any single speech. If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* settle this legal question by referring it (to a jury)².’

And he chose four Bhikkhus of the East and four Bhikkhus of the West—from the Bhikkhus of the East the venerable Sabbakâmi, and the venerable Sâlha, and the venerable Khugga-sobhita, and the venerable Vâsabha-gâmika—and from the Bhikkhus of the West, the venerable Revata, and the venerable Sambhûta Sânavâsi, and the venerable Yasa, the son of Kâkandâka, and the venerable Sumana. Then the venerable Revata laid a resolution before the *Samgha* :

‘Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. During the enquiry into this matter there has been much pointless talk among us, and in no single utterance is the sense clear. If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, let the *Samgha* delegate four Bhikkhus of the East and four Bhikkhus of the West to settle this question by reference. This is the resolution.

‘Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. During the enquiry into this matter there has been much pointless talk among us, and the sense in any single utterance is not clear. The *Samgha* delegates four Bhikkhus of the East and four Bhikkhus of the West to settle this question by reference. Whoso-

¹ So above in *Kullavagga* IV, 14, 19, where the proceeding adopted in the subsequent sentences is laid down for use on such an occasion.

² *Ubbâhikâya*. See the passage quoted in the last note.

ever of the venerable ones approves thereof, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. The delegation is made accordingly. The *Samgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.'

Now at that time a Bhikkhu named *Agita*, of ten years' standing, was the reciter of the *Pâtimokkha* to the *Samgha*. Him did the *Samgha* appoint as seat regulator¹ to the Thera Bhikkhus.

Then the Thera Bhikkhus thought, 'At what place, now, ought we to settle this legal question?' And it occurred to them: 'This *Vâlîka Ârâma* is a pleasant place, quiet and undisturbed. Let us settle the matter there.' And thither the Thera Bhikkhus proceeded to enquire into the question.

8. Then the venerable *Revata* laid a resolution before the *Samgha*²: 'Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, I will question the venerable *Sabbakâmt* as touching the *Vinaya*.' And the venerable *Sabbakâmt* laid a resolution before the *Samgha*: 'If it seem meet to the *Samgha*, I, when asked by *Revata* touching the *Vinaya*, will give reply.'

And the venerable *Revata* said to the venerable *Sabbakâmt*: 'Is the horn-salt-license, Lord, allowable?'

¹ *Âsana-paññâpakam*. This office is not mentioned in the other *Khandhakas*. We should expect to find it at *Kullavagga* VI, 21, 2. The reason of this is that it is no office of authority. The different referees would take their seats in the order of their seniority, and all that the *âsana-paññâpaka* would have to do would be to see that they were provided with everything they required (it was not much, chiefly mats or rugs to sit upon) in the hall or grove where they met.

² Here, of course, consisting of the eight referees.

‘What, Sir, is this horn-salt-license?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, to carry about salt in a horn with the intention of putting it into food which has not been salted?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Where was such a claim rejected?’

‘At Sâvatthi, in the Sutta Vibhaṅga.’

‘Of what offence is the person, who does so, guilty?’

‘Of Pākittiya, in eating food which has been put by¹.’

‘Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. This first point, having been examined into by the Saṃgha, has been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast the first vote.’

‘Is the two-inch-license, Lord, allowable?’

‘What, Sir, is this two-inch-license?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, to eat the midday meal beyond the right time, provided only that the shadow of the sun has not yet turned two inches?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Where has such a claim been rejected?’

‘At Râgagaha, in the Sutta Vibhaṅga.’

‘Of what offence is he, who does so, guilty?’

‘Of Pākittiya, in eating at the wrong time².’

‘Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. This second point, having been examined into by the Saṃgha, has been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast the second vote.’

‘Is the village-trip-license, Lord, allowable?’

¹ Pākittiya XXXVIII.

² Pākittiya XXXVII.

‘What, Sir, is this village-trip-license?’

‘Is it allowable for one who has once finished his meal, and has refused any more, to eat food which has not been left over, on the ground that he is about to proceed into the village?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Where was such a claim rejected?’

‘At Sāvatti, in the Sutta Vibhaṅga.’

‘Of what offence is he, who does so, guilty?’

‘Of Pāṭittiya, in eating food which has not been left over¹.’

‘Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. This third point, having been examined into by the Saṃgha, has been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast the third vote.’

‘Is the circuit-license, Lord, allowable?’

‘What, Sir, is this circuit-license?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, for a number of Bhikkhus who dwell within the same circuit, within the same boundary, to hold separate Uposathas?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Where was such a claim rejected?’

‘At Rāgagaha, in the Uposatha Saṃyutta².’

‘Of what offence is he, who does so, guilty?’

‘Of Dukkata, in neglecting the Vinaya.’

‘Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. This fourth point, having been examined into by the Saṃgha, has been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast the fourth vote.’

¹ Pāṭittiya XXXV.

² Saṃyutta must here be used for Khandhaka. The passage referred to is Mahāvagga II (the Uposatha Khandhaka), 8, 3.

‘Is the indemnity-license, Lord, allowable?’

‘What, Sir, is this indemnity-license?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, for a *Samgha* which is not legally constituted to perform an official act, on the ground that they will afterwards obtain the sanction of such *Bhikkhus* as subsequently arrive?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Where was such a claim rejected?’

‘In the *Kampeyyaka* section, in the body of the *Vinaya*¹.’

‘Of what offence is he, who does so, guilty?’

‘Of *Dukkata*, in neglecting the *Vinaya*.’

‘Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. This fifth point, having been examined into by the *Samgha*, has been found to be false *Dhamma* and false *Vinaya*, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast this fifth vote.’

‘Is the precedent-license, Lord, allowable?’

‘What, Sir, is this precedent-license?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, to do a thing on the ground that “My preceptor (*upaggahâya*) has practised this,” or “My teacher (*âkariya*) has practised that?”’

‘In some cases, Sir, it is allowable, and in some not².’

‘Let the venerable *Samgha* hear me. This sixth point, having been examined into by the *Samgha*, has been found to be false *Dhamma* and false *Vinaya*, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast this sixth vote.’

‘Is the churn-license, Lord, allowable?’

‘What, Sir, is this churn-license?’

¹ *Vinaya-vatthu*. Here used as a title, apparently of the *Khandhakas*. The passage referred to is in the *Kampeyyaka Khandhaka* (*Mahāvagga* IX, 3, 5).

² See the note above on XII, 1, 10.

‘Is it allowable, Lord, for one who has once finished his meal, and has refused any more, to drink milk not left over from the meal, on the ground that it has left the condition of milk and has not yet reached the condition of curds?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Where was such a claim rejected?’

‘At Sāvatti, in the Sutta Vibhaṅga.’

‘Of what offence is he, who does so, guilty?’

‘Of Pāṭittiya, in eating food which has not been left over¹.’

‘Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. This seventh point, having been examined into by the Saṃgha, has been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast this seventh vote.’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, to drink toddy?’

‘What, Sir, is this toddy?’

‘Is it allowable, Lord, to drink spirits which have not yet become spirits and have not yet acquired intoxicating properties?’

‘No, Sir, it is not allowable.’

‘Where was it rejected?’

‘At Kosambi, in the Sutta Vibhaṅga.’

‘Of what offence is he, who does so, guilty?’

‘Of Pāṭittiya, in the drinking of fermented liquors and strong drink².’

‘Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. The eighth point, having been examined into by the Saṃgha, has been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast this eighth vote.’

¹ Pāṭittiya XXXV.

² Pāṭittiya LI.

'Is the unfringed-seat, Lord, allowable¹ ?'

'No, Sir, it is not allowable.'

'Where has it been rejected ?'

'At Savatthi, in the Sutta Vibhaṅga.'

'Of what offence is he, who uses such a seat, guilty ?'

'Of Pākittiya, in using a thing which ought to be cut down (to the proper size)².'

'Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. This ninth point, having been examined into by the Saṃgha, has been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast this ninth vote.'

'Is gold and silver, Lord, allowable ?'

'No, Sir, it is not allowable.'

'Where was it forbidden ?'

'At Rāgagaha, in the Sutta Vibhaṅga.'

'Of what offence is he, who takes it, guilty ?'

'Of Pākittiya, in accepting gold and silver³.'

'Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. This tenth point, having been examined into by the Saṃgha, has been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master. Thus do I cast this tenth vote.'

'Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. These ten points, having been examined into by the Saṃgha, have been found to be false Dhamma and false Vinaya, and not contained in the teaching of the Master.'

¹ That is, does the fact of its being unfringed make legal a mat or rug otherwise illegal by reason of its size? See above, XII, 1, 10.

² Pākittiya LXXXIX.

³ The 18th Nissaggiya Pākittiya.

‘¹ This legal question, Sir, has been concluded ; and being settled, it is settled once for all. Nevertheless, Sir, do you question me on these ten points in the midst also of the *Samgha* ², in order to persuade those Bhikkhus ³.’

So the venerable Revata questioned the venerable Sabbakâmi on the ten points also in the midst of the *Samgha*, and as he was questioned on one after the other, the venerable Sabbakâmi gave reply.

9. Now whereas at this rehearsal of the Vinaya seven hundred Bhikkhus, without one more, without one being wanting, took part, therefore is that rehearsal of the Vinaya called ‘That of the seven hundred ⁴.’

Here ends the Twelfth Khandhaka, on the
Rehearsal by the Seven Hundred.

¹ It is clear from the word *tvam âvuso*, that Sabbakâmi is here addressing Revata.

² That is not only of the referees, but of all the Bhikkhus there at Vesâlî.

³ *Bhikkhûnam saññattiyâ*. See the use of this phrase at *Kullavagga* IV, 14, 26, and VII, 4, 1, and our note on the latter of those two passages.

⁴ Compare XI, 1, 15.

NOTE ON THE BHĀNAVĀRAS.

As the division into Bhānavāras or Portions for Recitation is of some value in the history of the way in which the books were handed down, and is now overshadowed by the more practical division for modern purposes adopted in this translation into chapters and sections, the following table may be of use :—

MAHĀVAGGA.

Present division.	Pāli title.	Page in text.	Extent in text.
KHANDHAKA I.			
Chapter 6.	<i>Paṭhama-bhānavāram</i>	14	14
„ 14.	<i>Dutiyaka-bhānavāram</i>	24	10
„ 21.	<i>Uruvela-pāśihāriyam tatiyaka-bhānavāram niṭṭhitam</i>	35	11
„ 24.	<i>Katutthaka-bh. niṭṭhitam</i>	44	9
„ 30.	<i>Upagghāya - vatta - bh. niṭṭhitam pañkamam</i>	58	14
„ 33.	<i>Khaṭṭham bhānavāram</i>	61	3
„ 38.	<i>Sattamam bhānavāram</i>	71	10
„ 53.	<i>Abhayūvara-bh. niṭṭhitam</i>	81	10
„ 79.		98	? 17
KHANDHAKA II.			
Chapter 16.	<i>Añña-titthiya-bh. niṭṭhitam</i>	115	16
„ 27.	<i>Kodanā-vatthu-bh. niṭṭhitam</i>	128	13
„ 36.	<i>Uposatha-khandhake tatiyam bhānavāram</i>	136	8
KHANDHAKA III.			
Chapter 8.	<i>Vassāvāsa-bh. niṭṭhitam</i>	148	11
„ 14.		155	7
KHANDHAKA IV.			
Chapter 6.	<i>Paṭhama-bh. niṭṭhitam</i>	164	9
„ 18.		178	14
KHANDHAKA V has no Bhānavāras, and ends in the			
	text on page	198	20

KHANDHAKA VI.

Chapter 15.	Bhesagga-anuññāta-bh. paṭhamam	209	10
„ 30.	Likkhavi-bh. niṭṭhitam	233	24
„ 33.	Katu-vīsati-bh. niṭṭhitam	240	7
„ 40.		251	11

KHANDHAKA VII.

Chapter 7.	Ādāya-bh. niṭṭhitam	259	7
„ 13.		265	6

KHANDHAKA VIII.

Chapter 1.	Paṭhamaka-bh. niṭṭhitam	281	14
„ 15.	Visākhā-bhānavāram	294	13
„ 32.		310	16

KHANDHAKA IX.

Chapter 4.	Vāsabha-gāma-bhānavāram paṭhamam	322	11
„ 6.	Upāli-pukkā-bhānavāram dutiyam	328	6
„ 7.		333	5

KHANDHAKA X.

Chapter 2.	Dīghāvu-bhānavāram paṭhamam	349	13
„ 6.		359	10

KULLAVAGGA.

KHANDHAKA I-IV. None.

KHANDHAKA V.

Chapter 21.	Dutiya-bhānavāram	129	25
„ 37.		143	14

KHANDHAKA VI.

Chapter 3.	Bhānavāram niṭṭhitam paṭhamam	154	9
„ 11.	Dutiya-bhānavāram	167	13
„ 21.		177	10

KHANDHAKA VII.

Chapter 2.	Paṭhamaka-bhānavāram niṭṭhitam	188	9
„ 3.	Bhānavāram niṭṭhitam dutiyam .	198	10
„ 5.	Bhānavāram niṭṭhitam tatiyam .	206	8

KHANDHAKA VIII.

Chapter 4.	Bhānavāram paṭhamam	215	8
„ 12.	Dutiya-bhānavāram	231	16
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KHANDHAKA IX.

Chapter 3. Paṭṭhama bhānavāro ¹	247	12
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KHANDHAKA X.

Chapter 8. Paṭṭhama-bhānavāram	261	9
„ 16. Duttiya-bhānavāram	271	10
„ 27. Tatiya-bhānavāram	281	10

KHANDHAKA XI has none	292	9
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KHANDHAKA XII.

Chapter 1. Paṭṭhama-bhānavāram	301	8
„ 2.	307	6

On this it may be observed—

1. The last Bhānavāra in each Khandhaka is not referred to either by name or by number, except in Mahāvagga II, and in Kullavagga VII and X. In the Mahāvagga fourteen of the Bhānavāras have special titles, independent of their number in the particular Khandhaka.

2. Probably two Bhānavāras in Mahāvagga V, all the Bhānavāras in Kullavagga I–IV, and the first in Kullavagga V, are not noticed in the printed text.

3. Making allowance for these we have in the Mahāvagga 31 (? 32) Bhānavāras, occupying about 350 pages of Pāli text, and about 610 pages in our translation. In books V–XII of the Kullavagga we have 20 Bhānavāras, occupying about 200 pages of Pāli text, and about 350 pages in our translation. Total 51 (? 52) Bhānavāras, occupying about 550 pages of Pāli, and about 960 pages of translation.

4. As in the printed text repetitions have been avoided by a mode of reference to former passages which was impossible in the MSS., the average length of the matter contained in a Bhānavāra, as written much more in full in the MSS., would be somewhat greater than its average length as actually printed. It would probably amount to what, if printed verbatim, would occupy in space not much less than a sheet of the size and type used in the edition of the text. Thus the three Bhānavāras in Mahāvagga VIII, which owing to the subject-matter are printed with only a few such contractions, occupy respectively 14, 13, and 16 pages of the text.

¹ Sic. This is the only instance in the Vinaya of a masculine use of the word.

5. The recital in the usual sara-bhañña (or intonation, see *Kullavagga* V, 3) of such a 'portion for recitation' would occupy in time about half-an-hour.

6. Spence Hardy informs us in his 'Eastern Monachism' (p. 168) that the *Dīgha Nikāya* contains 64, the *Magghima Nikāya* 80, the *Samyutta Nikāya* 100, and the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* 120 *Bhānavāras*. In fact it is only a few of the longer Suttas in the first two collections which are actually divided into *Bhānavāras* in the MSS.; and only the longer *Nipātas* in the *Āṅguttara*. There are no *Bhānavāras* in the *Eka-* and *Duka-Nipātas* of that collection; and there are also none in the *Samyutta Nikāya*, and none in any of the books of the later literature contained in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* (including all those in the *Khuddaka Nikāya*) as yet published.

7. The division into *Bhānavāras* is not made use of in many books of the *Piṭakas* themselves, or in the fifth-century commentaries of Buddhaghosa and others. In the *Sutta-vibhaṅga* it is only used in *Pārāgikas* I-III, and in the *Parivāra* not at all. When Spence Hardy says therefore (loc. cit. p. 172) that the *Piṭakas* and commentaries combined contain 5347 *Bhānavāras*, he must be referring to a mere calculation and not to the actual use of the MSS. On the other hand, the fact of *Bhānavāras* being used in the *Dīpavamsa* and the *Khudda-sikkhā* may possibly afford some clue to the age in which those works were composed.

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PARTS I, II, III,

VOLUMES XIII, XVII, XX.

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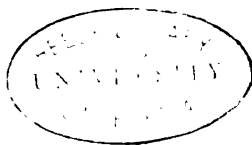
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TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.										
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh	
3 Media	g	.	.	ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	.	
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	.	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	.	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	.	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	.	.	ङ	{ 3 (ng) } { 𐬚 (N) }	.	.	.	.	.	
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	ह	𐬛 (ḥ hr)	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	h, hs	
8 " lenis	,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
11 " asper fricatus	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
12 " lenis fricatus	.	'h	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis	.	k	.	च	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	k	
14 " aspirata	.	kh	.	छ	.	.	.	.	.	kh	
15 Media	.	g	.	ज	.	.	.	.	.	.	
16 " aspirata	.	gh	.	झ	.	.	.	.	.	.	
17 " Nasalis	ñ	.	.	ञ	.	.	.	.	.	.	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .		य	𐬨 𐬩 𐬪 init.	𐬨	ي	ي	,	y
19 Spiritus asper	. . .	(y)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 " lenis	. . .	(y)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 " asper assibilatus	. . .	s		श	𐬨𐬩	𐬨𐬩	ش	ش	. . .	. . .
22 " lenis assibilatus	. . .	z		. . .	𐬨𐬩	𐬨𐬩	ز	ز	. . .	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .		त	𐬨𐬩	𐬨𐬩	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th	. . .		थ	𐬨𐬩	𐬨𐬩	ت	ت	ת	th
25 " assibilata	. . .	. . .	TH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .		द	𐬨𐬩	𐬨𐬩	د	د	. . .	. . .
27 " aspirata	dh	. . .		ध	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
28 " assibilata	. . .	. . .	DH	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .		न	𐬨𐬩	𐬨𐬩	ن	ن	. . .	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .		ल	𐬨𐬩	𐬨𐬩	ل	ل	. . .	l
31 " mollis 1	. . .	l		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 " mollis 2	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .		स	𐬨𐬩	𐬨𐬩	س	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2	. . .	s (/)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
35 " lenis	z	. . .		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
36 " asperimus 1	. . .	z (z)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	z
37 " asperimus 2	. . .	z (z)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	zh

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)		Labiales.	
38 Tenuis	t	48 Tenuis	p
39 " aspirata	th	49 " aspirata	ph
40 Media	d	50 Media	b
41 " aspirata	dh	51 " aspirata	bh
42 Nasalis	n	52 Tenuissima	
43 Semivocalis	r	53 Nasalis	m
44 " fricata	r	54 Semivocalis	w
45 " diacritica	r	55 " aspirata	hw
46 Spiritus asper	sh	56 Spiritus asper	f
47 " lenis	zh	57 " lenis	v
		58 Anusvāra	m
		59 Visarga	h

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	o									ə
2 Laryngo-palatalis	œ									ə
3 " labialis	ø									ə
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	𐬀	ا	א	ā
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	𐬁	آ	א	ā
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	𐬂	ي	י	i
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	𐬃	ی	י	ī
8 Dentalis brevis	ē			ए						
9 " longa	ē			ऐ						
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			रि						
11 " longa	rf			रि						
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ						
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ						u
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	𐬄	𐬄	𐬄	ه	ה	e
15 " longa	ē (ai)	(e)		ऐ	𐬅	𐬅	𐬅	ه	ה	ē
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		आइ	𐬆	𐬆	𐬆	آ	א	āi
17 " "	ei (ēi)			ऐ	𐬇	𐬇	𐬇	ه	ה	ei, ēi
18 " "	oi (ōu)			औ	𐬈	𐬈	𐬈	و	ו	o
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			ओ						
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		औ						
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		आउ	𐬉	𐬉	𐬉	آ	א	āu
22 " "	eu (ēu)			ऐ						
23 " "	ou (ōu)			औ						
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			अ						
25 Palatalis fracta	i			इ						
26 Labialis fracta	ü			उ						ü
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			ओ						

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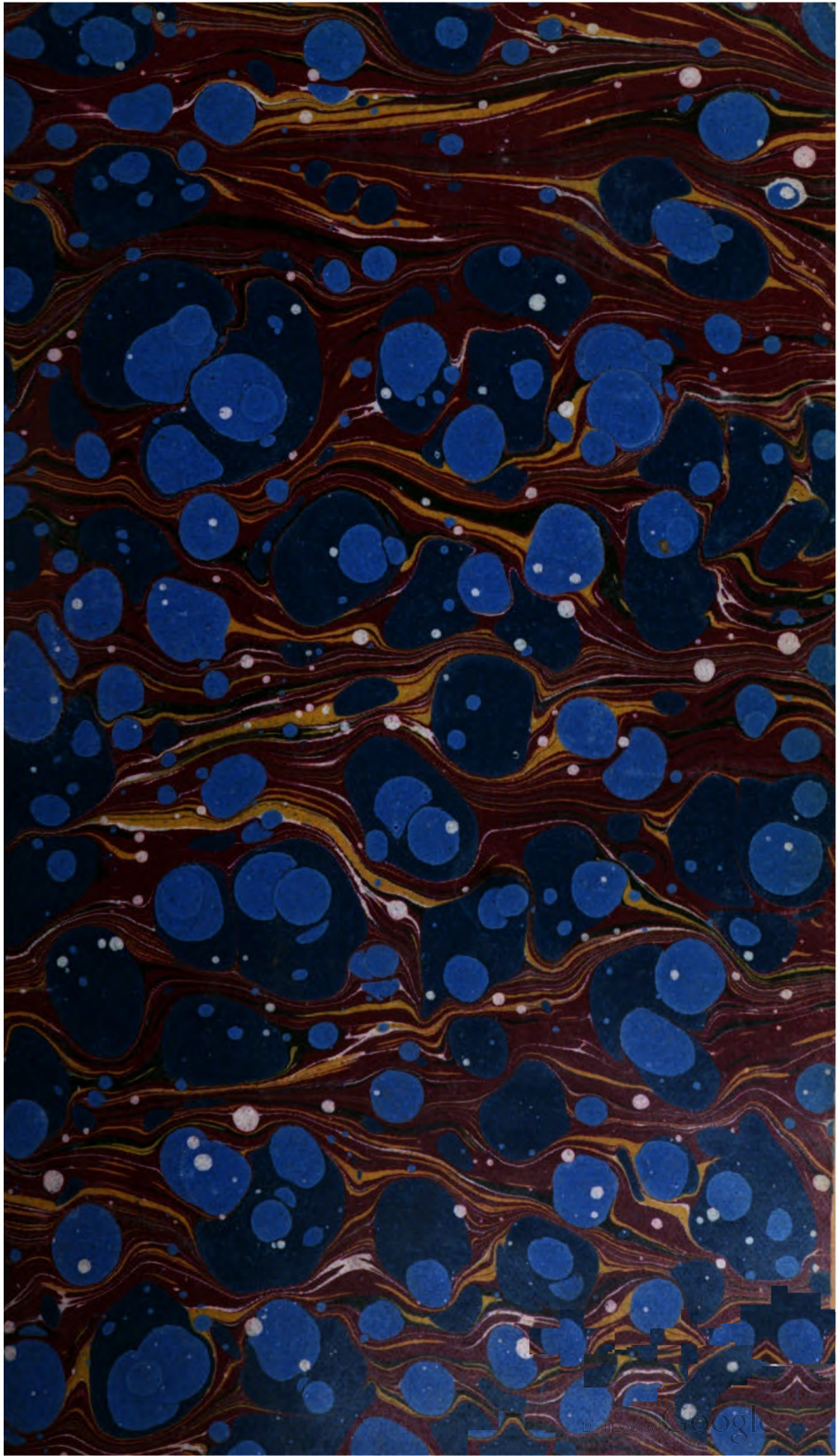
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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XXV

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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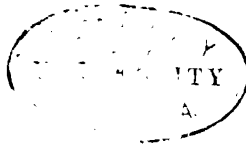
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THE LAWS OF MANU

TRANSLATED

WITH EXTRACTS FROM SEVEN COMMENTARIES



BY

G. BÜHLER

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AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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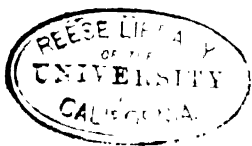
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INTRODUCTION.

I.

DIFFICULT as the historical problems are which the Dharma-sûtras translated in vols. ii and xiv of this Series offer, they are infinitely less complicated than those connected with the metrical law-books and especially with the Manu-smṛiti, or, to speak more exactly, with Bṛigu's version of the Institutes of the Sacred Law proclaimed by Manu. Though mostly the materials available for the inquiry into the history of the Dharma-sûtras are scanty, and in part at least belong to the floating traditions which are generally current among the learned, but of uncertain origin, they not only exhibit no extravagancies, but agree fully with the facts known from strictly historical sources. Moreover, and this is the most important point, though the text of the Dharma-sûtras has not always been preserved with perfect purity, they have evidently retained their original character. They do not pretend to be anything more than the compositions of ordinary mortals, based on the teaching of the Vedas, on the decisions of those who are acquainted with the law, and on the customs of virtuous Āryas. In some cases their authors say as much in plain words. Thus Āpastamba repeatedly laments the sinfulness and the weakness of 'the men of later times,' and Gautama warns against an imitation of the irregular conduct of the ancients whose great 'lustre' preserved them from falling. It is, further, still possible to recognise, even on a superficial examination, for what purpose the Dharma-sûtras were originally composed. Nobody can doubt for a moment that they are manuals written by the teachers of the Vedic schools for the guidance of their pupils, that at first they were held to be authoritative in restricted circles, and that they were later only acknowledged as sources of

the sacred law applicable to all Âryas. This fact is fully acknowledged by the Hindu tradition, even in cases where the Dharma-sûtras no longer are the property of particular Vedic schools.

The metrical *Smṛitis*, on the other hand, are surrounded by clearly fictitious traditions, by mythological legends which either may have grown up spontaneously, because the real origin had been forgotten, or may have been fabricated intentionally in order to show that these works possess divine authority and, hence, have a claim to implicit obedience on the part of all Âryas. Nay, what is more, such legends or portions of them have been introduced into the text, and obscure the real character of the *Smṛitis*. These peculiarities are particularly marked in the *Mānava Dharmasāstra*, where the whole first chapter is devoted to the purpose of showing the mighty scope of the book, and of setting forth its divine origin as well as the manner in which it was revealed to mankind. Its opening verses narrate how the great sages approached Manu, the descendant of self-existent Brahman, and asked him to explain the sacred law. Manu agrees to their request, and gives to them an account of the creation as well as of his own origin from Brahman. After mentioning that he learnt 'these Institutes of the Sacred Law' from the creator who himself produced them, and that he taught them to the ten sages whom he created in the beginning, he transfers the work of expounding them to *Bhrigu*, one of his ten mind-born sons. The latter begins his task by completing, as the commentators call it, Manu's account of the creation. First he gives the theory of the seven *Manvantaras*, the *Yugas*, and other divisions of time, as well as an incidental description of the order of the creation. Next he briefly describes the duties of the four principal castes, passes then to an encomium of the *Brāhmaṇas* and of the Institutes of Manu, and winds up with an enumeration of the contents of all the twelve chapters of the work, which he promises to expound 'exactly as it was revealed to him.' In the following chapters we find frequent allusions to the situation which the first describes. In about forty passages a new

topic is introduced by a prefatory verse which contains phrases like 'such and such a matter has been explained to you, now listen to,' &c., or 'I will next declare,' &c.

Twice (V, 1-3 and XII, 1-2) the sages are represented as interrupting Bhrigu's discourse and expressing their desire to be instructed on particular points, and on both occasions Bhrigu is again named as the narrator. Moreover in a number of verses¹ Manu is particularly mentioned as the author of certain rules, and II, 7 the authoritative-ness of Manu's teaching is emphatically asserted, 'because he was omniscient.' In two other passages Manu appears, however, in different characters. VII, 42 he is enumerated among the kings who gained sovereignty by their humility, and XII, 123 he is identified with the supreme Brahman.

This account of the origin of our Manu-smṛiti would have to be slightly modified by those who accept as genuine the verse² which stands at the beginning of the Smṛiti according to the commentators Govindarāga, Nārāyaṇa, and Rāghavānanda, as well as according to the Kasmīr copy and other MSS. As this verse contains an invocation of the self-existent Brahman, and a promise to explain the laws which Manu taught, it indicates, as Govindarāga says³, that 'some pupil of Bhrigu recites the work which had descended to him through an unbroken line of teachers.' According to this version we have, therefore, a triple exordium instead of a double one, and our Manu-smṛiti does not contain the original words of Bhrigu, but a recension of his recension such as it had been handed down among his pupils. The additional verse is apparently intended to make the story more plausible.

The remarks which the commentators make on this narrative are scanty, and, though they are meant to support its credibility, they are, partly at least, calculated to discredit it. Medhātithi states in his remarks on Manu I, 1, that the Pragāpati Manu was 'a particular individual, perfect

¹ See the index s. v. Manu.

² See note on Manu I, 1.

³ इह भृगुशिष्यः कश्चिद्विद्विज्ज्ञपरंपरायात्स्मृत्यर्थप्रवक्ष्यमिदमाह ॥

in the study of many branches of the Veda, in the knowledge (of its meaning) and in the performance (of its precepts), and known through the sacred tradition which has been handed down in regular succession¹. Govindarāga closely agrees, and says that Manu is 'a great sage, who received his name on account of his acquaintance with the meaning of the whole Veda, who is known to all learned men through the tradition handed down in regular succession, and who is entrusted with causing the creation, preservation, and destruction (of the world)²'. Kullūka, on the other hand, though he agrees with respect to the etymology and explanation of Manu's name, deriving it from man, 'to know (the meaning of the Veda),' and though he admits the human character of his Śāstra, somewhat differs in the description of the person. Referring to XII, 123, he declares Manu to be a manifestation or incarnation of the supreme Soul. Further, Medhātithi and Kullūka adduce in their remarks on the same verse various passages from the Śruti and the Smṛiti, tending to prove the authoritative-ness of the Manu-smṛiti. Both quote slightly varying versions of the famous Vedic passage which declares that 'All Manu said is medicine.' Medhātithi adds only one more anonymous verse, to the effect that 'the Vedas were proclaimed by the great sages, but the Smārta or traditional lore by Manu³.' Kullūka gives two other passages, one from the Bṛhaspati-smṛiti which places Manu's Śāstra at the head of all works of the same class, and another from the Mahābhārata which declares that 'the Purāṇas, Manu's laws, the Vedas, and the medical works must not be opposed by (adverse) reasoning.' Both commentators mention also that the pre-eminence of Manu's teaching is admitted in other passages of the Vedas, the Purāṇas, the

¹ मनुर्नाम कश्चिन्मनुर्विशेषोनेकवेदशास्त्राध्ययनविज्ञानानुष्ठानसंपन्नः स्मृतिपरंपराप्रसिद्धः ॥

² मनुर्नाम महर्षिरशेषवेदार्थज्ञानेन प्राप्तमनुसंज्ञ आगमपरंपरया सकलविद्वज्जनकर्णगोचरीभूतः सर्गस्थितिप्रलयकारणेधिकृतः ॥

³ अथो यजूर्मि सामानि मन्त्रा आपर्वशाश्च ये । महर्षिभिस्तु तत्प्रोक्तं स्मार्तिं तु मनुर्वब्रवीत् ॥

Itihâsas, and the Smṛitis. Finally, in the notes on Manu I, 58, they discuss the question, how the Smṛiti can be called the Mânava Dharmasâstra, though, as is admitted in the work itself, Brahman was its real author. Medhâtithi offers two explanations. First he contends that Brahman produced only 'the multitude of injunctions and prohibitions,' while the work itself was composed by Manu. Next he says that, according to others, the Sâstra may be called Manu's, even if it were first composed by Brahman. In proof of this assertion he points to the analogous case of the river Ganges, which, though originating elsewhere, i.e. in heaven, is called Haimavatî, because it is first seen in the Himavat or Himâlaya, and to that of the Kâthaka Sâkhâ, which, though studied and taught by many others, is named after Kâtha. In conclusion, he adds, 'Nârada also records, "This work, consisting of one hundred thousand verses, was composed by Pragâpati (Brahman); it was successively abridged by Manu and others¹."' Kullûka, who gives a somewhat insufficient abstract of Medhâtithi's discussion, refers to the same passage of Nârada, and bases on it his own explanation of I, 58, according to which it means that Brahman first composed the law-book, and that Manu condensed its contents in his own language and taught it in that form to his pupils.

This is, as far as I know, all that the commentaries say about Manu and the history of the Mânava Dharmasâstra, and their remarks contain also the substance of all that has been brought forward in other discussions on the same subject, with which we meet elsewhere². Important as they may appear to a Hindu who views the question of the origin of the Manu-smṛiti with the eye of faith, they are of little value for the historical student who stands outside the circle of the Brâhmanical doctrines. The statements regarding the person of Manu can, at the best, only furnish materials

¹ नारदश्च स्मरति । शतसाहस्रो ग्रन्थः प्रजापतिना कृतः स मन्वादिभिः
क्रमेण संक्षिप्त इति ॥

² See e. g. the passages translated in Professor Max Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 87-94.

for mythological research. The arguments in support of the authenticity and authoritativeness of the *Manu-smṛiti* are extremely weak. For the Vedic passage which the commentators adduce is, strictly speaking, a misquotation. It occurs in four slightly differing versions in three *Samhitās* and in one *Brāhmaṇa*¹. But in all the four places it refers, in the first instance, to Vedic Mantras which Manu is said to have revealed or seen. As, however, the assertion of the wholesomeness of Manu's teaching is couched in general terms, it may probably be inferred that many sayings, attributed to the father of mankind, were known to the authors of the four Vedic works, and it is not improbable that legal maxims were included amongst them². But Medhātithi's and Kullūka's assumption that our *Manu-smṛiti* is meant in the passages quoted would require very strong special proof, as its language and part of its doctrines by no means agree with those of the Vedic times. Of course, no such proof is offered, and it is not probable that it ever will be offered. The quotations made by the commentators from the *Mahābhārata* and from the *Bṛhaspati-smṛiti*, as well as their well-founded assertion that in the *Purāṇas* and in many *Smṛitis* Manu is frequently referred to as an authority on the sacred law, are of greater importance. It is undoubtedly true that the two works mentioned by Kullūka refer to a particular *Dharmasāstra* attributed to Manu, and the same remark holds good with respect to those passages of the *Purāṇas* and of the *Smṛitis* where, in enumerations of the authors of *Dharmasāstras*, Manu is placed at the head of the list. Yet even this evidence is of little use, because on the one hand the antiquity of many of the works in which Manu's name occurs is extremely doubtful, and on the other hand the existence of several recensions of Manu's laws is admitted, and can be shown to have been a fact. Hence a reference to a *Manu-smṛiti* in a

¹ *Kāṇva* XI, 5 (apparently quoted by Medhātithi); *Maitrāyaṇīyā Samhitā* I, 1, 5; *Taittirīyā Samhitā* II, 2, 10, 2; and *Tāndya Brāhmaṇa* XXIII, 16, 7 (quoted by Kullūka).

² I would not infer with Professor Max Müller, *India, what can it teach us?* p. 364, that a legal work ascribed to a Manu was known to the authors of the four works; see also below, p. lx.

Purāṇa or a Smṛiti does not prove much for Bhrigu's Samhitā, if, at the same time, it is not made evident that the latter is really meant, and that the work in which it is contained really has a claim to be considered ancient. In illustration of this point it may suffice to remark here that the Brīhaspati-smṛiti, which Kullūka adduces as a witness, is by no means an ancient work, but considerably later than the beginning of our era, because it gives a definition of golden dināras, an Indian coin struck in imitation of and called after the Roman denarii¹. Regarding Manu and the Mahābhārata more will be said below. Medhātithi's quotation from Nārada is very unlucky; for it is inexact, and worded in such a manner as to veil the serious discrepancy which exists between the stories told in the Mānava Dharmasāstra and in the Nārada-smṛiti. The introduction to the latter, as read in the MSS. of the vulgata, does not state that the original law-book of one hundred thousand verses was composed by Pragāpati and abridged by Manu and others, but alleges that its author was Manu Pragāpati, and that Nārada and Sumati the son of Bhrigu summarised it². The text of Nārada, which is accompanied by Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa's edition of Asahāya's commentary, names one more sage, Mārkaṇḍeya, who also tried his hand at Manu Pragāpati's enormous work. Whichever of the two versions may be the original one, it is evident that Medhātithi's representation of Nārada's statement is inexact, and that the latter differs considerably from the story in our Manu-smṛiti, which asserts that it is the original work composed by Brahman, and revealed by Manu to Bhrigu, who explains it to the great sages 'exactly as he received it.' Hence Nārada's story discredits the details of the account given in the Mānava Dharmasāstra. It might, at the best, be only quoted to prove the existence of the general belief that Manu was the first lawgiver of India. These remarks will

¹ West and Bühler, Digest, p. 48, third edition.

² See Jolly, Nārada, p. 2, and Tagore Lectures of 1883, p. 46. My conjecture that the introduction to Nārada belongs to Asahāya, not to the Smṛiti itself (West and Bühler, Digest, p. 49), is not tenable.

suffice to show that the explanatory notes offered by the Indian commentators on the origin and history of the Manu-smṛiti are not suited to furnish a basis for a critical discussion of these questions, and that hence they have been deservedly set aside by most modern Sanskritists who have written on the subject. As regards the theories of the latter, it would be useless to enumerate those preceding Professor Max Müller's now generally accepted view, according to which our Manu-smṛiti is based on, or is in fact a recast of an ancient Dharma-sûtra. But, well known as are his hypotheses and the later discoveries confirming them, an introduction to the laws of Manu would, I think, be incomplete without a full restatement of his arguments and of their additional supports furnished by others.

The considerations on which Professor Max Müller based his explanation of the origin of the Manu-smṛiti may be briefly stated as follows¹. The systematic cultivation of the sacred sciences of the Brâhmans began and for a long time had its centre in the ancient Sûtraśāstras, the schools which first collected the fragmentary doctrines, scattered in the older Vedic works, and arranged them for the convenience of oral instruction in Sûtras or strings of aphorisms. To the subjects which these schools chiefly cultivated, belongs besides the ritual, grammar, phonetics, and the other so-called Aṅgas of the Veda, the sacred law also. The latter includes not only the precepts for the moral duties of all Âryas, but also the special rules regarding the conduct of kings and the administration of justice. The Sûtra treatises on law thus cover the whole range of topics, contained in the metrical Smṛitis attributed to Manu, Yâgyñavalkya, and other sages. Though only one Dharma-sûtra, that of the Âpastambîyas, actually remains connected with the aphorisms on the ritual and other sacred subjects, the existence of the Dharmasâstras of Gautama, Vasishṭha, and Viṣṇu, which are likewise composed in Sûtras, proves that formerly

¹ See his letter to Mr. Morley, reprinted in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, pp. ix-xi, and *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.* pp. 132-134. Compare also the analogous views formed independently by Professors Weber and Stenzler, *Indische Studien*, vol. i, pp. 69, 143, 243-4.

they were more numerous. The perfectly credible tradition of the *Mīmāṃsā* school, which declares that originally each Vedic school or *Karana* possessed a peculiar work on Dharma, confirms this assumption. While the Dharma-sūtras possess a considerable antiquity, dating between 600–200 B. C., the metrical *Smṛitis* cannot be equally ancient, because there is much in their form that is modern, and especially because the epic *Anuṣṭubh* Sloka, in which they are written, was not used for continuous composition during the Sūtra period. As the metrical *Smṛitis* are later than the Dharma-sūtras, it is, under the circumstances stated, very probable that each of them is based on a particular Dharma-sūtra. The *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* in particular may be considered as a recast and versification of the Dharma-sūtra of the *Mānava Sūtrakara*, a subdivision of the *Maitrāyaṇīya* school, which adheres to a redaction of the Black Yagur-veda.

Considering the state of our knowledge of Vedic literature thirty years ago, the enunciation of this hypothesis was certainly a bold step. The facts on which it rested were few, and the want of important links in the premises laid it open to weighty objections. No proof was or could be furnished that the Sūtras of Gautama, Vasishṭha, and Viṣṇu originally were manuals of Vedic schools, not codes promulgated for the guidance of all Āryas, as the Hindu tradition, then known, asserted. The assumption that it was so, rested solely on the resemblance of their form and contents to those of the *Āpastambīya* Dharma-sūtra. No trace of a *Mānava* Dharma-sūtra could be shown, nor could any connexion between the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* and the school of the *Mānavas*, except through their titles, be established. The assertion that the Brāhmins had turned older Sūtras, and especially Dharma-sūtras, into metrical works, written in epic Slokas, had to be left without any illustration, and no cause was assigned which would explain this remarkable change. As a set off against these undeniable weaknesses, Professor Max Müller's hypothesis possessed two strong points which secured for it from the outset a favourable reception on the part of all Sanskritists of the historical school. First, it substituted a rational theory

of historical development for the fantastic fables of the Hindu tradition and for the hopeless uncertainty which characterised the earlier speculations of European scholars concerning the origin of the so-called Indian codes of law. Secondly, it fully agreed with many facts which the beginning exploration of Vedic literature had brought to light, and which, taken as a whole, forced on all serious students the conviction that the systematic cultivation of all the Indian Sâstras had begun in the Vedic schools. Subsequent events have shown that Professor Max Müller was right to rely on these two leading ideas, and that his fellow Sanskritists did well to follow him, instead of taking umbrage at the minor flaws. Slowly but steadily a great number of the missing links in the chain of evidence has been brought to light by subsequent investigations. We now know that the Sûtra works of other schools than the Âpastambîyas included or still include treatises on the sacred law. The Dharma-sûtra of the Baudhâyanîyas, the oldest Sûtra-*karana* of the Taittiriya Veda, has been recovered. Though the connexion between the several parts of the great body of Sûtras has been severed, it is yet possible to recognise that it once was closely joined to the *Grîhya-sûtra*¹. The recovery of the entire collection of *Hiranyakeśi-sûtras* has proved that these too include a Dharma-sûtra, which in this instance has been borrowed from the earlier Âpastambîyas². The mystery which surrounded the position of the Dharma-sâstras of Gautama, Viṣṇu, and Vasishṭha has been cleared up. To the assertion that they were composed by ancient *Rishis* for the welfare of mankind, we can at present oppose another tradition according to which they were at first studied and recognised as authoritative by particular schools only, adhering respectively to the Sâma-veda, Black Yagur-veda, and the Rig-veda³. Internal evidence confirming this tradition has been found in the case of Gautama's Dharma-sâstra and of the Viṣṇu-smṛiti, or, more correctly,

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. xxxi.

² Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii, p. xxiii.

³ Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii, pp. xlv-xlviii; vol. vii, pp. x-xvi; vol. xiv, pp. xl-xlv.

of the *Kāthaka Sūtras*. These latter discoveries are of particularly great importance, because they fully establish the truth of the assumption, underlying Professor Max Müller's theory, that in post-Vedic times the Brāhmins did not hesitate to change the character of ancient school-books and to convert them into generally binding law-codes, either by simply taking them out of their connexion with the *Srauta* and *Gr̥hya-sūtras* or by adding besides matter which, in the eyes of orthodox Hindus, must greatly increase the sentiment of reverence felt for them. It is especially the case of the so-called *Vishṇu-smṛiti*, which deserves the most careful attention. The beginning and the end of the work distinctly characterise it as a revelation of the god *Vishṇu*. *Vishṇu*, *Vaishṇava* worship and philosophy are on various occasions praised and recommended in the course of the discussions. Yet the difference in the style of the introductory and concluding chapters leaves no doubt that they are later additions, and the perfectly credible tradition of the *Pandits* of *Puna* and *Benares*, the occurrence of particular sacred texts known to the *Kāthakas* alone, as well as the special resemblance of its contents to those of the *Kāthaka Gr̥hya-sūtra*, make it perfectly certain that the work is only a *Vaishṇava* recast of the *Kāthaka Dharma-sūtra*¹. We thus obtain in this case the confirmation of almost every fact which the conversion of the *Dharma-sūtra* of the *Mānavas* into the revealed code of the *Pragāpati Manu* presupposes, with the sole exception of the substitution of epic *Slokas* for aphoristic prose. With respect to the last point, the further exploration of the *Smṛiti* literature has furnished numerous analogies. As an instance to the point we can now cite the fragments of the so-called *Bṛihat Saṅkha Dharmasāstra*, which, as the quotations show, must

¹ A quotation in *Govindarāga's Smṛitimaṅgarī*, fol. 12^b, l. 8 (India Office Collection, No. 1736), contains a very small portion of this work. When explaining the penance for the murder of a Brāhmana, mentioned *Manu* XI, 74, *Govindarāga* says, अथस्यानं कठसूत्रकृता व्याख्यानं [तं] । त्वत्प्रागो भक्त्यागो वस्त्रत्याग इति ॥ त्वग् [त्वत्प्रागो] क्षुरादिना देहत्यागम् ॥ The quotation shows that the *Dharma-sūtra* of the *Kaṭhas* mentioned the fanciful expiations ending in death, which are given in all the ancient law-books, but omitted in the *Vishṇu-smṛiti*.

formerly have consisted of prose and verse, while the available MSS. show Sûtras and Anushṭubhs in one chapter only, and Slokas alone in the remainder¹. There are, further, such works like the two Âśvalāyana Smṛitis and the Saunaka-smṛiti, evidently versifications of the corresponding *Gṛihya-sûtras*, with or without the additions of extraneous matter². In short, among all the general propositions concerning the origin of the metrical Smṛitis, which Professor Max Müller advanced, only one, the assertion that during the Sûtra period of 600–200 B.C. works written in continuous epic verse were unknown, has proved untenable in its full extent. It seems no longer advisable to limit the production of Sûtras to so short and so late a period as 600–200 B.C., and the existence of metrical school-manuals at a much earlier date has been clearly demonstrated³. It is now evident that the use of the heroic metre for such works did not begin all of a sudden and at a certain given date. But it seems, nevertheless, indisputable that the use of aphoristic prose was adopted earlier than that of verse. For in all known cases a Sûtra, not a metrical *Samgraha*, *Vārttika*, or *Kārikā*, stands at the head of each series of school-books, and some of the most salient peculiarities of the Sûtra style reappear in that of the metrical manuals⁴. With respect to the conjectures specially affecting the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, the former existence of a *Mānava Dharma-sûtra*, consisting of prose mixed with verses in several metres, has been established by the discovery of some quotations in the *Vāsishṭha Dharma-sûtra*, and their contents show that the work known to the author of the latter *Śāstra* was closely related to our *Manu-smṛiti*. As regards the connexion of this *Dharma-sûtra*, and consequently of our *Manu-smṛiti* with the *Sûtrakaraṇa* of the *Mānavas*, the results of the late researches have not been equally satisfactory. The recovery of the writings of the *Mānavas* has not only not furnished any facts in support of the supposed connexion, but, on the contrary, has raised difficulties, as it

¹ West and Bühler, *Digest of H. L.* p. 40, third edition.

² West and Bühler, *loc. cit.* p. 51.

³ Goldstücker, *Mānavakalpa-sûtra*, p. 78.

⁴ West and Bühler, *loc. cit.* pp. 42. 44.

appears that the doctrines of the Mānava *Gr̥hya-sūtra* differ very considerably from those of our Mānava *Dharmasāstra*. All that has been brought forward in substantiation of this portion of Professor Max Müller's hypothesis is that as close an affinity exists between the *Vishṇu-smṛiti*, the modern recension of the *Kāthaka Dharma-sūtra*, and our *Manu-smṛiti*, as is found between the *Kāthaka* and Mānava *Gr̥hya-sūtras* and between the *Kāthaka* and Mānava *Samhitās*, and that hence the Vedic original of the *Manu-smṛiti* may be supposed to have belonged to the Mānava school¹. The conclusive force of this argument is no doubt somewhat weakened, as Dr. von Bradke has pointed out, by the fact that the *Vishṇu-smṛiti* is not the original *Kāthaka Dharma-sūtra*. But to reject it altogether on account of this circumstance would be going too far. For the agreement between the *Smṛitis* of Manu and *Vishṇu* extends to many subjects where the latter shows no traces of recasting, and may be reasonably supposed to faithfully represent the original *Dharma-sūtra*. Nevertheless a full reconsideration of this point is indispensable. Before we proceed to that, it will, however, be advisable first to supplement Professor Max Müller's arguments against the antiquity of our *Manu-smṛiti* by the discussion of some of its passages which clearly admit an acquaintance with a large body of older legal literature and particularly with *Dharma-sūtras*, and, secondly, to re-examine and complete the proof for the former existence of a Mānava *Dharma-sūtra* and for its having been the precursor of the metrical law-book.

Among the passages of the *Manu-smṛiti* which disprove the claim, set up by its author, to be the first legislator, and which show that he had many predecessors, the first place must be allotted to its statements regarding controversies and conflicting decisions on certain points of the ritual and of the law. Such cases are by no means rare. Thus the observances of 'some,' with respect to the order of the several ceremonies at a *Srâddha*² and to the disposal

¹ Professor Jolly, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. vii, pp. xxvi-xxvii; and Dr. von Bradke, *Jour. Germ. Or. Soc.* vol. xxxii, pp. 438-441.

² The same difference of opinion is mentioned in *Sāṅkhāyana Gr̥hya-sūtra* IV, 1, 10.

of the funeral cakes, are mentioned Manu III, 261. Discussions of the ancient sages, exactly resembling those met with in the Dharma-sûtras¹, are given IX, 31-55 regarding the long-disputed question whether a son begotten on a wife by a stranger, but with the husband's consent, belongs to the natural parent or to 'the owner of the soil.' In the same chapter it is stated, just as in Gautama's Dharma-sûtra², that 'some' permit the procreation of a second son with an appointed widow. Manu X, 70-71, we find a decision on the question whether, as 'some' assert, the seed be more important, or, as 'others' state, the soil, or, as 'again others' maintain, the seed and the soil have equal importance, and, XI, 45, we are told that the sages, i. e. all sages, are convinced of the efficacy of penances for atoning unintentional offences, while 'some' declare that they even destroy the guilt of him who sinned intentionally. The latter point is discussed in exactly the same manner Gaut. XIX, 3-6. In other cases the author is less explicit. He merely places conflicting opinions side by side without indicating that they belong to different authorities, and hence he has mostly succeeded in misleading the commentators as to his real meaning. Thus we read Manu II, 145, that the teacher is less venerable than the father and the mother, while the next following verses teach exactly the contrary doctrine. The commentators are much perplexed by this contradiction. But if we turn to Gautama II, 50-51, where it is said, 'The teacher is chief among all Gurus; some say (that) the mother (holds the first place),' it is not doubtful that the Manu-smṛiti gives in the first verse the opinion of Gautama's 'some' as the pûrvapaksha, and adduces the following one in order to prove its incorrectness. A similar case occurs Manu III, 23-25, where three opinions regarding the permissibility of certain marriage-rites are enumerated, the last of which is the siddhânta or the author's own view.

It might be contended that these passages, the list of

¹ See especially Vas. XVII, 6-9, where one of the verses of the Manu-smṛiti occurs.

² Gaut. XVIII, 8.

which might be considerably enlarged, do not necessarily force on us the conviction that they refer to actual law-books which preceded our Manu-smṛiti. If they stood by themselves, they might possibly be explained as showing nothing more than that legal and ritual questions had long engaged the attention of the learned. But this subterfuge becomes impossible, as we find in other verses the explicit confession that the author of the Manu-smṛiti knew Dharmaśāstras. Three passages allude to their existence in general terms. The first occurs in the definition of the terms *Sruti* and *Smṛiti*, Manu II, 10, 'But by *Sruti* (revelation) is meant the Veda, and by *Smṛiti* (tradition) the Institutes of the sacred law.' In the text the last word, *dharmaśāstram*, stands in the singular. But it must doubtlessly be taken, as Kullōka¹ and Nārāyaṇa² indicate, in a collective sense. Another mention of law-books is found Manu XII, 111, where a *dharma-pāṭhakaḥ*, 'one who recites (the Institutes of) the sacred law,' is named among the members of a parishad or assembly entitled to decide difficult points of law. The commentators are unanimous in explaining *dharma*, literally 'the sacred law,' by 'the Institutes of the sacred law' or 'the *Smṛitis* of Manu and others,' and it is indeed impossible to take the word in any other sense than that of 'law-books'.³ The third passage is perfectly explicit, as the word *Dharmaśāstra* is used in the plural. It occurs in the section on funeral sacrifices, Manu III, 232, 'At a (sacrifice in honour) of the manes he must let (his guests) hear the Veda, the Institutes of the sacred law (*dharmaśāstrāṇi*),' &c.⁴ Here the existence of many earlier law-books is plainly acknowledged. The character of the Institutes of the sacred law, known to the author of our Manu, may be inferred

¹ मन्वादिशास्त्रं स्मृतिः ॥

² धर्मशास्त्रं प्राधान्येन । यन्मानुशासनीयं तद्धर्मशास्त्रम् ॥

³ Medh. धर्मपाठको मन्वादिस्मृतिशास्त्राणामध्येता ॥ Gov. मानवादिधर्मोध्येता ॥

Kull. मानवादिधर्मशास्त्रवेदी ॥ Nand. धर्मशास्त्रपाठकः ॥ The full significance of this passage will be shown below, p. lii.

⁴ See also Professor Stenzler in the Indische Studien, vol. i, p. 245; Dr. Johāntgen, Das Gesetzbuch des Manu, p. 76.

from some other passages which reveal an acquaintance with the *Āṅgas* of the *Veda*¹. *Manu* II, 141, and IV, 98, these auxiliary sciences are mentioned in a general way. From *Manu* III, 185, where it is said that a *Brāhmaṇa* who knows the six *Āṅgas* sanctifies the company at a *Srāddha* dinner, we learn that their number, as known to our author, did not differ from that mentioned in all Vedic works. Further, the name of the first *Āṅga*, the *Kalpa*, occurs III, 185, and the mention of a *Nairukta* among the members of a *parishad* shows that the fourth, the *Nirukta*, was also known. With the latter and the remaining four, which the author of the *Manu-smṛiti* in all probability also knew, we are not immediately concerned. But the first, the *Kalpa*, possesses a very great interest for our purposes. This term, as is well known, denotes collectively those *Sūtras* of the Vedic schools which teach the performance of the *Srauta* sacrifices, the rites especially described in the *Sruti*. Hence both *Srauta-sūtras* and, of course, also *Sūtra-kāraṇas* must have preceded the *Manu-smṛiti*. If it is now borne in mind that according to the Hindu tradition, mentioned above, all *Sūtra-kāraṇas* formerly possessed *Dharma-sūtras*, and that in some existing *Kalpas* the *Dharma-sūtras* are closely connected with the *Srauta-sūtras*, it becomes exceedingly probable, nay, certain, that our *Mānava Dharmasāstra* is later than some of the *Dharma-sūtras*. This conclusion is further corroborated by those passages of the *Manu-smṛiti* where the author quotes the opinions of individual predecessors. *Manu* III, 16 we read, 'According to *Atri* and (*Gautama*) the son of *Utathya*² he who weds a *Sūdra* woman becomes an out-cast, according to *Saunaka* on the birth of a son, and according to *Bhrigu* he who has (male) offspring from a (*Sūdra* female alone).' Under the above explanation, which is adopted by the majority of the commentators,

¹ See also Professor Stenzler, loc. cit. ; Dr. Jöhäntgen, loc. cit. p. 74.

² The form *Utathya* is a corruption of the Vedic *Ukathya*, and shows the substitution of a dental for a palatal, which is not uncommon in the *Prākṛit* dialects. Hence it possesses a certain value as an additional proof for the post-Vedic origin of the *Manu-smṛiti*.

and is confirmed by an analogous passage of the aphoristic Dharmaśāstra of Uśanas¹, the author adduces there the opinions of four older authorities, all of which are credited by the Hindu tradition with the revelation of law-books. We still possess several Smṛitis attributed to Atri, Saunaka, and to Gautama, as well as one said to belong to Bṛigu. With the exception of the aphoristic Gautamiya Dharmaśāstra all these works are modern, some being metrical recensions of older Sūtras, and some of very doubtful origin. It is, therefore, impossible that any of the existing Dharmaśāstras, Atri, Saunaka, and Bṛigu, can be referred to by Manu, and, as a matter of fact, the opinions quoted cannot be traced in them. But if we turn to Gautama's Sūtra we find among those persons who defile the company at a Srāddha dinner, and who are thus excluded from the community of the virtuous, the sūdrāpati, literally 'the husband of a Sūdra female².' The real signification of the compound seems, however, to be, as Haradatta suggests, 'he whose only wife or dharmapatnī is a Sūdrā.' As it appears from Manu III, 17-19, that the opinion attributed to the son Utathya was the same, it is not at all unlikely that the Manu-smṛiti actually quotes the still existing Sūtra of Gautama. Another reference to a lost Sūtra occurs at Manu VI, 21, where it is said of the hermit in the forest, 'Or he may constantly subsist on flowers, roots, and fruit alone, following the rule of the (Institutes) of Vikhanas.' The original Sanskrit of the participial clause is 'vaikhānasamate sthitaḥ,' and means literally 'abiding by the Vaikhānasa opinion.' The commentators, with the exception of Nārāyaṇa, are unanimous in declaring that

¹ Uś. Dharmaśāstra, chap. III, पतितो वृषलीपतिः । न पततीत्येके । ब्राह्मणस्य कल्पविहिताश्चतस्रोनुपूर्वेण भार्या भवतीति वसिष्ठ आह । पतति न पततीति संज्ञयः । वृषल्यां पततीति हारीतः । जननात्यततीति शौनकः । तदपत्यः पततीति गोतमः ॥ Though Uśanas' statements regarding the opinions of the ancient lawyers do not agree with those of the Manu-smṛiti, except in the case of Saunaka, they are yet important, because they show that differences of opinion regarding the effects of a marriage with a Sūdrā did occur. See also Jolly, Tagore Lectures, p. 53.

² Gautama XV, 18; Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii, p. 255.

the word *Vaikhānasa* here denotes a *Sāstra* or *Sūtra* promulgated by *Vikhanas*, in which the duties of hermits were described at length¹. The correctness of this opinion seems to me indisputable. For the word *mata*, 'opinion,' in *Manu's* verse, requires that the preceding part of the compound should denote either a person, or a school, or a work. If we take *vaikhānasa* in the sense of hermit in the forest, we obtain the meaningless translation, 'a hermit may subsist on flowers, &c., following the opinion of hermits.' It is, therefore, necessary to interpret *vaikhānasa* with the commentators in the sense of *vaikhānasa sâstra*, and to refer it to a particular work which taught the duties of hermits. The existence of such a book is attested not only by *Manu's* commentators, but also by other ancient and modern authors. *Baudhâyana* mentions it explicitly², and seems to give a short summary of its contents in the third chapter of the third *Prasna* of his *Dharmasâstra*. *Haradatta*, the commentator of *Āpastamba* and *Gautama*, also appears to have known it. In his notes on *Gautama III*, 2, he gives the derivation of *vaikhānasa*, a hermit in the forest, saying, 'The *vânaprastha* is called *vaikhānasa*, because he lives according to the rule promulgated by *Vikhanas*,' and adds, 'For that (sage) chiefly taught that order³.' If the statements made to me by Indian *Pandits* are to be trusted, we may even hope to recover the work in course of time. It must be an exceedingly ancient book, as the secondary meaning of *vaikhānasa*, a hermit, which can have arisen only in the manner suggested by *Haradatta*⁴, occurs in the

¹ Medh. वैखानसं नाम शास्त्रं यत्र वानप्रस्थस्य धर्मो विहितास्तेषां मते स्थितः ॥ Gov. वैखानसाख्ये वानप्रस्थशास्त्रदर्शने स्थितः ॥ Kull. वैखानसो वानप्रस्थः । तद्धर्मप्रतिपादकशास्त्रदर्शने स्थितः ॥ Nand. वैषा[खा]नसमतं विष[ख]मसा प्रोक्तं सूक्तं [च] तत्र हि वानप्रस्थधर्मस्य पूर्वोपदेशः क्रियते ॥ Nâr. वैखानसमते वानप्रस्थमते ॥

² Baudh. Dharma. II, 11, 14; Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. 259.

³ वैखानसो वानप्रस्थः । विखनसा प्रोक्तेन मार्गेण वर्तते इति । तेन हि स आश्रमः प्राधान्येन प्रतिपादितः ॥

⁴ The double *vṛiddhi* in *vaikhānasa* is according to the analogy of the words enumerated in the *âkṛiti-gaṇa anuratikâdi*, Pân. VII, 3, 20.

oldest known Dharma-sûtra. Under these circumstances it is not advisable to assume that it had any connexion with the Vaikhānasa Sûtra¹, a subdivision of the Taittiriya, which seems to have been one of the youngest schools adhering to the Black Yagur-veda¹. But it is evident that the ancient Vaikhānasa Sûtra, which treated of an important portion of the sacred law, preceded our Manu-smṛiti.

Another reference to the opinion of a person who is the reputed author of a still existing Dharma-sûtra is found at Manu VIII, 140, where the rate of legal interest on secured loans is thus described: 'A money-lender may stipulate, as an increase on his capital, for the interest allowed by Vasishtha, and take monthly the eightieth part of a hundred.' If we turn to the Vāsishtha Dharmasāstra, we read, III, 51², 'Hear the interest for a money-lender, declared by Vasishtha, five māshas (may be taken every month) for twenty (kārshāpasas).' Though the wording of the Manu-smṛiti differs from that adopted in the Vāsishtha Dharmasāstra, the meaning of both passages is the same. The eightieth part of one hundred is one and a quarter per cent, and the same rate is obtained if five māshas are charged for twenty kārshāpasas, i. e. for four hundred māshas³. Both law-books, therefore, evidently refer to the same rule of Vasishtha. But the correctness of the further inference that the author of the Manu-smṛiti used the Vāsishtha Dharmasāstra is not so easily demonstrable as might seem from the extracts given above. For Vas. III, 51 itself is a quotation, marked as such by its final iti (left untranslated) and the phrase, 'Now they quote also,' which is prefixed to Sûtra 48. Hence it might be argued that the agreement of the

¹ See Professor Max Müller, *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* p. 199; Professor Weber, *Indische Studien*, vol. i, p. 83. A portion of the Vaikhānasa Srauta-sûtra is preserved in the modern transcripts, belonging to the Bombay University and the Munich Royal Libraries, which Professor Haug had made from a Barodâ MS.

² *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiv, p. 16; according to Dr. Führer's edition, Vas. III, 50.

³ *Gagannātha*, in *Col. Dig.* I, 25, gives a somewhat different calculation. But the general sense remains the same. I follow *Krishnapandita* and *Hara-datta on Gautama XII*, 29.

two passages furnishes no stringent proof for the posteriority of the *Manu-smṛiti* to that which bears *Vasishṭha*'s name, that, on the contrary, it perhaps merely indicates the dependence of both works on a common source, be it on some older work or on the tradition current in the Brāhmaṇical schools. Such an objection would in most similar cases be perfectly legitimate, but in the present one it is, I think, barred by some peculiar circumstances. From the above-mentioned Hindu tradition, preserved by Govindasvāmin¹, we learn that the *Vāsishṭha Dharmaśāstra* originally belonged to a school of *Rig*-vedins who ascribed the settlement of their laws to the famous Vedic *Rishi Vasishṭha*. The rule limiting the monthly interest on secured loans to one and a quarter per cent is found also in Gautama's *Dharma-sūtra* XII, 29, a work which, as has been shown elsewhere², is older than the *Vasishṭha-smṛiti*. But neither there nor in any other work where it occurs³ is its enunciation attributed to *Vasishṭha*. Hence it is most probable that this addition was made by those who attributed their laws to *Vasishṭha*, and who, therefore, had an interest in vindicating the invention of an important legal maxim for their spiritual head. If their law-book gives the rule in the form of a quotation, they probably do not mean to indicate that an older verse ascribing it to *Vasishṭha* existed, but that the rule itself was an ancient one, and had been taken from a law-book or from the tradition of the Brāhmaṇical schools. With this explanation the mention of *Vasishṭha*'s name, made in *Manu* VIII, 140, still remains an indication that its author knew and referred to the existing *Vāsishṭha Dharmaśāstra*.

These passages are far too numerous to be set aside as possibly later interpolations, and there is, indeed, no circumstance connected with any of them which could lead to such a supposition. We must, therefore, admit that they clearly disprove the claim of the *Manu-smṛiti* to the first

¹ See above, p. xx.

² *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, pp. liii, liv.

³ See e. g. *Yāgy.* II, 37, and the texts of *Bṛhaspati* and *Vyāsa* quoted in *Col. Dig.* I, 26-27.

place among Indian law-books which the first chapter sets up, and that they furnish a strong support to the view according to which the *Manu-smṛiti* belongs to a later stage of literary development than the *Dharma-sūtras*.

In turning to the second point of our supplement, it will be advisable to reconsider in detail the passages of the *Vasishṭha-smṛiti*, which prove the former existence of a *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*, and which, as the preceding discussion has established the priority of the *Vasishṭha-smṛiti* to our *Manu*, possess a particularly great importance. The chief passage occurs *Vasishṭha* IV, 5-8¹, where we read :

5. The *Mānava* (*Sūtra* states), 'Only when worshipping the manes and the gods, or when honouring guests, he may certainly do injury to animals.'

6. 'On offering the honey-mixture (to a guest), at a sacrifice and at the rites in honour of the manes, but on these occasions only, may an animal be slain; that (rule) *Manu* proclaimed.'

7. 'Meat can never be obtained without injury to living beings, and injury to living beings does not procure heavenly bliss: hence (the sages declare) the slaughter (of beasts) at a sacrifice not (to be) slaughter (in the ordinary sense of the word).'

8. 'Now he may also cook a full-grown ox or a full-grown he-goat for a *Brāhmaṇa* or a *Kshatriya* guest; in this manner they offer hospitality to such (a man).'

As has been stated in the introduction to *Vasishṭha*², all the four *Sūtras* must be taken as a quotation, because the particle *iti*, 'thus,' occurs at the end of IV, 8, and because the identity of *Sūtra* 6 with *Manu* V, 41, as well as the close resemblance of *Sūtra* 7 to *Manu* V, 48, shows that the quotation is not finished with *Sūtra* 5. If we accept this explanation

¹ पितृदेवातिथिपूजायामप्येव पशुं हिंस्यादिति मानवम् ॥ ५ ॥ मधुपर्के च यज्ञे च पितृदेवतकर्मणि । अत्रैव च पशुं हिंस्यान्नायप्येत्यत्र ब्रवीन्मनुः ॥ ६ ॥ नाकृत्वा प्राणिनां हिंसां मांसमुत्पद्यते क्लृप्तिम् । न च प्राणिवधः स्वर्गस्तस्माद्भागो वधोवधः ॥ ७ ॥ अथापि ब्राह्मणाय वा राजन्याय वाभ्यागताय महोद्वाणं वा महाजं वा पच्येदेवमस्मात्प्रातिथ्यं कुर्वन्तीति ॥ ८ ॥

² Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, pp. xviii-xix.

we have in our passage the usual arrangement followed in the Dharma-sûtras. First comes the prose rule, next the verses which confirm it, and finally a Vedic passage on which both the rule and the verses rest. It may be added that the explanation of the passage given by *Krishnapandita* Dharmâdhikârin in his commentary on *Vasishtha*, according to which the word *Mânavam*, explained above by 'the *Mânava* (Sûtra),' is to mean 'the (opinion) of Manu' (*manumatam*), cannot be upheld, for several reasons. First, the wording of the text of Sûtra 5 looks like a real quotation, not like a summary of Manu's views by *Vasishtha*. This becomes quite clear, if we compare *Vasishtha* I, 17, where undoubtedly a rule of Manu, corresponding to *Mânava* Dh. VII, 203, and VIII, 41, is given in *Vasishtha*'s words, 'Manu has declared (that) the (peculiar) laws of countries, castes, and families (may be followed) in the absence of (rules of) the revealed texts¹.' Secondly, the great differences between several other passages, quoted by *Vasishtha* as Manu's, and the corresponding passages of the text of our *Manu-smṛiti*, as well as the fact that the latter, as we have seen, refers to the *Vâsishtha* Dharmaśāstra, do not permit us to assume, with *Krishnapandita*, that *Vasishtha* knew and referred to our Manu.

If it is thus necessary to admit that *Vasishtha*'s quotation is taken from a *Mânava* Dharma-sûtra, the agreement of the doctrine taught in the quotation and of a portion of the text with those of our *Manu-smṛiti* show further that this Dharma-sûtra must have been the forerunner of our metrical law-book. An examination of the other quotations from Manu, which occur in the *Vasishtha-smṛiti*, will show that this agreement was, though pretty close, not complete. The identity of the view, ascribed to Manu by *Vasishtha* I, 17, with the contents of Manu VII, 203, and VIII, 41, has already been mentioned. *Vasishtha* III, 2, a *Mânava* Sloka is quoted which agrees literally with Manu II, 168. The same remark applies to the quotation at *Vasishtha* XX, 18, which is found Manu XI, 152. Another passage,

¹ देशधर्मजातिधर्मकुलधर्माम्बुतभावादब्रवीन्नुः ॥

Vas. XIII, 16, shows considerable verbal differences. According to Vasishṭha, Manu's verse is: 'Be it fruit, or water, or sesamum, or food, or whatever be (the gift) at a Srāddha, let him not, having just accepted it, recite the Veda; for it is declared in the Smṛiti that the hands of Brāhmaṇas are their mouths,' while we read Manu IV, 117, 'Be it an animal or a thing inanimate, whatever be the (gift) at a Srāddha, let him not, having just accepted it, recite the Veda; for it is declared in the Smṛiti that the hand of a Brāhmaṇa is his mouth¹.' The last quotation which occurs Vas. XIX, 37, and refers to the sulka, (exemptions from) taxes and duties², is in the Trishūbh metre, and, hence, cannot have a place in our Manu-smṛiti. But it is remarkable that the latter does not even show a corresponding Anushūbh verse, and that the contents of the quotation do not quite agree with the teaching of our Manu. The latter mentions the exemption of a sum less than a kārshāpāna incidentally X, 120. It agrees also with Manu's doctrines that Srotriyas, ascetics, alms, and sacrifices should not be taxed. But there are no indications that infants, messengers, and ambassadors, or the remnant left to a plundered trader, should go free. With respect to those living by arts (silpa), our Manu teaches, VII, 138, and X, 120, just like most other ancient authors, that artisans are to do monthly one piece of work for the king. Though this corvée amounts to a pretty severe tax, it is, of course, possible to contend that Manu's rule does not exactly contradict that quoted by Vasishṭha. Besides these passages, there are some other verses³ which contain the well-known phrase, 'manur abravīt, thus Manu spoke,'

¹ Vas. मानवं वात्र शोकमुदाहरन्ति । फलान्यापस्तिलान्मन्त्रान्यन्नान्यष्टादिकं भवेत् । प्रतिगृह्णाप्यनभ्यायः पायसास्या ब्राह्मणाः स्मृता इति ॥ Manu, प्राणि वा यदि वाप्राणि यत्किञ्चिष्टादिकं भवेत् । तदालभ्याप्यनभ्यायः पायसास्यो हि द्विजः स्मृतः ॥

² 'No duty (is paid) on a sum less than a kārshāpāna, there is no tax on a livelihood gained by arts, nor on an infant, nor on a messenger, nor on what has been received as alms, nor on the remnants of property left after a robbery, nor on a Srotriya, nor on an ascetic, nor on a sacrifice.'

³ Vas. XI, 23; XII, 16; XXIII, 43; XXVI, 8.

and mention Manu as the authority for the rule taught. With respect to these references it seems to me not probable that they have been taken from the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*. We shall see below¹ that from the earliest times the mythical Manu, the father of mankind, was considered as the founder of the social and moral order, and that he was considered to have first taught or revealed religious rites and legal maxims. Hence I believe that these four verses give nothing more than an expression of the belief that their doctrines go back to the first progenitor of men². The first three among them either contradict or find no counterpart in our *Manu-smṛiti*. The fourth agrees in substance with *Manu XI*, 260–261. But it occurs in a chapter which is probably spurious, or, at least, full of interpolations. Whatever view may be taken concerning these passages, the allegation that the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*, known to *Vasishṭha*, closely resembled, but was not identical with our *Manu*, need not be modified.

If we look for other traces of the *Sūtra*, quoted by *Vasishṭha*, it is possible that *Gautama*, who mentions an opinion of *Manu*, *XXI*, 7, refers to it. His *Dharma-sūtra* is even older than *Vasishṭha*'s, and long anterior to our *Manu-smṛiti*. But the possibility that *Gautama* refers not to a rule of the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*, but to a maxim generally attributed to the mythical *Manu*, is not altogether excluded. *Gautama* says, 'Manu (declares that) the first three (crimes, the intentional murder of a *Brāhmaṇa*, drinking *Surā*, and the violation of a *Guru*'s bed) cannot be expiated³.' The wording of the *Sūtra* shows that it is not a quotation, but a summary of *Manu*'s opinion. Our *Manu-smṛiti* explicitly teaches, *XI*, 90, the same doctrine with respect to the intentional murder of a *Brāhmaṇa*, and, if my explanation of *XI*, 147 is accepted, also with respect to the intentional drinking of *Surā*. As regards the third offence, there is no

¹ See p. lviii.

² The meaning of the phrase in the verse, occurring in the quotation from the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*, is probably the same.

³ *ऋषि प्रथमान्यनिर्देश्यानि मनुः ॥* The same opinion is expressed in the *Mahābhārata XII*, 165, 34, but not attributed to *Manu*.

direct statement. But the expiations, prescribed XI, 104-105, amount to a sentence of death. Hence our Manu-smṛiti, too, practically declares the crime to be inexpressible during the offender's lifetime. Its original, the Dharma-sūtra, may, therefore, be supposed to have had the rule which Gautama attributes to Manu. Nevertheless, owing to the circumstances mentioned above, Gautama's passage cannot be adduced as a perfectly certain proof of the early existence of the Mānava Dharma-sūtra.

Among the remaining Dharma-sūtras¹ there is only the fragment attributed to Uśanas which seems to quote a Sūtra of Manu. At the beginning of the first chapter² we find a very corrupt passage containing a prose-quotation which according to two of my MSS. belongs to Manu, but according to a third to Sumantu. As the latter copy is, however, clearly more incorrect than the other two, and as a Sūtra by Sumantu is not known from other sources, the reading of the first two seems to be preferable. The contents of the quotation which apparently prescribes that on the death of an infant, of an emigrant, of one who keeps no sacred fires, of one who kills himself by starvation or by self-cremation, and of one slain in battle, no period of impurity need be kept, agree with the teaching of our Manu-smṛiti, V, 78, 89, 94, 98.

There is, further, one among the Vedic books on the ritual, the Sāṅkhāyana Gr̥hya-sūtra, which possibly refers to the Mānava Dharma-sūtra. This work quotes the verse, Manu V, 41, which, as has been shown above, occurred also in the Dharma-sūtra as well as several other Ślokas of

¹ Regarding the passage of Āpastamba II, 16, 1, which ascribes the revelation of the Śrāddhas to Manu, see below, p. lix.

² I transcribe the whole beginning of the work, तत्र जन्ममरणयोः काले देशान्तरयोः शौचं दशरात्रं मातापितृभ्यः सूतके मातुरित्येके ॥ उपस्युष्य ---- मनुराह ॥ बाले देशान्तरस्यै चानग्निर्न बोराध्वाने (?) अनाशकेग्निप्रवेशे युज्यते च सद्यः ॥ शौचान्नह पतिताभितनिन्दिताचारिर्न सह संवसेत् ॥ Thus two MSS.; the third reads, उपस्युष्य तु सुमन्तुराह । and further on, शौचान्नहति ताभिरु ० । It is impossible to restore the whole passage. The end of the quotation may have been सद्यः शौचमिहिति ॥

our Manu-smṛiti, partly in better versions¹. As the *Grihya-sûtra* agrees also in a number of its rules very characteristically with Manu, it is not improbable that its author may have drawn on the original of the latter. But before one can be perfectly confident on this point, it is necessary that some difficult questions regarding the critical condition of Sāṅkhâya's text should be cleared up more fully than has been done hitherto. More important than the passages from the last work is the evidence which the *Kāmandakiya Nitisâra* furnishes, where twice opinions of the *Mānavâh* and once an opinion of Manu are quoted, but rejected in favour of the views of the author's teacher, *Kānakya Kauṣilya*. In one case the doctrine, attributed to the *Mānavâh*, agrees with the teaching of our Manu-smṛiti. We read in the discussion on the number of the *prakritis*, the constituent elements of the *mandala* or political circle to which a king must pay attention, *Kām. Nīt. VII, 24-25*, 'With respect to this (question) the *Mānavas* record that five constituent elements, the ministers and the rest, belong severally to each of the twelve kings. But those original twelve (kings) and those (others), the ministers and the rest, (are) seventy-two (in number, and form) the whole circle of constituent elements².' Our Manu-smṛiti states, *VII, 155-156*, that twelve kings belong to the *mandala*, and adds ver. 157, 'The minister, the kingdom, the fortress, the treasury, and the army are five other (constituent elements of the circle); for these are mentioned in connexion with each (of the first twelve); thus the whole circle (consists), briefly (speaking, of) seventy-two (constituent parts).' The other two passages differ. According to *Kāmandaki II, 3*, the *Mānavas* teach that the sciences, which a king must study, are three only, the threefold (*Veda*), the theory of professions and trades, and the

¹ Oldenberg, *Sāṅkh. Gri. S.* in the *Indische Studien*, vol. xv, p. 11.

² द्वादशानां नरेन्द्राणां पञ्च पञ्च पृथक्पृथक् । अनायासात् प्रकृतीरामनन्तीह मानवाः ॥ २३ ॥ मौला द्वादश यास्वेता अनायासात्तथा च याः । समतिश्रद्धिका ह्येताः सर्वे प्रकृतिमखलम् ॥ २५ ॥ I read according to the commentary समतिश्रद्धिका instead of the senseless समतिश्रद्धिका of the text.

science of government, 'because the science of dialectics or reasoning is a subdivision of the threefold (Vedic lore¹),' while Manu VII, 43 enumerates five branches of learning, or at least four, if either Medhâtithi's or Nârâyana's explanation of the term âtmavidyâ, rendered in the translation by 'the knowledge of the (supreme) Soul,' is accepted². Again, we hear, Kâmandaki XI, 67, that Manu fixed the number of ministers (amâtya), which the king must appoint, at twelve. But according to Manu VII, 54, no more than seven or eight are required. These quotations show that Kâmandaki knew a work, attributed to Manu, which contained rules on the duties of kings, and in some respects agreed with the seventh chapter of our Manu-smṛiti. If I conclude that this must have been the old Mânava Dharma-sûtra, it is because Kâmandaki twice alludes to it by the title Mânavaś, literally 'those who study a work proclaimed by Manu,' or, more freely rendered, 'the Mânava school.' It is a very common practice of Indian authors to refer in this manner to the books restricted to special schools. But I know of no case where the doctrines of the Mânava Dharmasâstra, or of any other work which is destined for all Âryans and acknowledged as authoritative by all, are cited in the same or in a similar way. Nor is it usual to contrast, as Kâmandaki does, the rules taught by Manu with those of other teachers and afterwards to reject them³. If a Hindu writer on law finds it necessary to set aside an opinion of Manu, he either passes by it in silence or he interprets the passage where it occurs in accordance with the principles of some other Smṛiti with

¹ अथैवास्मिन् दृष्टानीतिरिति विद्या हि मानवाः । अथैवास्मिन् विभागोऽयं
सेयमान्वीक्षिकी नता ॥ ३ ॥

² With respect to Medhâtithi's and Nârâyana's explanations, see the note to the translation. I will add that Kâm. Nt. II, 7, आन्वीक्षिक्यान्विज्ञानम् 'The science of dialectics (is) a means of fully recognising the Soul or Self,' speaks in favour of Nârâyana's explanation, and that it would perhaps have been better if I had placed the latter in the text.

³ As the learned editor of the Nitisâra (Preface, p. 2) asserts that its author was a Buddhist, it might be conjectured that the latter treated Manu with small respect, because he belonged to a heterodox sect. But it ought to be noted that no proof is offered for the above assertion, and that the work contains no trace of Buddhism.

which he himself agrees. Hence it is not doubtful that Kāmandaki's references point to a work of Manu which, though highly esteemed, did not hold the same paramount position as Bṛiḡu's version of Manu's laws. In other words, Kāmandaki's Manu must have been the property of a particular school, and that was just the case with the Mānava Dharma-sūtra. The fact that all the known Dharma-sūtras contain a more or less detailed description of the duties of kings agrees well with this supposition, and so does the circumstance that Kāmandaki's Nītisāra is either really an ancient work, composed long before the beginning of our era, or at least a later recension of such an old book¹. These are all the certain indications of the former existence of a Mānava Dharma-sūtra which I have been able to find. It is possible that the same work is also alluded to in some verses of the twelfth and thirteenth Parvans of the Mahābhārata. But this question is, as we shall see below, surrounded with great difficulties, and its solution somewhat doubtful. Among the passages, discussed above, none are so important as Vasishṭha's quotations. The remainder contribute, however, to give a more definite idea of the range of subjects included in the lost work, and they confirm the conclusion, drawn from the former, that the Mānava Dharma-sūtra closely resembled our Manu-smṛiti.

The investigations concerning the last point, the question if any traces of a connexion of our Manu-smṛiti with the writings of the Mānava school are discoverable, have hitherto led, as stated above, to a negative result. They were, of course, directed to a comparison of the Mānava Gr̥hya-sūtra with the Dharmasāstra, as both works of

¹ The work claims to be the composition of a pupil of Kāndragupta's famous minister, Kāṇakya Kauṇḍilya or Kauṇḍalya, to whom a portion of the Maṅgalā-karavaṇa is dedicated, and who is frequently referred to as the Guru or teacher. Though there is no clear evidence corroborating this statement, there is also none to rebut it. In favour of this claim speaks the fact that the name of the author is a nomen gentile. For among the ancient writers the practice of signing their books with the family-name is almost universal. Later it seems to have fallen into disuse. The Nītisāra is quoted by the oldest commentator of Manu, Medhātithi.

necessity frequently treat of the same subjects. On comparing the corresponding portions of the two works, Professor Jolly¹ found no special agreement with respect to the ages prescribed for the performance of the *Samskâras*, with respect to the marriage-rites and to the rules for the conduct of students and of *Snâtakas*. Nor was he able to discover in the *Manu-smṛiti* any of the curious technical terms and phrases used in the *Gṛihya-sûtra*, while the somewhat closer resemblance in the Mantras of the *Vaisva-deva* ceremony and in a few other points turned out to be without conclusiveness on account of the concurrent agreement of other *Gṛihya-sûtras*. Dr. von Bradke's re-examination of the question² did not yield any other result. I can only bear witness to the general correctness of these remarks. Though it is possible to adduce some passages, not mentioned by Professor Jolly³, in which the *Gṛihya-sûtra* shows a special affinity with the *Smṛiti*, the very great differences which occur in other sections⁴, the absence of an agreement in particularly characteristic rules⁵, and the

¹ On the *Vishnu Dharma-sûtra* and the *Kâtaka*; Transactions of the Royal Bavarian Academy, 1879, ii, p. 82 seq.

² Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxxii, p. 438.

³ Among the rules which specially agree, I may mention one from the section on the Initiation, *Mân. Gṛi. Sû. I*, 22 (end), चप भेषं चरते [चरेत्] । मातरनेवाये । याद्यान्याः सुहृदो यावत्यो वा संनिहिताः स्युः ॥ 'Next he shall go out to beg, first, to his mother and to other females who are friendly, or to as many as may be near.' These *Sûtras* correspond to *Manu II*, 50, 'Let him first beg food of his mother, or of his sister, or of his own maternal aunt, or of (some other) female who will not disgrace him (by a refusal).' I am not aware that this rule occurs in any other *Smṛiti*.

⁴ Among the very great discrepancies I would point to such as those occurring in the section on the marriage-rites. The *Manu-smṛiti III*, 20-34, describes the well-known eight modes by which a woman may be obtained from her family. But the *Mânava Gṛihya-sûtra I*, 7-8, knows two only, the *Brâhma* and the *Saulka* rites, the latter of which corresponds to the *Âsura* or *Mânusha* rite of the other *Smṛitis*, and sanctions the purchase of the bride from her parents.

⁵ The absence of an agreement in characteristic rules is particularly noticeable in the chapter on the study of the *Veda* and the stoppages of the *Veda* study. There the general rules, e. g. regarding the beginning, length, and ending of the school-term, which are found also in other *Smṛitis*, agree in both works. But none of those special prescriptions which the *Mânava Gṛihya-sûtra* gives for the time when and the ceremonies with which particular portions of the *Maitrâyaṇi Samhitâ* are to be learnt can be traced in the *Manu-smṛiti*.

non-occurrence of Mantras, peculiar to the Maitrāyaṇīya-Mānava school in the Manu-smṛiti, do not permit us to consider them as decisive for the settlement of the question. On the other hand, this negative result does not preclude the possibility that the supposed connexion between the original of the Manu-smṛiti and the Mānava school may nevertheless have existed. For the examples of the Hairanyakesas and Mādhyamdinas show that the Sūtras, adopted by a school, are not always composed by one and the same teacher, but sometimes are made up of fragments originally belonging to different authors. In the case of the Mādhyamdinas the author of the Srauta-sūtra is a Kātyāyana, while the Grīhya-sūtra bears the name of a Pāraskara. In the case of the Hairanyakesas the Dharma-sūtra, though it is ascribed to Hiranyakesin Satyāśhādhya, is in reality the work of Āpastamba, and differs both in its language and in its contents very much from the Grīhya-sūtra¹. Moreover, the Hairanyakesa Kayana-sūtra has been taken over, as its colophon clearly proves, from the Bhāradvāgas. It is, therefore, still possible that the ancient Mānava Dharma-sūtra was considered as the special property of the Mānavas, but was not composed by the same teacher as the Grīhya-sūtra, or that, though both works had the same author, the materials for their composition were borrowed from different sources. Either supposition would explain the discrepancies between the two works. If we now could show that some other work belonging to the Mānava Karana shows a special affinity to the Manu-smṛiti, the view that the original of the latter was first the property of that school might be still upheld. A renewed examination of the various treatises, studied and claimed as their own by the Mānavas, has convinced me that such a connecting link is actually found among them. This is the Srāddhakalpa, a description of the ordinary funeral sacrifices which the Mānava Grīhya-sūtra does not treat in detail, but barely touches in the sections on the Ashṭakā rites (II, 8-9). If this treatise has not been taken into consideration by Professor Jolly and

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii, p. xxiii.

Dr. von Bradke, the reason is that it is not contained in Professor Haug's collection of the *Mānava Sūtras*, the only one which has hitherto been accessible to European students. In my copy of the works of the *Mānava* school it stands after the *Pravarādhyāya*¹. It consists of four short *Khandas*. The first begins with the words, 'Now we will explain the rules for the funeral sacrifices,' and treats of the following points: the invitation of qualified *Brāhmaṇas*, their hospitable reception with the *Arghya* in the house of the sacrificer, the invocations asking the *Visvedevas* and the manes to attend, and the burnt oblations offered to *Soma*, *Yama*, and *Agni*. The *Mantras* which are to be used seem, if not all, at least for the greater part, to have been taken from the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*. This section shows hardly any special agreement with the *Manu-smṛiti*, except in the rule, known also from other *Dharma-sūtras*, which prescribes the entertainment of two guests at the rite in honour of the gods, and of three at the offering to the manes or of one on either occasion, as well as in the number and the deities of the burnt oblations which precede the *Srāddha* (*Manu* III, 123, 211). But the second *Kanda*, which contains the description of the *Srāddha* ceremony, opens with a couple of verses, the first of which corresponds almost literally² with *Manu* III, 274. The only important difference is that at the end the words 'in the rainy season and under (the constellation) *Maghāḥ*' take the place of *Manu*'s 'when the shadow of the elephant falls towards the east.' It must be noted that, though *Vishṇu* LXXVIII, 52-53 and *Vasishṭha* XI, 40 have passages which contain similar prayers of the manes, their wording differs very considerably from that of the *Srāddhakalpa* and of

¹ My MS. of the writings of the *Mānava* *Karṇa*, which was copied in 1864-65 at Nāsik, includes, besides the *Samhitā* and the *Upanishad*, counted as the fifth *Kānda*, all the portions of the *Srauta-sūtra*, known from Professor Haug's MSS. together with the *Kumāra* or *Kumārila Bhāṣya* and portions of a later *vṛtti* by *Mirra Bālakṛishṇa*, as well as the *Gṛhya-sūtra* with its *Bhāṣya*, the *Pūranā-khya*, by *Bhaṭṭa Ashṭāvakra* (not by *Kumārila*, as I conjectured in *West and Bühler's Digest*, p. 46, note a), and the *Srāddhakalpa*.

² अथि नः खकुले भूयाद्यो नो दद्यान्नयोदशीम् । पायसं मधुसर्पिण्यां वर्षासु च मघासु च ॥

the Manu-smṛiti. The second verse¹ bears a faint resemblance to Manu III, 202, as it declares that water offered in vessels of gold, silver, or Udumbara 'becomes imperishable.' The following prose portion has little in common with Manu's rules. Curiously enough, it prescribes that the funeral cakes are to be offered after the guests have finished their meal, a custom which Manu III, 261 attributes to 'some.' The section closes with some Slokas², the last of which is nearly identical with Manu III, 283. The chief difference is, that in the first line the word Srāddhe, 'at a Srāddha,' occurs instead of snātvā, 'after his bath.' The second var.lect. samāhitaḥ, 'with a concentrated mind,' instead of dvigottamaḥ, 'a Brāhmaṇa,' is found in the Southern MSS. of Manu. The next section, which is not numbered in the colophon as Khandā 3, but separately, treats of the Abhyudaya, or Vṛiddhi-srāddha, the funeral oblations which must be offered on all joyful occasions, such as the celebration of the birth of a son, a wedding, and so forth³. As Manu mentions this variety of the Srāddha only incidentally, III, 254, the contents of this Khandā find no counterpart in the Smṛiti. But among its numerous Slokas one line agrees literally with Manu IX, 186 a⁴. The fourth and last section of the Kalpa, which is marked as the Parisishta, the addenda, gives miscellaneous rules regarding the times when Srāddhas may be performed, the manner in which the fulfilment of certain special wishes may be secured, and the persons to be entertained on such occasions. It consists chiefly of

¹ सौवर्णेषु च पात्रेषु राजतौदुम्बरेषु च । दत्तमक्षय्यतां याति सङ्गो नार्थकृतेन च (sic) ॥

² दश पूर्वोद्देशापरात्मनश्चैकविंशतिम् (sic) । आङ्गकुम्भोचयेत्पापाम्बह-
तोप्येनसः पितृन् ॥ आङ्गं च यो न दद्यात्पितृभ्यश्च कदाचन (sic) । षड्विधसह-
स्राणि विहायां जायते कृमिः ॥ यदेव तर्पयत्यङ्घ्रिः पितृभ्याङ्गे समाहितः । तेनैव
सर्वमाप्नोति पितृयज्ञक्रियाफलमिति ॥ इति मानवभ्रातृकल्ये द्वितीयः खण्डः
समाप्तः ॥

³ Beginning अथ वृद्धिभ्रातृ व्याख्यास्यामः ॥ Colophon, इति मानवसूत्रे
अभ्युदयभ्रातृम् ॥

⁴ त्रयाणामुदकं कार्यं त्रिषु पिंडः प्रवर्तते ॥

verses, seven¹ of which are either quite or nearly identical with passages of the *Manu-smṛiti* III, 82, 125-126, 145, 185, 148, and 186, while another, which teaches that the invited *Brāhmaṇas* and the sacrificer must remain chaste 'because the manes dwell with them²,' agrees in substance with *Manu* III, 189. Two among the seven *Slokas*, those corresponding to *Manu* III, 125-126, occur also in the *Vāsishtika* and *Baudhāyana Dharmasāstras*. The remainder are not traceable in the ancient *Sūtras*.

These remarks show that the *Mānava Srāddhakalpa* consists, like many other handbooks of Vedic schools, of several pieces, which probably have been composed successively at different times. Even the whole treatise may be possibly later than the *Gr̥hya-sūtra*, and may have been added in order to supplement its too curt rules on funeral sacrifices. But in spite of these admissions, the fact that it contains so many verses partly or wholly agreeing with the *Manu-smṛiti*, keeps its importance for the point under consideration. If an adherent of the *Mānava* school found it necessary to compose a treatise on a subject like the *Srāddhas*, he would, as a matter of course, base it on the usage and the teaching of his school. Hence it may be assumed that the verses which he inserted were current in

¹ a. कुर्यादहरहः आहवन्नाद्येनोदकेन वा । पयोमूलफलैर्वीर्यं पितृभ्यः प्रीतिमाहरेत् ॥ In the corresponding verse of *Manu*, *Medh.* and *Gov.* read आहरन् instead of *Kullūka's* आहहन् ॥ b. द्वौ देवे चीन्यत्रे [च] एकैकमुभयत्र वा । भोजयेत्सुखमुदोपि न प्रसज्येत विस्रारं [रे] ॥ सतिश्रयां देशकालौ च दूष्यं ब्राह्मणसंपदः । पंचैतानि [तानि] स्तरो हन्ति तस्माच्चैह तु [वेहतु] विस्रारं [रे] ॥ c. यत्नेन भोजयेन्नाद्ये बद्धं च वेदपारगं । शास्त्रांतगमश्चैव हृदोगं वा समाप्तिगम् ॥ d. पञ्चाग्निं वि [ग्निस्त्रि] सुपर्शं च [च] त्रिणाचिकेतः षडंगवित् । ब्रह्मदेयानुसंतानो ज्येष्ठसामग एव च ॥ e. मातामहं मातुलं च स्त्रीयं ऋशुरं गुरुं । दौहित्रं पिदपतिं बंधु [धुम्] क्षत्रियाज्यौ च भोजयेत् ॥ f. वेदार्थं विप्रवक्ता च ब्रह्मचारि [चर्ये] सदा स्थिताः [तः] । शतायुश्चैव विज्ञेया ब्राह्मणाः पंक्तिपावनाः ॥ The fifth and sixth verses have been transposed by a mistake of the copyist.

² पूर्वेषुरामंत्रितो विप्रैः [त्रैविं] पितरः संवसंति वै । यजमानश्च ता रात्रिं चसेयुर्ब्रह्मचारिणः (sic) ॥

the latter, and it is not improbable that they may have occurred in one of its written works. As, further, the *Manu-smṛiti* rests on a *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*, and has derived from the latter a number of its verses, the most natural explanation of the partial agreement between the *Śrāddhakalpa* and the *Smṛiti* is that both have drawn on the same source, the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*. If that is so, the latter must have been considered as authoritative by the *Mānavas*, and have been their peculiar property. Though several links in this chain of arguments must unfortunately remain hypothetical, it seems to me, especially if taken together with Professor Jolly's and Dr. von Schröder's above-mentioned discoveries regarding the relation of the books of the *Kāthaka* school to those of the *Maitrāyaṇiya-Mānavas* and of the *Vishṇu-smṛiti* to the *Manu-smṛiti*, sufficiently strong to show that also this part of Professor Max Müller's hypothesis is more than an ingenious conjecture.

In conclusion, I may mention that two other circumstances—a certain agreement between the *Maitrāyaṇa-brāhmaṇopaniṣad* and the *Manu-smṛiti*, as well as the preference which the latter shows for North-western India in its description of the countries where pure *Āryan* customs prevail (II, 17–22)—may also point to a connexion of the *Manu-smṛiti* and of its original with the *Mānava* school. In the *Upaniṣad* VI, 37, we find quoted, as a generally known maxim, a verse which occurs *Manu* III, 76. Two other verses, *Manu* VI, 76–77, agree in substance with *Maitr. Up.* III, 4¹, and some of *Manu*'s statements regarding the *Ātman* and the results of the *guṇas* or qualities closely correspond to the doctrines taught in the *Upaniṣad*². On a closer examination these resemblances lose, however, a good deal of their significance. For the ideas expressed in *Manu* III, 76 are likewise traceable in a Vedic passage quoted in *Vasishṭha's Dharma-sūtra*. The comparison of the human body to an impure dwelling (*Manu* VI, 76–77) reappears even in Buddhistic works³. The corresponding philosophical tenets, finally,

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xv, p. 298, note 1. ² See below, p. lxxiii.

³ *Dhammapada*, 147–150; *Johāntgen, Das Gesetzbuch des Manu*, p. 93.

occur in a portion of the *Manu-smṛiti* which probably is not ancient¹, and they are held by several of the special schools of philosophy. As regards the passages in *Manu*'s second chapter which praise the holiness of the districts between the *Drishadvatī* and the *Sarasvatī*, and between the *Yamunā* and the *Gaṅgā*, they may indicate, as Dr. Johāntgen thinks², that the home of the school which produced the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra* lies in those districts. If that were certain, it would agree well enough with the facts known regarding the ancient seats of the *Mānavas*. The latter are a North-western sect, and extended, as the *Mahārṇava* asserts³, from the *Mayūra* hill to *Gūgarat*. Unfortunately, however, the *Dharma-sūtras* of *Vasishṭha* and *Baudhāyana* contain almost exactly the same statements as *Manu*, and hence the verses of the latter possibly mean nothing more than that the *Mānavas*, like many other Vedic schools, considered India north of the *Vindhya*s, and especially the districts adjoining the sacred rivers, as the true home of *Brāhmanism* and of *Āryan* purity.

II.

While the preceding discussion has shown that our *Mānava Dharmasāstra* is based on a *Mānava Dharma-sūtra* which probably was the exclusive property of the *Maitrāyaṇīya-Mānava* school, we have now to consider some questions connected with the conversion of the locally authoritative *Sūtra* into a law-book claiming the allegiance of all *Āryans* and generally acknowledged by them. The problems which now have to be solved, or at least to be attempted, are the following: 1. what circumstances led to the substitution of a universally binding *Mānava Dharma-sāstra* for the manual of the Vedic school? 2. why was so prominent a position allotted to the remodelled *Smṛiti*?

¹ See below, p. lxix.

² Loc. cit. pp. 109-110.

³ *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, p. xxxi; and L. von Schröder, *Maitrāyaṇīya Smṛti*, I, pp. xxiv-xxviii. The ancient inscriptions name *Maitrāyaṇīya Brāhmanas* as donees in the Central India Agency and *Gūgarat*. The *Mānava* school still exists in the latter country and in *Khāndesh*.

3. how was the conversion effected? and 4. when did it probably take place?

Though the absence of all historical information, and even of a trustworthy tradition, makes it impossible to give full and precise details in answering the first question, it is yet, I think, possible to recognise the general cause which led to the production of that class of secondary *Smṛitis* to which the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* belongs¹. This cause lies, it seems to me, in the establishment of special law schools which were independent of any particular *Sākhā* of the Veda, and which supplanted the Vedic *Karanas* as far as the teaching of the sacred law is concerned. Evident as it is that the Vedic schools first systematised and cultivated the six sciences which, on account of their close connexion with the Veda, are called its *Āṅgas* or limbs, it is no less apparent that, as the materials for each of these subjects accumulated and the method of their treatment was perfected, the enormous quantity of the matter to be learnt, and the difficulty of its acquisition depressed the Vedic schools from their high position as centres of the intellectual life of the *Āryas*, and caused the establishment of new special schools of science, which, while they restricted the range of their teaching, taught their curriculum thoroughly and intelligently. In the Vedic schools a full and accurate knowledge of the sacred texts was, of course, always the primary object. In order to gain that the pupils had to learn not only the *Samhitā* text of the *Mantras* and *Brāhmaṇas*, but also their *Pada*, *Krama*, and perhaps still more difficult *pāṭhas* or modes of recitation. This task no doubt required a considerable time, and must have fully occupied the twelve terms of four and a half or five and a half months which the *Smṛitis* give as the average duration of the studentship for the acquisition of one Veda². As long as the *Āṅgas* consisted of short simple treatises, it was also possible to

¹ Regarding the various classes of secondary *Smṛitis*, see West and Bühler, *Digest*, p. 32, third edition.

² See *Manu* III, 1, and IV, 95, as well as the parallel passages quoted in the notes.

commit them to memory and to master their contents in the twelve terms, consisting of the seven or eight dark fortnights from the month Pausha to Vaisākha¹. But when the Kalpa or ritual alone reached dimensions as in the Sûtras of the Baudhâyanîyas and Âpastambîyas, while the grammar developed into as artificial a system as that of Pânini, it became a matter of sheer impossibility for one man to commit to memory and to fully understand the sacred texts together with the auxiliary sciences, especially as the number of the latter was increased in early times by the addition of the Nyâya or Pûrvâ Mîmâmsâ, the art of interpreting the rules of the Veda². The members of the Vedic schools were then placed before two alternatives. They might either commit to memory all the Vedic texts of their Sâkhâs together with the Ângas, renouncing the attempt at understanding what they learnt, or they had to restrict the number of the treatises which they learnt by heart, while they thoroughly mastered those which they acquired. Those who adhered to the former course became living libraries, but were unable to make any real use of their learning. Those who adopted the second alternative might become great scholars in the science of the sacrifice, grammar, law or astronomy, but they could not rival with the others in the extent of the verbal knowledge of the sacred books. Thus the Vedic schools ceased to be the centres of intellectual, and were supplanted by the special, schools of science.

The present state of learning in India proves beyond doubt that this change actually took place in the manner described, and direct statements in the ancient text-books, as well as their condition, allow us to recognise the various stages which led up to it. The true modern representatives of the ancient *Karâṇas* are the so-called Vaidiks, men who, mostly living on charity, devote their energy exclusively to the acquisition of a verbal knowledge of the

¹ See Manu IV, 98, and the parallel passages quoted in the note. According to some Smṛitis the Ângas might be studied at any time out of term (Vas. XIII, 7).

² Regarding the early existence of the Pûrvâ Mîmâmsâ, see Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii, p. xxvii; and the verse on the constitution of a Parishad, quoted Baudh. I, 1, 8; Vas. III, 20.

sacred texts and of the *Āṅgas* of their *Sākhās* as well as of some other works, more or less closely connected with the *Veda*. A perfect Vaidik of the *Āśvalāyana* school knows the *Rig-veda* according to the *Samhitā*, *Pada*, *Krama*, *Gaṇā* and *Ghana Pāṭhas*, the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka*, the ritualistic *Sūtras* of *Āśvalāyana*, *Saunaka's Prātisākhya* and the *Sikshā*, *Yāska's Nirukta*, the grammar of *Pāṇini*, the Vedic calendar or *Gyotisha*, the metrical treatise called the *Kṛandas*, *Yāgyavalkya's Dharmasāstra*, portions of the *Mahābhārata*, and the philosophical *Sūtras* of *Kaṇāda*, *Gaimini*, and *Bādarāyana*. Similarly the Vaidiks of the *Yagus*, *Sāman*, and *Atharvan* schools are able to recite, more or less perfectly, the whole of the works of their respective *Sākhās* as well as some other non-Vedic books¹. But it would be in vain to expect from such men an explanation of the literary treasures which they possess. It is not the professional Vaidik who can perform the great sacrifices according to the *Srauta-sūtras*, interpret the intricate system of *Pāṇini's* grammar, or decide a knotty point of law according to the *Dharma-sūtra* or the secondary *Smṛiti* which he knows by heart. For these purposes one must go to quite different classes of men. The performance of the great *Srauta* sacrifices lies in the hands of the *Srottriya* or *Srautī*, who unites with a thoroughly verbal knowledge of the sacred texts of his *Sākhā* a full acquaintance with the meaning of the *Srauta-sūtras* and with the actual *kriyā* or manual work, described in the *Prayogas*. The *Srautī*, as well as his humbler fellow-worker, the so-called *Yāgyūka* or *Bhattachāgi*, who knows the *Grihya-sūtras* and performs the rites prescribed for domestic occurrences, likewise both belong to the representatives of the Vedic schools. They make, however, no pretence to a knowledge of the whole range of the *Āṅgas*, but content themselves with studying the *Kalpa*, or parts of it, and perhaps the *Sikshā*². Real

¹ Regarding the necessity for a Vaidik to learn non-Vedic books, see *Vas. XXVII, 6*.

² Regarding the present condition of the Vedic schools and of Vedic learning, see *Haug, Brahma und die Brahmanen*, p. 47; and *R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar's* careful paper, 'The *Veda* in India' (*Ind. Ant.* III, 132 sqq.). From personal observa-

proficiency in the other still surviving *Āṅgas*, grammar, law, and astronomy is to be found only with those *Pandits* who fulfil their duty of studying the Veda by committing to memory a few particularly important sections, such as the *Pāvamāni-hymns* of the *Rig-veda* or the *Satarudriya* of the *Yagur-veda*, or by confining themselves to the few verses which occur in the *Brahmayagñā* and the *Samdhyā-vandana*¹. Their chief aim is to be perfect in one or more of the special sciences which they study, without reference to a particular Vedic school. Thus, though a *Pandit* who chiefly devotes himself to the sacred law may belong to the Vedic school of *Baudhāyana* or *Āpastamba*, he will not make *Baudhāyana's* or *Āpastamba's* *Dharma-sūtra* the starting-point of his studies. On the contrary, it will frequently happen that he possesses no knowledge of the *Dharma-sūtra* of his school, except a few passages quoted in the commentaries and digests. If he has read the whole work, he will consult it only as one of the many utterances of the ancient sages. He will not attribute to it a higher authority than to other *Smṛitis*, but interpret it in accordance with the rules of the secondary *Dharmasāstras* of *Manu* or *Yāgñavalkya*. A good illustration of this state of things is furnished by *Sāyana-Mādhava's* treatment of *Baudhāyana* in his *Vyavahāramādhava*, a treatise on civil and criminal law supplementing his commentary on *Parāśara's Smṛiti*. Though he himself tells us, in the introduction to the *Parāśara-smṛiti-vyākhyā*², that he belonged to the school of *Baudhāyana*, and though he seems to have written a commentary on *Baudhāyana's* *Sūtras*, he relies, e. g. for the law of Inheritance, not on *Baudhāyana's* *Dharma-sūtra*, but on *Vigñānesvara's* exposition of *Yāgñavalkya*. He quotes *Baudhāyana* only in three places³. As far as the law is concerned, *Sāyana* follows the theories of the

tion I can add to Professor *Bhāṇḍārkar's* statements that Vaidiks of the White *Yagur-veda* are found also in Northern India. I have also heard of Vaidiks of the *Sāma-veda* among the *Parvatīyas* in the Panjab, and of the *Atharva-veda* in the Central India Agency.

¹ *Bhāṇḍārkar*, loc. cit. p. 132 note.

² *Parāśara-smṛiti-vyākhyā*, p. 3, ver. 7 (Calcutta edition).

³ *Burnell, Dāyavibhāga*, pp. 9, 39, 41.

special law school of his time and of his country, without particular reference to the teaching of his Vedic *Karāṇa*.

This depression of the Vedic *Karāṇas* through special schools, which took over the scientific cultivation of a most important portion of the *Aṅgas*, is not of modern date. It goes back to a time which lies long before the beginning of the historical period of India. We have various indications in the ancient books which force us towards this conclusion. Thus Yāska's *Nirukta*, a work which undoubtedly belongs to a very early period, quotes *Vaiyākaraṇas*, grammarians; *Nairuktas*, etymological exegetes; and *Yāgñīkas*, ritualists; and contrasts their conflicting opinions¹. If these schools were at issue with respect to grammatical or exegetical questions, it follows that the subjects which they taught were no longer cultivated by the same persons as auxiliary branches of the Vedic lore, but that each had received in a special school a separate development as an independent science. The actual condition in which the various *Aṅgas* have been preserved, fully agrees with this view. It shows that two at least, grammar and astronomy, slipped away from the control of the Vedic *Karāṇas* in very early times. For not one of those schools, the text-books of which have survived, possesses a grammatical or an astronomical handbook of its own. Pāṇini's *Aśṭādhyāyī* is the sole representative of the *Vyākaraṇa* class of the *Aṅgas*, and is equally acknowledged by the followers of all Vedas. But grammar, as taught by Pāṇini, is no longer a mere hand-maiden of the *Vedavidyā*. It is an independent science which lays down the laws, applicable to the whole Sanskrit language, and treats what we now call the classical Sanskrit as the standard of *Āryan* speech, the Vedic forms as anomalies. As the numerous quotations of older schools and older teachers in Pāṇini's own work, in the *Prātiśākhya*s, and in Yāska's *Nirukta* clearly show, a very considerable number of more ancient works did precede the *Aśṭādhyāyī*, and the latter is undoubtedly the final outgrowth of a long scientific development². A good many of the lost

¹ *Nirukta* I, 12; V, 11; VII, 4; XIII, 9.

² See Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 150, who says

works seem to have treated grammar from the same standpoint as Pāṇini's book. But it may be reasonably supposed that the earliest among them mainly or even exclusively taught the rules applicable to the Vedic texts, studied by the several *Karāṇas* to which the authors belonged. This stage of grammatical research belongs, however, to a remote past. Indian grammar, as it first becomes known to us, is no longer entirely subservient to the wants of the Veda-study, but works, though it still takes account of the Veda, for its own ends.

The science of astronomy is still more loosely connected with the Vedic schools. All the traces of its really having been an *Aṅga* consist in the small treatise, entitled *Gyotisha*, of which two slightly different recensions are extant, one belonging to the *Rig-veda* and one to the *Yagur-veda*. All the other works on this subject, even the ancient ones such as the *Gārgī Samhitā*, as well as the *Vāsishtā Samhitā* and *Siddhānta*, show no connexion with the Veda or Vedic schools, except that their authorship is ascribed to *Rishis* or descendants of the families of *Rishis*.

As regards the sacred law, the fact that such late offshoots of the Vedic tree, as the *Āpastambīyas* and the *Hairanyakesas*, possess *Dharma-sūtras*, proves that this subject much longer formed part of the curriculum of the Vedic schools. But already one of the most ancient grammarians of the historical period of India, *Patañjali*, hints that in his times the *Dharma* was taught not only in the Vedic but also in special schools. For on the one hand he refers to the *Dharma-sūtras*¹, on the other he teaches the formation of a special word, *dharmavidyā*, which denotes 'a person who studies or knows the *dharmavidyā*, the science of the sacred law².' Possibly the word *dharmasāstra*, the Institutes of the sacred law, which occurs

most appropriately that the Hindus ought to speak not of the *Pāṇinīyādya vaiyākaraṇāḥ*, but of the *Pāṇinīyāntāḥ*.

¹ See the remarks on Pāṇini I, 1, 47.

² See the remarks on Pāṇini IV, 2, 60 (vol. ii, p. 248, Kielhorn). I follow Dr. Kielhorn, who prints the words '*vidyā ānaṅgakshatradharmatripūrvā*' as a remark of *Patañjali*, not as a *Vārttika* of *Kātyāyana*.

occasionally in his Bhâshya¹, may also point to manuals, studied by the special schools, which differed from the Dharma-sûtras. But it is not absolutely conclusive, as a Dharma-sûtra too may be called a Dharmaśāstra, because it teaches the sacred law. If we go back to still earlier times we find the existence of special law schools clearly indicated even in some of the Dharma-sûtras. The passages which are most explicit on this point are those which describe the constitution of a Parishad or an assembly of learned men, entitled to decide doubtful law cases. For we read, *Vasishṭha* III, 20, and *Baudhâya* I, 1, 8, 'Four men who each know one of the four Vedas, a student of the *Mīmāṃsā*, one who knows the *Āṅgas*, one who recites (the works on) the sacred law (*dharmapâṭhaka*), and three *Brâhmanas* belonging to (three different) orders (constitute) an assembly consisting of, at least, ten (members)².' Here the reciter or teacher of the sacred law is named side by side with him who knows the *Āṅgas*. As the two works in which the verse occurs are Dharma-sûtras belonging to the *Kalpa* section of the *Āṅgas*, it is evident that the teacher of the sacred law must be a person who specially devotes himself to the study of that subject, and knows more than one Dharma-sûtra. Hence it follows that special law schools must have existed at the time when these two Dharma-sûtras were composed³. It may also be that already then these special schools had elaborated

¹ See *Kâtyâyana's Vârttika* 39 on *Pâṇini* I, 2, 64, and *Patañjali's* remarks thereon (*Kielhorn*, *Mah.* vol. i, p. 242).

² See also *Manu* XII, 111; and above, p. xxv.

³ The significance of the passage quoted comes out still stronger, if we compare *Gautama's* rule (XXVIII, 49), which differs very considerably: 'They declare that an assembly (*parishad*, shall consist) at least (of) the ten following (members, viz.) four men who have completely studied the four Vedas, three men belonging to the (three) orders enumerated first, (and) three men who know (three) different (institutes of) law.' *Gautama* says nothing of men specially devoted to the study of the sacred law. He requires three persons, knowing three different Dharma-sûtras. He and *Āpastamba* are perfectly aware of the fragmentary character of their rules, and particularly refer their pupils (*Gaut.* XVI, 49; *Āp.* I, 3, 11, 38) in certain cases to the teaching of other schools, which, being comprised under the general term *Smṛiti*, have authority, provided the teachers were orthodox *Sishṭas* (*Gaut.* I, 2; *Āp.* I, 1, 1, 2; *Vas.* I, 4; *Baudh.* I, 1, 1, 3).

manuals of their own which differed from the Dharma-sûtras. In favour of this opinion the metrical quotation at Baudhâyana II, 4, 14-15 may be adduced, as it seems to have been taken from a work in Anushâubh-Slokas¹. Though the unsatisfactory state of the text of Baudhâyana does not allow us to insist too strongly on this passage, it is undeniable that the formation of special law schools must inevitably lead after a short time to the composition of manuals for their use. It is, no doubt, true that their founders possessed in the Dharma-sûtras, the number of which, to judge from the quotations, must have been very great, plentiful materials on which they could base their investigations. But the treatment of a science from a new point of view was in itself an incentive to the production of new manuals, and there were in the case of the special law schools also other reasons which made such a course desirable. Minute as the Dharma-sûtras generally are on the majority of the topics connected with the moral duties of Âryas, their arrangement of the rules is frequently unsystematic, and their treatment of the legal procedure, the civil and the criminal law, with the exception of one single title, the dâyavibhâga, i. e. the law of inheritance and partition, extremely unsatisfactory. With respect to the other titles, the Dharma-sûtras give nothing more than a few hints, intended to indicate the general principles, but they never proceed systematically, and always show most embarrassing omissions. From the standpoint of the Vedic schools, a more detailed and orderly treatment of these matters was, of course, irrelevant, as their chief aim was to point out the road to the acquisition of spiritual merit, and to guard their pupils against committing sin. Though some of their members might be called upon, and no doubt actually were destined in later life, to become practical lawyers, as Dharmâdhikârin, i. e. legal advisers of kings and chiefs, or as judges, and to settle the law between man and man, the few general principles which they had learnt during their course of instruction would suffice for their wants. For the details

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. xli.

were settled according to the law of custom, which, as the Dharma-sûtras themselves indicate, was in ancient times even a greater power in India than it is in our days. When the sacred law became a separate science to which men devoted all or the best part of their energy, the case became different. However much the specialists might be convinced of the supreme importance of the moral side of the Dharma, they could not possibly shut their eyes against the glaring deficiencies of the old text-books, and they were, of a necessity, driven to remedy them. In order to effect this, two courses were open to them. They might either remodel the old existing works or compose entirely new ones. As might be expected from the universal tendency, observable throughout the whole of the sacred literature of India, they gave preference to the former alternative, and the result of their work was that class of the secondary Smritis, the chief surviving representatives of which are the Dharmasâstras of Manu and Yâgñavalkya. These works reveal their origin by the following marks. They are the exclusive property of the special law schools, and they show a fuller and more systematic treatment of all legal topics, while, at the same time, more or less clear traces of older redactions, connected with the Vedic schools, are to be found. They are free from all signs of sectarian influence, or of having been composed, like many of the later Digests, at royal command. They, finally, exhibit unmistakable marks of being school-books. If we examine our Manu-smṛiti with respect to these points, its connexion with an older Vedic work has been shown above, and the fact that it is, and has been ever since we have any information regarding its existence, in the keeping of the *Pandîts*, who especially devote themselves to the study of law, will be patent to every student of the Dharmasâstras. That it treats all legal topics more fully and more systematically than the Dharma-sûtras, and especially devotes much more space to those subjects which are briefly noticed in the latter works, is no less evident. It will suffice here to point out the fact that the description of the duties of the king, including

the administration of justice and the civil and criminal law, occupies considerably more than one-third of the whole. For chapters vii-ix contain no less than 982 verses, while the total number amounts to 2,684¹. None of the older law-books devotes more than one-fifth of its text to such matters². The freedom of the *Manu-smṛiti* from all sectarian influence is perfect. It nowhere teaches the performance of other rites than those prescribed in the Vedic writings, and it nowhere inculcates the exclusive worship of one of the deities of the Paurāṇik sects as we find it recommended, for instance, in the *Vishṇu-smṛiti*. Nor is there any hint that it was written by order of some king or chief with the purpose of serving as a Digest of the sacred law. Finally, the marks of its being a school-book, intended for the instruction of all Āryas, are unmistakable. We are told, *Manu* I, 103, that 'a learned Brāhmaṇa must carefully study these (Institutes), and must duly instruct his pupils in them,' but that 'nobody else (shall do it).' Who the pupils, entitled to learn the work, are, is explained II, 16. There it is said that 'he for whom (the performance of) the rites, beginning with the Garbhādhāna and ending with the Antyeshī, is ordained together with recitation of sacred formulas, is entitled to study it, but no other man whatsoever.' Hence Brāhmins are to teach the Sāstra, and all Āryas may learn it. It further agrees with its character as a school-book, if the phalasruti or statement of the rewards to be gained by its study, *Manu* XII, 126, asserts that a twice-born man, who is able to recite 'these Institutes, will be always virtuous in conduct, and will reach (i. e. after death) whatever condition he desires.' The first object which the student may gain is self-improvement, and the second happiness after death³.

¹ About the same ratio, 367 : 1009 is found in *Yāgyavalkya's Smṛiti*.

² Thus in the *Gautamīya*, seven pages of the text out of thirty-four are filled with legal matters; in the *Vāsisṭha*, twelve pages out of eighty-one; in the *Āpastambīya*, ten out of ninety-eight; and in the *Baudhāyanīya*, about seven out of a hundred and fifteen.

³ Other secondary *Smṛitis*, e. g. *Yāgyavalkya's* (III, 330-334), give much more detailed statements regarding the rewards to be obtained. But in substance they always agree with *Manu*.

If we accept the conclusion which the preceding discussion tends to establish, that the special law schools produced the first and the most ancient division of the secondary *Smṛitis* on the basis of older Dharma-sūtras, and that one among these schools, which, however, cannot be further specified, turned the Mānava Dharma-sūtra into our metrical *Smṛiti*¹, we obtain also satisfactory answers to two other questions. First, it becomes explicable why the latter work shows so little connexion with the special doctrines and usages of the Mānavas. If adherents of the Vedic Mānava school, as Professor E. Hopkins conjectures², had undertaken the revision of their Dharma-sūtra, they would not have forgotten to mention such ceremonies as those which, according to their *Gṛihya-sūtra*, must be performed on beginning the study of particular portions of their *Samhitā*³, and, above all, they would have allowed Mantras belonging to the Maitrāyaṇī Sākhā to stand. Again, if the task had fallen to the share of the members of some other Vedic school, we should find some points mentioned which were of special interest to them. The entire absence of all distinctive marks of any Vedic school which the *Manu-smṛiti* exhibits can only be explained on the hypothesis that it was remodelled by persons for whom such minute distinctions had no interest, and who concentrated their attention on those rules which they considered essential for all Āryas. Secondly, the view expressed above furnishes us with an answer to the question why the *Manu-smṛiti*, like all other works of its class, emphatically claims the allegiance of all Hindus. It is obvious that every special law school must assert, if its labour is not to be in vain, the general applicability of its doctrines and rules to all mankind.

If we now turn to the second point, what reasons induced the special law schools to select just the Mānava Dharma-sūtra among the large number of similar works

¹ This view, which I first taught in my lectures on the Hindu law, delivered in the Vienna University during the winter, 1881-82, has been accepted by Professor J. Jolly, Tagore Lectures, p. 41, and Lecture II passim, as well as p. 347 (end).

² Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, October, 1883, p. xix.

³ See above, p. xxxix, note 5.

for the basis of their studies and to recast it, the answer is not difficult to find. The reason for this selection, and for the high veneration in which the *Manu-smṛiti* has been held and is still held by Hindus, lies, without doubt, in the myths which, since very early times, have clustered round the name of Manu, and in progress of time have been more and more developed and brought into a system.

In Vedic mythology, Manu, or Manus, as he is also called in the *Rig-veda*, is the heros eponymos of the human race, and by his nature belongs both to gods and to men. As a divine being he is described as the son of the *Âditya Vivasvat* and of 'the female of equal colour,' whom *Vivasvat's* wife, *Saranyû*, made to take her place¹, or as the offspring of *Svayambhû*, self-existent Brahman². In the same quality he is invoked at the sacrifices as *pragâpati*, the Lord of created beings³, and in *Kutsâ-yana's* hymn of praise, which is quoted in the *Maitrâyana Brâhmaṇopaniṣad* (V, 1), he is identified with Brahman, the supreme Soul⁴. In the systematised theology of the *Nairuktas* he appears as one of the deities residing in heaven⁵. His human character comes out still more frequently. He is named in the *Rig-veda* together with other sages of a remote antiquity⁶, the *Taittiriya-saṃhitâ* speaks of him as of the father of a family who divides his estate among his sons⁷, and the *Satapatha-brâhmaṇa* opens one of its legends regarding him with a passage which represents him as following the usual daily customs of men⁸.

Manu's position as the progenitor of mankind is usually

¹ *Vâḷakhilya* IV, 1; *Atharva-veda* VIII, 10, 24; *Sat. Br.* XIII, 4, 3, 3; and *Nirukta* XII, 10.

² See the Vedic sloka quoted *Nirukta* III, 4, about which more will be said below. A third account, *Vâḷakhilya* III, 1, makes him the son of *Samvarana*, who possibly may be identical with the *Rishi* mentioned *RV.* V, 33, 10.

³ *Taitt. Saṃh.* III, 2, 8, 1; IV, 1, 9, 1; *Vâg. Saṃh.* XI, 66; *Maitr. Saṃh.* II, 7, 7.

⁴ The edition reads *annam*, food. But Professor Max Müller's MS. has correctly Manu (*S. B. E.* XV, p. 303 note). My copy has मनुः.

⁵ *Nirukta* XII, 33-34.

⁶ *RV.* I, 80, 16; I, 112, 16, &c.

⁷ *Taitt. Saṃh.* III, 1, 9, 4.

⁸ *Sat. Br.* I, 8, 1; *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xii, p. 216, 'In the morning they brought to Manu water for washing, just as they (are wont to) bring (water) for washing the hands.'

indicated in general terms only. In the *Rig-veda* he is repeatedly called 'Father Manu'.¹ In other passages we meet frequently with the assertion that 'the five tribes,' or 'these created beings,' or 'the races of men' are his offspring.² But in the famous legend of the flood, given by the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*³, we have a circumstantial account of the manner in which he produced the human race. According to that *Brāhmaṇa*, Manu alone was saved by the advice of a fish from a great flood which destroyed all created beings. Being desirous of offspring he engaged in worshipping and in performing austerities. During this time he offered a *Pāka-yagñā*. His oblations produced a woman, *Idā* or *Iḍā*, a personification of the *idā* ceremony and of 'the blessing of the sacrifice.' Though solicited by *Mitra* and *Varuṇa* to become theirs, she acknowledged herself Manu's daughter, and stayed with him. 'With her,' the *Brāhmaṇa* concludes in somewhat ambiguous terms, 'he went on worshipping and performing austerities. Through her he generated this race, which is called the race of Manu.' Though this legend is alluded to in another *Brāhmaṇa*⁴, and repeated in later Sanskrit works, it may be reasonably doubted whether it contains the original version of the production of mankind through Manu. It seems more probable that an older myth ascribed to him not a reproduction, but the first creation or procreation of the human race.

Being the father of mankind, Manu is naturally considered as the founder of social and moral order, as a ruler of men, and as a *Rishi* to whom sacred texts were revealed, as the inventor of sacrificial rites, and the author of legal maxims. We find, therefore, passages which assert that he was a king⁵, which speak of his coronation, or make him

¹ RV. I, 80, 16; I, 124, 2; II, 33, 13, &c.

² RV. III, 24, 3; *Taitt. Samh.* I, 5, 1, 3; I, 5, 6, 1; III, 4, 22; III, 4, 3, 7; VI, 1, 5, 6, &c.; *Sat. Br.* XIII, 4, 3, 3.

³ *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xii, pp. 216-219.

⁴ Weber, *Indische Streifen*, vol. i, p. 11, note 3.

⁵ See e.g. *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa* XIII, 4, 3, 3, and RV. I, 112, 8. In the latter passage the epithet *sūra*, the hero, characterises Manu as a royal personage.

the ancestor of kings. Thus a Mantra, recited at the Abhisheka of a king¹, asserts that Pragâpati formerly anointed Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Yama, and Manu, and among the mythical kings Saryâta is called Manu's son², while Purûravas is the offspring of Manu's daughter, Idâ or Iâ³. In later times this ancient idea, which makes Manu the first king of men and the ancestor of kings, has led to his being placed at the head of mythical and of partly historical genealogies. From him springs Ikshvâku, the first king of the solar dynasty and the historical Kalukya, and Kola kings name Manu as the founder of their families.

Much more frequently the Veda alludes to, or explicitly mentions, Manu as the inventor of sacrificial rites. The Rig-veda contains a very large number of passages⁴ which speak of Manu's sacrifices, and of his having kindled the sacred fire, or invoked the gods to accept the offerings of the Rîshis just as they accepted those of Manu. The same assertions are repeated in the Yagur-veda⁵, and the Sata-patha-brâhmaṇa (I, 5, 1-7) says very explicitly, 'Manu, indeed, worshipped with sacrifices in the beginning; imitating that, this progeny (of his now) sacrifices.' In addition to the fire-worship, Manu is also said to have invented the Srâddhas or funeral sacrifices. The chief passage bearing on this point occurs in Âpastamba's Dharma-sûtra II, 18, 1, where it is stated that the gods went to heaven in reward of their sacrifices, and that Manu, seeing men left behind, 'revealed this ceremony, which is designated by the word Srâddha.' Though this passage is not marked as a quotation, its style clearly shows that it has either been borrowed from a Brâhmaṇa, or that it gives a summary of

¹ Ait. Br. VIII, 8, 1.

² Sat. Br. IV, 1, 5, 2; compare also Ait. Br. IV, 32; VIII, 21, where the name is Sâryâta.

³ RV. I, 31, 4; X, 95; and Sat. Br. XI, 5, 1, 1. In the first passage I take manave in the sense of mânavâya.

⁴ See Bergaigne, Religion Védique, I, 62-70, where, it seems to me, a great many difficult passages have been explained more successfully than in the translations of other Vedists, who take the word manu too freely in the sense of man.

⁵ See e. g. Taitt. Samh. I, 7, 1, 3; II, 5, 9, 1; III, 3, 2, 1; V, 4, 10, 5.

a longer story contained in such a work¹. It is probably on account of this legend that 'Manu, the offspring of the Sun,' receives in the Mahābhārata² the epithet *Śrāddha-deva*, which may be rendered either 'the deity of the *Śrāddha*,' or, perhaps better, 'he whose deity is the *Śrāddha*, i. e. the *Śrāddha*-worshipper.' Closely connected with Manu's position as inventor of sacrifices is the ancient myth, mentioned above, which makes him the father of *Idā*; and from the same idea spring probably the legends regarding his bull, whose voice destroyed the demons, and regarding the sacrifice of his wife, *Manāvi*³.

That Manu was credited with the revelation of Mantras has been stated above⁴ in the remarks on the passages from the three redactions of the *Yagur-veda* and of the *Tāndya-brāhmaṇa*. The older works, however, nowhere attribute to him entire hymns, but mostly small numbers of verses only. The same is the case in the Index of the *Rishis* of the White *Yagur-veda*, while the *Sarvānukramanī* of the *Rig-veda* ascribes five entire *Sūktas*, VIII, 27-31, to Manu *Vaivasvata*, as well as a few verses to Manu *Āpsava* and to Manu *Sāmvarana*. An interesting passage in the beginning of the last section of the *Khāndogyaopaniṣad*⁵ informs us that that work was revealed by *Brahmā* (*Hiraṇyagarbha*) to *Pragāpati* (*Kasyapa*), by *Pragāpati* to Manu, and by Manu to mankind. This legend proves that the ancient Vedic schools believed Manu to have taught more than a few verses and hymns. It also helps us to understand better the phrase of the four Vedic books quoted, 'All

¹ If Professor Max Müller, India, What can it teach us? pp. 234-235 and 365, thinks that *Āpastamba's* passage betrays a consciousness of the later origin of the *Śrāddha* rites, I am unable to follow him. It seems to me more probable that it is only intended to explain the holiness and efficacy of the funeral sacrifices, and why they secure heaven for the worshipper and the worshipped ancestor. In the *Brāhmaṇas* similar introductions, in which the *Devas* play the part of Manu, are prefixed to the descriptions of most sacrifices. As the *Śrāddhas* specially concern men, the father of mankind is very appropriately represented as their inventor.

² Mah. XII, 121, 29.

³ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xii, pp. 29-30; see also the passages and essays quoted there in note 1.

⁴ See p. xvi.

⁵ Sacred Books of the East, vol. i, p. 144.

Manu said is medicine.' As has been pointed out above, the assertion contained in this sentence is so general that it makes us suspect the existence of many sayings of Manu on religious subjects. Though the *Khândogya* is probably not as ancient as the *Samhitās* of the *Yagur-veda*, or even as the *Tândya*, and though it hence would be more than hazardous to assume that this very passage is alluded to in the latter, the idea that Manu acted as mediator between Brahman and mankind, and that he taught the way to final liberation, may yet belong to very early times, and may have been one of the causes which led to the sweeping generalisation. The same passages probably testify also to the early existence of the belief that Manu first settled the Dharma, which, as the preceding discussion shows, is but a natural outgrowth from the conceptions which make him the founder of the moral and social order of the world. The published *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* contain, as far as I know, no explicit statement on this subject. But an allusion to it seems to occur in the passage of the *Taittirīya-samhitā* which declares that Manu divided his estate among his sons. Baudhāyana¹, at least, has taken it in this sense, as he places it at the head of his rules on inheritance. The oldest direct testimony on this point is the *Sloka* quoted in Yāska's *Nirukta* III, 4, which says, 'According to the sacred law the inheritance goes without a distinction to the children of both sexes, (that) Manu, the offspring of the Self-existent (*Svāyambhuva*), has declared at the beginning of the creation².' The text shows the Vedic accents, the use of which appears to be confined to the *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*. As the verse is emphatically called a *Sloka*, it cannot have been taken

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. 224.

² I do not share Professor von Roth's misgivings (*Nirukta*, Notes, pp. 24-26) regarding the genuineness of this verse, and of the whole legal discussion in sections 4-6 of the third book of the *Nirukta*. We know now that the views of the ancient authors on the succession of daughters differed very considerably. Hence the incidental discussion of this vexed question in the *Nirukta* need not raise any suspicion. Similar digressions are not uncommon in other Vedic works. The difficulty with respect to the compound *ṛkslokābhyām*, in the words introducing the verse, disappears if it is taken as a *Dvandva*, and not, as Professor von Roth seems to do, as a *Karmadhāraya*.

from a work of the former class. It probably belongs to one of the lost accented Brāhmaṇas. That it did not form part of the Mānava Dharma-sūtra follows, not only from the use of the accents, but also from its contents. Its doctrine does not agree with that of our Manu-smṛiti, which, with respect to the greater part of the rules on inheritance, may be considered as a faithful representative of the original Dharma-sūtra. Though Manu IX, 131-139 strongly insists on the right of an appointed daughter, and, indeed, of every daughter who has no brothers, to succeed to the paternal estate, he nowhere lays down the rule, which, according to Yāska, is taught in our verse, that daughters under all circumstances share equally with sons. To daughters who have brothers Manu allots one-fourth of a share.

In the Dharma-sūtras the verses which contain the phrase 'manur abravīt, thus Manu has said,' or equivalents thereof, become more frequent. The passages of Vasishṭha and of Sāṅkhāyana in which it occurs have been discussed above. Two verses of this description are found in Baudhāyana's Dharma-sūtra (IV, 1, 13; 2, 15), and a considerable number in Usanas' aphoristic Dharmasāstra¹. In the Mahābhārata², in our Manu-smṛiti itself, in the Nārada-smṛiti³, and in other secondary law-books it is also of common occurrence. Its real meaning is, as Professor Hopkins (loc. cit.) has pointed out, no other than that the rule to which it is appended was thought to be ancient and indisputable. Hence it is sometimes used vicariously for appeals to the teaching of the Veda⁴ and of Pragāpati. That the cause of

¹ Instances of this kind occur, especially in the Śrāddhakalpa, chapter IV, भवति चात्र श्लोकः । दक्षानुयोगाद्धनहेतोः पतिताम्नुरवधीत् (sic) ॥ ---- असमानयाजकाश्च क्षुतिविक्रयिकाश्च ये । अस्य पूर्वप्रजातानां पतिताम्नुरवधीत् (sic) ॥ and in chapter VI, नष्टः रूपतडागास्तु सरांसि सजितस्तथा । असंपृक्त-न्यदोषाणि मनुः स्वार्यंभुवोवधीत् ॥ अजृताक्षानि मूलानि धान्यकाः सक्तवश्च ताः । परपाकनिवृत्तानां भोज्यासं मनुरवधीत् ॥ ---- स्त्रीमुखे च सुरागन्धमदो-यमनुरवधीत् ॥

² Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, October, 1883, p. xix.

³ J. Jolly, Tagore Lectures, p. 46.

⁴ Compare e. g. Vas. XVII, 10-11, and Manu IX, 182-3.

its adoption was not the existence of a primeval Mānava Dharma-sūtra or Sāstra, but the belief in the revelation of the law by Manu is proved also by the wide divergence of the doctrines attributed to the father of mankind from each other and from the teaching of the Manu-smṛiti.

These legends and mythological conceptions are amply sufficient to show why the special law schools should have directed their attention to the Mānava Dharma-sūtra, and should have chosen that in preference to other similar works as the basis of one of their text-books. Even if the author of the Sūtra, who in the tradition of the Mānavas¹ is sometimes called Manvâkârya and sometimes Mānavâkârya, really was a historical personage named after the progenitor of men, and was considered as such by the adherents of his own school, yet a confusion between him and his mythical namesake was in course of time inevitable. Even Āpastamba, who himself claims to be no more than a common sinful mortal, has not escaped the fate of being turned into a half-divine being by the authors of the Mahâbhārata² and of the Purāṇas.

¹ All I can adduce regarding the tradition of the Mānavas is found in some not very clear verses of the Maṅgalâraṇas, prefixed to the two books of Ashvâakra's commentary on the Grîhya-sūtra. In the beginning of the prathamapurushabhâshya he says, according to Professor Haug's MS. (Munich Roy. Lib. Sansk. MSS., No. 51), नमो भाष्यकाराय मानवाचार्योय नमः । यस्याः प्रसादान्मनुना शब्दशास्त्रमिदं (?) कृतम् । सरस्वत्युपनामानि (?) सा नः पातु सरस्वती ॥ My MS. omits the invocation of the Bhâshyakâra and of Mānavâkârya and reads in the last line सरस्वतूपनानि कल्पयतु सा ॥ The dvitīyapurushabhâshya begins, according to my MS., सरस्वत्याः प्रसादेन यचैतन्मृतवानुरा । भगवान्मानवाचार्यः पूरयास्व प्रयत्नतः ॥ १ ॥ अष्टावक्त्रेण देवेन तां तुष्टा तु (?) सरस्वतीम् । शनो पूर्णं तु वर्षाणामृतौ शिशिरसंश्लिषे ॥ २ ॥ नमस्कृत्येति तां देवीं यस्या एव प्रभावतः प्राप्तं यत्तन्महातुष्य [यत्तन्महापुष्य?] बृहद्वर्माभिधायकम् ॥ ३ ॥

In the first line of the second verse I propose to read अष्टावक्त्रेण देवेन कृतं तुष्टा सरस्वतीम् and to translate, 'As the venerable Mānavâkârya composed this (Sūtra) by the favour of Sarasvatī, (even so) the (commentary) called Pûraṇa was carefully written by Ashvâkradeva after he had pleased Sarasvatī, when one hundred years (of the Lokakâla) were completed, in the season called the dewy one.' These verses seem to indicate that, according to the tradition of the Mānavas, a historical Mānavâkârya or Manvâkârya composed the Grîhya-sūtra, which was also called Brîhaddharma, by the special favour of the goddess Sarasvatī.

² See Mah. XIII, 66, 12.

A Manu who composed a treatise on the sacred law which gained some notoriety was, therefore, sure of divine honours. As soon as the identification of the author of the *Sûtra* with the father of mankind was made, it was a matter of course that the *Manu-smṛiti* obtained a particularly high position, and was accepted as the paramount authority on the sacred law.

The legends given above render us yet another service. They explain the origin of the seemingly contradictory statements of the *Smṛiti* regarding Manu. When he is represented there as a descendant of self-existent Brahman and a *Pragâpati* who takes a prominent part in the creation, or as identical with the supreme Brahman¹, and on the other hand as a *Rîshi* and as a king of the remotest antiquity, it is now patent that these conceptions have been taken over from Vedic literature and that, different as they are, they have all grown out of the one fundamental idea which makes the first man and progenitor a half-divine and half-human being, an assistant in the work of creation, and the founder of moral and social order among men. Some of the remaining elements of the myth of Manu, as told in the *Smṛiti*, are likewise clearly developments of Vedic ideas. Thus the interposition of the androgynous *Virâg* in Manu's genealogy (I, 32-33) is foreshadowed by a curious passage of the *Atharva-veda*, VIII, 10, where the female *Virâg* is said to have been 'in the beginning this (whole world),' and to have yielded blessings to various classes of beings. According to verse 24, 'Manu, the son of *Vivasvat*, was her calf², when *Prîthi Vainya* milked from her agriculture and grain-bearing plants.' It would, therefore, seem that *Virâg*, who repeatedly plays a part in Vedic cosmogony, was already there connected with Manu. Further, the substitution of seven or more Manus for one, has probably been caused, as the *Petersburg Dictionary* (s. v. *manu*) suggests, by the diversity of the genealogies found in the various Vedic passages. It is even not improbable that the Vedic schools believed, when *Kâtyâ-*

¹ The same identification occurs *Mah. I*, 1, 32.

² This statement alludes to the fact that Indian cows do not allow themselves to be milked, except when their calves stand by.

yana composed his *Sarvānukramanikā* of the *Rig-veda*, in the existence of several distinct Manus. Finally, the association of the ten great sages whom Manu Svāyam-bhuva created, and who in turn created other Manus (I, 34-36), in the work of creation, rests on such passages as those quoted by Āpastamba II, 24, 3-6, 13, where successive destructions of the world are mentioned, and 'this creation is declared to be the work of Praṅāpati and of the sages.' But the complete development of the myth of Manu belongs to the schools of the Paurāṇikas and Aitihāsikas, and we find in the *Purāṇas* and in the *Mahābhārata* many legends which are partly identical with or closely related to that told in our *Smṛiti*¹.

The third problem, to say how the conversion of the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra* into our *Manu-smṛiti* was effected, presents very considerable difficulties, and admits of an approximative solution only. It involves the consideration of three questions. First, which portions of our *Manu-smṛiti* are ancient and which are later additions? secondly, whence have the additions been derived? and thirdly, whether they have been added at one time or successively? In our attempts to distinguish between the old and the modern elements in our *Manu-saṃhitā* we must be guided, except where we have quotations from the old *Dharma-sūtra*, by the analogies which the other existing *Dharma-sūtras* furnish. For it may be assumed as a general maxim, that rules and other statements of our Manu, which find counterparts in the critically unsuspecting portions of the *Sūtras* of Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, and Vasishṭha, probably occurred also in the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*. Single exceptions are, of course, possible, because, though the *Dharma-sūtras* show a very decided class-affinity, they yet differ in the details. The one devotes greater attention to one subject, and the other to others. Hence it may be, that occasionally a rule which is found in the *Dharma-sūtras*, nevertheless did not occur in the *Mānava-sūtra*, but was added on its

¹ See H. H. Wilson, *Vishṇu-purāṇa*, vol. i, pp. 104-5 (ed. Hall); Professor Hopkins, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xi, pp. 247-256.

revision. To a certain extent we may also avail ourselves of the *Vishnu-smṛiti* for the same purpose. But a greater degree of caution will be necessary, as this work, though in the main a representative of the *Kāthaka* Dharma-sūtra, contains also an admixture of modern elements. On the other hand, those rules and discussions which cannot be traced in one of the old Sūtras, are at least suspicious, and require careful consideration. The ultimate decision, if such passages have indeed to be considered as additions, must depend on various collateral circumstances. The safest criterion will always be the character of the ideas which they express. If these are entirely foreign to the Sūtras or to Vedic literature, they may be confidently rejected as interpolations. A good deal depends also on their position and on the manner in which they fit into the context. Numerous cases will, however, remain doubtful.

If we examine Manu's text according to these principles, the more important results will be as follows:—The whole first chapter must be considered as a later addition. No Dharma-sūtra begins with a description of its own origin, much less with an account of the creation. The former, which would be absurd in a Dharma-sūtra, has been added in order to give authority to a remodelled version. The latter has been dragged in, because the myths connected with Manu presented a good opportunity 'to show the greatness of the scope of the work,' as Medhātithi says. The table of contents, given at the end of chapter I, was, of course, also foreign to the original Sūtra. Chapters II–VI, on the other hand, seem to represent with tolerable faithfulness the contents of the corresponding sections of the *Mānava* Dharma-sūtra. Nearly all the rules are found in the other Dharma-sūtras and in the *Vishnu-smṛiti*, and more than three-fourths of the verses find counterparts in the aphorisms and verses of the older law-books. Nevertheless, the hand of the remodeller is not rarely visible. There are, besides the verses which announce the transition from one subject to the other¹, a considerable number of smaller and some

¹ These verses probably mark the subdivisions of the *Adhyāyas*, the *Kaṇḍikās* or *Khaṇḍas* of the ancient Sūtra.

larger interpolations. To the latter belong, in the second chapter, vv. 1-11 and vv. 88-100. The first passage gives a philosophical account of the origin of actions (1-5), such as is not found in any older law-book; further, a verse (v. 6) stating the sources of the sacred law, which is unnecessary on account of v. 12, and suspicious on account of the double description of the third source of the law, by the synonymous terms *śīla* and *ākāra*¹. The contents of the remaining verses, the praise of the *Manu-smṛiti* (v. 7), the advice how the different authorities are to be studied (v. 8), the declaration of the reward for obedience to the revealed texts (v. 9), the definition of the terms *Sruti* and *Smṛiti*, and the declaration of their authoritativeness, are likewise superfluous, and clearly later enlargements. The second passage (vv. 88-100), which enumerates the organs of sensation and action and teaches the necessity of controlling them, interrupts the continuity of the text very needlessly, and has nothing whatsoever to do with the matter treated of. Among the smaller interpolations in this chapter, vv. 13, 16, 27, 28, 142, 143, 213-215, 221, and 239 must certainly be reckoned. It also seems probable that the passage on the importance of the syllable *Om*, of the *Vyâhr̥tis*, and of the *Sāvitrī* (vv. 76-87), as well as that on the humility and meekness required of a *Brāhmaṇa* (vv. 160-163), and that on the worship due to parents and a teacher (vv. 225-237), have been enlarged, though in each case something of the kind may have occurred in the *Dharma-sūtra*. In the third chapter, there is one longer passage (vv. 192-201) which, beyond all doubt, has been added by a later hand. For the classification of the *Manes*, which it contains, is in this form foreign to Vedic literature. More doubtful are the discussions on the duty of conjugal intercourse (vv. 46-50), on the honour due to women (vv. 55-60), on the excellence of the order of householders (vv. 79-80), and on the results of inviting sinners and men of bad conduct to *Srāddhas* (vv. 169-182). Possibly the ancient *Sūtra* contained hints on some of these subjects, but it is most improbable that it

¹ See note to the translation.

should have entered into all the details which our text gives. The passage on the householders has probably been placed wrongly. Most of its verses ought to stand in the discussion on the relative importance of the orders at the end of chapter VI. In the fourth chapter the first section on the means by which a Brâhmana may subsist (vv. 1-24) is exceedingly suspicious. The Dharma-sûtras, e.g. *Vasishtha* XII, 2-4, no doubt sometimes prefix brief hints on the manner in which a Snâtaka may support himself, to the rules regarding his behaviour. But they do not mention the curious classification of the means of subsistence, *Rîta*, *Amrita*, *Mrita*, *Pramrita*, and *Svavritti* (vv. 5, 6), which, though common in the Purânas and other later works, is unknown in Vedic literature. As, moreover, *Vasishtha*'s rules, which enumerate the persons by whom a Snâtaka may be supported, occur further on (IV, 33-34), it is not improbable that the whole section consisting of the first twenty-four verses is a later addition. With still greater certainty the same may be said of vv. 85-91, which describe the heinousness of the offence committed by him who accepts gifts from a royal usurper and other wicked persons, and enumerate the twenty-one hells which will be the offender's portion. For it is not doubtful that, even if the Sûtrakâras were acquainted with a classification of the regions of punishment, their enumeration ought not to stand here, but, as in the *Vishnu-smṛiti*, at the beginning of the section on crimes and penances. Other probable interpolations are vv. 172-174 on the results of sin, vv. 180-185 on the reasons why quarrels with near relatives should be avoided, vv. 238-243 on the reasons why spiritual merit should be accumulated. Finally, the section on gifts and the acceptance of gifts (vv. 186-197) seems to be strongly mixed with modern elements. The next following two chapters present fewer suspicious passages. Nevertheless, the preamble to the section on forbidden food, V, 1-4, the verses 19-21, which prescribe the penances for eating mushrooms, onions, leeks, and so forth, must be certainly rejected. For the former belong to the artificial framework which has been placed round the old Sûtra, and the latter ought to stand in chapter XI. From the quotation in

Vasishṭha IV, 5-8, it is further evident that the rules on the permissibility of meat have been much altered and enlarged in accordance with the growing repugnance against the slaughter of animals. The last section of the same chapter, on the duties of women, has probably had the same fate. The example of the Vāsishṭha Dharmasāstra shows that some of the old Sūtrakāras treated the duties of women in two separate sections¹. But it also proves that they did not, as our Manu-smṛiti does, go twice over the same matter. It is evident that either here or in the beginning of the ninth chapter the same verses have been needlessly repeated by the author of the remodelled version. In the sixth chapter there is only one passage, vv. 61-82, which goes beyond the range of the Dharma-sūtras. None of the latter enters into such details regarding the meditations to which an ascetic must give himself up in order to attain salvation. The subject naturally tempted the remodeller of the Smṛiti to expand the shorter notes of the original. Very different is the case of the next three chapters, VII-IX, which treat of the duties of a king, and of civil and criminal law. These sections probably bear only a faint resemblance to the corresponding portions of the original work. Among the 226 verses of the seventh chapter there are only fifty-four to which passages of the Dharma-sūtras and the Vishṇu-smṛiti correspond. If one pays attention to the rules regarding the king's duties, given in the Dharma-sūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, and Vasisṭha, as well as to the references to the opinions of the Mānavas and of Manu, made in the Kāmandakiya Nitisāra², it would seem probable that the contents of this section of the Mānava Dharma-sūtra cannot have differed very much from those of the third chapter of Vishṇu, and that about two-thirds of the seventh Adhyāya of our Manu-smṛiti have been added when it was recast. With respect to the eighth chapter and the first 224 verses of the ninth, which give the rules regarding the eighteen titles of the law, the remodeller seems to have been equally active. We must ascribe to

¹ See Vas. V and XVII, 55-80.

² See above, p. xxxvi.

him the systematic arrangement of the legal rules, which is not found in any of the ancient Dharma-sûtras, and is even neglected in the Vishnu-smṛiti. He is most probably also responsible for more than one-half of the verses of these chapters. In the eighth Adhyâya only three-sevenths of the rules of our Manu can be traced in the Dharma-sûtras or in the Vishnu-smṛiti, which latter, as far as these topics are concerned, may be considered a faithful representative of the Kâthaka Dharma-sûtra¹. Two of Manu's titles, concerns among partners² and the resumption of gifts, are not mentioned in the older works; and the rules under a third, rescission of purchase and sale, have no resemblance to those of Vishnu. In the ninth chapter the chief topics, treated under the head, duties of husband and wife, are discussed or at least touched on in the Sûtras. But the latter place them differently, and give them much more concisely. The notes to the translation show that only one-fourth of Manu's verses corresponds to utterances of the ancient teachers. The section on inheritance has probably suffered much less, since upwards of eighty verses out of one hundred and seventeen agree with the teaching of the Sûtras, and since among those, the contents of which are not represented in the older works, only eleven, vv. 108-110, 128-129, 133, 138, 147, 184, 215, and 217, are really suspicious or clearly interpolated. Most of these latter contain clumsy repetitions of matters discussed in other places, and v. 217 gives a supplementary rule which but ill agrees with the spirit pervading the remainder of the section. Some of the other, apparently unsuspicious, verses may, of course, possibly be interpolations. But their contents are in harmony with the spirit of the Dharma-sûtras, and with the eliminations, proposed above, Manu's theory of inheritance and partition is self-consistent. The views, expressed under the eighteenth title, on gambling and betting, agree with those of Gautama and Baudhâyana, who both strongly disapprove of these prac-

¹ To this conclusion points the absence of systematic arrangement in Vishnu III-V.

² Manu's rules on this subject have probably been borrowed from a Śrauta-sûtra, where the distribution of the sacrificial fees is usually explained.

tices. The former enumerates the gambler among the men who defile the company at a *Srâddha*, and the latter names gambling among the crimes which render men impure. Though *Âpastamba* and *Vishnu* are less puritanical, and permit gambling under royal, i.e. police-supervision, or provide only punishments for cheating (*Vishnu* V, 134-135), the teaching of our *Smṛiti* is, nevertheless, probably ancient. But the section has been enlarged by the addition of miscellaneous rules and by the allusion to the evil results of gambling 'in former ages,' i.e. to those exemplified by the fate of *Yudhishthira* and *Nala*. The last 106 verses of the ninth chapter which, according to the table of contents in the first chapter, teach the removal of (men noxious like) thorns (*kantakoddharana*), correspond to a part of the *prakîrnaka* or miscellaneous rules of *Yâgñavalkya* and *Nârada*. This section seems to have grown out of those legal rules in the *Mânava Dharma-sûtra* which did not fit into the system of the eighteen titles. But, as very few verses only correspond to rules of the *Dharma-sûtras*, its ancient portion is probably small. The greater part of its contents is made up of repetitions and additions inserted by the author of the remodelled version.

The rules on times of distress, given in chapter X, differ considerably from those of the *Dharma-sûtras*, as they include also the theory of the descent of the mixed castes. The older works treat this subject either in connexion with the law of marriage or with the rules of inheritance. Considering the great inequality which the *Sûtras* show in the arrangement of the various topics, it is, however, not impossible that the *Mânava Dharma-sûtra* placed the section on the mixed castes just before the *âpaddharmas*, and that the author of the metrical version combined both in one chapter and gave them a common title. But it is not in the least doubtful that the treatment of the subject in the former work must have been very different from that which it receives in vv. 1-74. The *Dharma-sûtras* enumerate either one or two sets of mixed castes, briefly indicating their origin, and, sometimes, their modes of life. They also add a few verses or rules regarding the changes to be

attained in successive generations, as well as regarding the manner in which men of low descent may be detected. Our *Manu-smṛiti*, on the other hand, is much more minute in its details, and introduces a good many new names of which the *Sûtras* know nothing. These additions have probably expanded the section to three times its original extent. The immediately following rules, vv. 75-100, on the occupations of the castes and their manner of subsisting in times of distress, agree, in the main, with the *Sûtras*, and seem to have been changed very little. But the supplementary notes on the same subject, vv. 101-131, are probably additions made on the revision of the work. The few ancient rules which they contain are partly repetitions of matters already discussed (e. g. vv. 113-114) and partly misplaced (e. g. vv. 111, 115-117, 119)¹.

The eleventh chapter is again, like chapters II-VI, in all probability a faithful representative of the corresponding portion of the *Mânava Dharma-sûtra*. We find here again that the great majority of the rules corresponds to those of the *Dharma-sûtras* and of the *Vishnu-smṛiti*. The agreement with the latter is particularly close, and appears especially in the classification of crimes, the enumeration of the diseases caused by offences committed in a former life, and in many details referring to penances. Curious and against the practice of the older works is the combination of the rules on gifts and the performance of sacrifices, vv. 1-43, with the section on penances. The excuses which the commentators offer for this anomaly² are, I fear, insufficient to explain it. It seems more probable that here, as in the preceding chapter, two separate sections of the original work have been welded together into one *Adhyâya*. In favour of this view it may be pointed out that in *Gautama's Dharma-sûtra*, XVIII, 28-32, a number of rules, corresponding to *Manu* XI, 11-23, stand just before the *Prâya-skittakânda*. A passage of the *Mahâbhârata*, which will be

¹ A characteristic sign of the great changes which chapters VII-X have undergone consists in the allusions to legends famous in the *Purâṇas* and the *Mahâbhârata*; see also below, p. lxxix.

² See note on *Manu* XI, 1.

discussed below, shows exactly the same combination as our *Smṛiti*.

The twelfth chapter, finally, is certainly almost entirely due to the author of the metrical version. Its contents are partly foreign to the Dharma-sūtras and partly repetitions. The classification of actions and existences as *sāttvika*, *rāgasa*, and *tāmasa*, i. e. as modified by the three qualities of Goodness, Activity, and Darkness, finds no place in the older law-books. It is based on the doctrines which are taught in the *Sāṃkhya*, *Yoga*, and *Vedānta* systems, and some traces of which are found in the *Maitrāyaṇabrāhmaṇopaniṣad*¹. Equally or similarly minute details are, however, to be met with only in the *Purāṇas*, the *Mahābhārata*, and some of the metrical *Smṛitis*, which blend philosophical ideas with the sacred law. The next following discussion on the *karmavipāka*, the results of sinful acts in future births, vv. 51-81, is altogether wrongly placed. It evidently ought to stand in the beginning of the section on penances, where *Vishṇu* and *Yāgyavalkya* have a number of corresponding *Sūtras* and verses. As it is found in the *Manu-smṛiti* in a different position, it is most probably an addition made on the revision of the work. The section on the means of attaining supreme bliss, vv. 82-104, returns to the questions which have already been discussed in the fourth and sixth chapters, and adds nothing that is new. The long peroration at the end, vv. 116-126, cannot have formed part of the Dharma-sūtra, as it again refers to the myth concerning the origin of the *Sāstra*, narrated in the spurious first chapter. But the small piece on the manner of deciding doubtful legal questions, vv. 105-115, belonged probably to the original work. To this conclusion point its close agreement with the rules of the Dharma-sūtras, and the circumstance that *Gautama* also places the corresponding *Sūtras* just at the end of his work.

If thus it is extremely probable that the contents of more than half the verses in our *Manu-smṛiti* cannot have been derived from the ancient *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*, we

¹ *Maitr. Up.* III, 3, 5, 6; compare *Manu* XII, xii, 32-33.

have now to face the question whence this large amount of additional matter has been taken. A clue to the solution of this problem is furnished by the peculiar relation of the *Manu-smṛiti* to the *Mahābhārata*, which undoubtedly is one of the most ancient metrical works of Indian literature, and the great storehouse of the earliest forms of post-Vedic mythology and doctrine. The connexion existing between these two works, and its importance for the history of the Institutes of Manu, has been recognised by most Sanskritists who have directed their attention to the investigation of the origin of the secondary *Smṛitis*. Many years ago Professor Weber¹ pointed out that the *Mahābhārata* contains not only a number of quotations from Manu, some of which are found either with or without variations in the existing *Smṛiti*, while others are not traceable, but also a considerable number of verses, not attributed to Manu, which, nevertheless, are included in the *Dharmasāstra*. He inferred from these facts that the existing *Manu-smṛiti* cannot have been extant in its present shape even at the period to which the later portions of the *Mahābhārata* belong, and that the author or authors of the latter work must have known and used an older redaction of Manu's law-book. Another conclusion, based on the agreement of numerous *Slokas*, especially in the twelfth and thirteenth *Parvans* of the great epic with verses of the *Manu-smṛiti*, has been drawn by Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik², who is convinced that the editor of the latter has drawn, to a large extent, on the former work. Of late Professor Hopkins³ has made a careful analysis of the quotations from Manu found in the *Mahābhārata*. According to him, their number is thirty-three, among which seventeen are traceable, five being verbal quotations, the rest agreeing in doctrine only. His explanation for the untraceable quotations is not that they have been taken from an older recension of the *Manu-smṛiti*, but that a floating mass of

¹ History of Indian Literature, p. 279; compare also Professor Stenzler in the *Indische Studien*, vol. i, p. 245.

² The *Mayūkha* and *Yāgyavalkya*, introd. to *Yāgy.* p. xlvii.

³ Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, October, 1883, pp. xix-xx, and now *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xi, p. 257 seqq.

unwritten sayings of Manu existed, some of which were incorporated with the Dharma-sûtra of the Mānavas in its revision, while others were not. He also notices the fact that our Manu-smṛiti contains many verses which occur also in the Mahābhārata without being attributed to Manu, as well as some which are ascribed to other authorities.

These somewhat divergent results of my predecessors show very clearly that the Mahābhārata may be expected to render some assistance for the solution of our problem. But they indicate also that the utilisation of the facts which it offers requires some caution.

In resuming the enquiry into the relation of the two works and its bearing on the history of our Manu text, the first point to be ascertained is, whether the Mahābhārata really mentions a law-book of Manu, and whether this work is identical either with the ancient Dharma-sûtra or with the existing Smṛiti, or if it differed from both. According to what has been said above¹ regarding the ancient belief ascribing the settlement of social and religious institutions to the Father of mankind, and the real meaning of the phrase 'thus Manu has spoken,' it is evident that Professor Hopkins has correctly distinguished between sayings of Manu on religious and legal matters, and law-books attributed to him, and that he is right in refusing to recognise in every mention of Manu's name a reference to a Smṛiti of his. Hence the number of passages useful for comparison is very much restricted. Those only which explicitly mention a Sāstra of Manu are really indisputable evidence. The estimation of the value of the remainder must depend on collateral circumstances. Quotations of the former kind are not numerous in the Mahābhārata. Nevertheless, some do occur in the twelfth and thirteenth Parvans, and they clearly prove that the authors of these books knew a Mānava Dharmaśāstra not identical but closely connected with our Smṛiti. Thus we read, Mah. XII, 56, 23-25, where the power of Brāhmaṇas is being described, 'High-minded Manu likewise, O king of kings, sang two Slokas in his Laws (sveshu dharmeshu), those, O descendant of Kuru,

¹ See p. lx.

thou shouldst keep in thy heart (23). Fire sprang from water, Kshatriyas from Brāhmaṇas, iron from stone, the all-penetrating power of these (three) has no effect on that whence they were produced (24). When iron strikes stone, when fire meets water, when a Kshatriya shows hostility to a Brāhmaṇa, then these (three assailants) perish.' Again, Mah. XIII, 46, 30-36, in a discussion on the prerogatives of a Brāhmaṇa's Brāhmaṇī wife who, we are told, is alone entitled to attend her husband and to assist him in the performance of his religious duties, the conclusion runs as follows: 'And in those Institutes which Manu proclaimed (manunābhihitam sâstram), O great king, descended from Kuru, this same eternal law is found (35). Now if (a man) out of love acts differently, O Yudhishtîra, he is declared to be (as despicable as) a Kāṇḍāla (sprung from the) Brāhmaṇa (caste 36).' Nothing can be clearer than these two passages. The second speaks plainly of a Sâstra proclaimed by Manu, and the first of his Dharmāṅg, a word in the plural, very commonly used to denote a book on the sacred law. Moreover, the second is clearly a paraphrase of Manu IX, 87, and reproduces its second line to the letter. Of the two verses quoted in the first, one agrees with Manu IX, 321, but the other one is not traceable. While these two quotations would seem to indicate a very close connexion between the Mânava Sâstra of the Mahābhārata and our Smṛiti, a third from the Râgadharma of Manu Prâketasa—i. e. from the section on the duties of kings belonging to the Mânava¹—reveals a greater dis-

¹ Though I will not deny that some show of argument might be made for the supposition that the Râgadharma of Manu Prâketasa were a separate work, different from the Sâstra referred to in the preceding quotations, because the epithet Prâketasa is here added to Manu's name, and because at Mah. XII, 38, 2, we find Manu Prâketasa named as the author of a Râgasâstra in company with Brîhaspati and Usanas, to whom separate Nîtiśâstras were attributed, I yet hold this to be improbable. For the legends regarding the descent of the lawgiver Manu vary in the Mahābhārata. He is in other passages sometimes called Svâyambhuva, and sometimes (e. g. XII, 349, 51) Vaivasvata. Further, a separate Nîtiśâstra of Manu is not quoted elsewhere. On the other hand, the section on the duties of kings bears in every law-book the separate title Râgadharmaṅg, and the commentators of our Manu-smṛiti call its seventh chapter expressly by this name.

crepancy. We read, Mah. XII, 57, 43-45, 'And the following two verses are pronounced¹ by Manu Prâkṛtasa in the Law of kings, listen to them attentively, O lord of kings! (43.) A man should abandon, like a leaky ship in the ocean, the following six persons,—a teacher who does not instruct, a priest unable to recite the Veda, a king who affords no protection, a quarrelsome wife, a herdsman who loves to stay in the village, and a barber who seeks the forest.' Neither of these verses is found in our Manu, though the latter inveighs against kings who do not protect their subjects (VII, 143-144).

If we turn to the passages in which Manu—not his Sâstra—is named as an authority, I know only of one that may be confidently considered to contain a reference to a law-book. In the Sakuntalopâkhyâna, Mah. I, 73, 8-13, king Dushyanta tries to persuade the reluctant object of his affections to consent to a Gândharva union by a discussion of the law of marriage. He first briefly mentions the number of the marriage-rites (v. 8^a) and their names (vv. 8^b-9^a) in the same order as Manu, and then goes on, 'Learn that among these (rites), as Manu Svâyambhuva has formerly declared, the first four are lawful and recommended for a Brâhmaṇa; know, O blameless one, that six, according to their order, are lawful for a Kshatriya (9^b-10). But the Râkshasa rite also is ordained for men of the royal caste, and the Âsura rite is prescribed for Vaisyas and Sûdras. But among the (last) five, three are declared lawful and two unlawful (v. 11). The Paisâka and Âsura (rites) must never be used. According to this rule (marriages) must be concluded, this is the path of duty (v. 12). Do not question the legality of the Gândharva and Râkshasa (rites) for Kshatriyas. Without a doubt they may be used, be it separate or mixed' (v. 13).

The close verbal agreement of this passage with Manu III, 20-26, on the one hand, and its serious discrepancy with respect to a portion of the doctrine, make it, I think, very probable that it is a paraphrase or adaptation of a part

¹ The original has *udâhṛta*, which is ambiguous and may also mean 'quoted.'

of a Mānava Dharmasāstra which closely resembled, but was not quite identical with, the existing text. Verse 8^b-9^a agrees literally with Manu III, 21; and vv. 11^b-13 come close to Manu III, 25-26. But vv. 9^b-11^a, though they have a certain affinity to Manu III, 23-24, show, nevertheless, a considerable difference in doctrine. For Manu declares (v. 23) the first six rites to be lawful for a Brāhmaṇa, the four following ones for a Kshatriya, and the same four, with the exception of the Rākshasa rite, for Sūdras and Vaisyas, while v. 24 says that the first four rites are recommended, and that the Rākshasa rite alone is permissible to Kshatriyas, and the Âsura to the two lowest classes. According to the Mahābhārata, on the other hand, Manu approved of the first four rites in the case of Brāhmaṇas, and of the first six in case of Kshatriyas. To the latter he allowed also the seventh, the Rākshasa rite, and confined Vaisyas and Sūdras to the purchase of their brides, the Âsura rite. The most probable explanation of this contradiction seems to me the assumption that the text of Manu, known to the author of the Upākhyāna, slightly differed from that which we find at present.

Another passage is more doubtful. Mah. XIII, 61, 34-35, various opinions are enumerated with respect to the question how large a share of the guilt incurred by ill-protected and ill-governed subjects falls on the king¹. The decision is that, according to the teaching of Manu, the negligent ruler is loaded with a fourth share. This doctrine, which is found also in other passages of the Mahābhārata, contradicts that taught in our Manu-smṛiti as well as in the older Dharma-sūtras, where a sixth part of the sins committed by subjects is said to fall on their lord. The circumstance that several opinions are contrasted may be used as an argument for the opinion that here, too, an individual law-book of Manu's is referred to. If that were so, the passage would reveal another remarkable discrepancy between the older and the present texts. But to my mind

¹ ऋतुर्थे तस्य पापस्य राजा विन्दति भारत ॥ ३३ ॥ अथाहुः सर्वमेवैति भूयोर्धेमिति निश्चयः । ऋतुर्थे मत्तमस्माकं मनोः शुत्नानुशासनम् ॥ ३५ ॥

it seems, just because the teaching of our Manu agrees with the Dharma-sûtras, more probable that the author of the Mahâbhârata makes here, as in other cases, a random appeal to Manu's name merely in order to give weight to his peculiar opinion.

There are two other longer pieces in the Mahâbhârata which are ascribed to Manu. In one case it is perfectly evident that there exists no connexion with our *Smṛiti*. The philosophical conversation between Manu and *Bṛihaspati*, which fills chapters 200–206 of Mah. XII, has neither any distinctive doctrines nor any verses in common with the Mânava Dharmasâstra. On the contrary, it shows a leaning towards the Vaishnava creed.

With respect to the second passage, Mah. XII, 36, 3–50, a doubt is at least possible. It contains an 'ancient legend' (*purâna itihâsa*), narrating how Manu revealed in the beginning to the sages the law regarding food, and some miscellaneous rules concerning worthy recipients, gifts, Veda-study, and penances. Manu's speech consists of forty-five verses, among which two agree fully and five partly with Slokas of our *Smṛiti*¹. But one of the fully agreeing verses (v. 46) occurs also in two Dharma-sûtras, and belongs, therefore, to the traditional lore of the Vedic schools. Though the remainder is not traceable in the older works, the faintness of the resemblance makes it, I think, more probable that the Mahâbhârata accidentally attributes to Manu verses now read in his *Smṛiti*, than that its author extracted them and the whole piece from a Mânava Sâstra.

But whatever may be the correct interpretation of the mention of Manu in these passages, it remains indisputable that the author or authors of the first, twelfth, and thirteenth Parvans of the Mahâbhârata knew a Mânava Dharmasâstra which was closely connected, but not identical with the existing text. The latter must, therefore, as Professor Weber has pointed out, be considered later than

¹ Mah. XII, 36, 27 = Manu IV, 218; first pâda of ver. 28^a = first pâda of Manu IV, 220; ver. 28^b = Manu IV, 217^a; first pâda of ver. 29^a = first pâda of Manu IV, 210^b; ver. 46 = Manu II, 157; ver. 47^a = Manu II, 158^a.

these 'latest portions of the epic.' The latter conclusion is, it seems to me, confirmed by some indications in the *Smṛiti* which point to an acquaintance with the *Mahābhārata*. The warning regarding the consequences of gambling, *Manu* IX, 227, certainly presupposes a knowledge of the legend of the Kurus and *Pāṇḍavas*. When it is stated there that 'in a former Kalpa the vice of gambling has been seen to cause great enmity,' this assertion can only point in the first instance to the match played between *Yudhishthira* and *Duryodhana*, which was the immediate cause of the great war. It may also contain, as some commentators think, an allusion to the fate of king *Nala*, but that can only be a secondary meaning, because war was not the result of his gambling. More significant than this passage is the fact that in chapters VII-X of the *Manu-smṛiti* a number of legends are quoted in illustration or in support of rules which, as the commentators repeatedly assert¹, are taken from the *Mahābhārata*, and that in one case just those which are mentioned in one verse of *Manu* (IX, 314) are found close together in the same chapter of the *Mahābhārata*.

This relative position of the two works might induce us to assume with *Rao Saheb V.N. Mandlik* that the *Mahābhārata* had a direct influence on the final redaction of the *Manu-smṛiti*, and that the author of the latter appropriated from the former the very large number of identical verses which in the *Mahābhārata* are not ascribed to *Manu*.

Tempting as the hypothesis of the dependence of the *Smṛiti* on the epic is, because it would account for the adoption of the *Anuṣṭubh* metre in the latter, a careful examination of the corresponding passages leads to a very different result. On going over the third, twelfth, and thirteenth *Parvans* of the *Mahābhārata* I have succeeded in identifying upwards of 260 verses or portions of verses, not attributed to *Manu*, with *Slokas* of the *Manu-smṛiti*. This number, which corresponds to about one-tenth of the bulk of the latter work, would no doubt be considerably swelled by a comparison of the remaining portions of the epic, and

¹ See notes to VII, 41; VIII, 110; IX, 23, 129, 314-315, &c.

it may be that even in the Parvans examined some identical pieces have escaped my notice. The number of the verses which has to be compared is so enormous that mistakes are easily possible; but the identifications made are amply sufficient for the purpose of illustrating the relation between the two works. The corresponding passages vary considerably in extent, from a single pāda or a single line to sections of twenty to forty verses. Where larger sections agree, it is rare that more than half-a-dozen verses stand in the same order in both works, and it happens not rarely that a series of identical Slokas is interrupted by the expansion of one verse into two, or by a contraction of two into one. Further, the purpose which an identical line or verse is made to serve sometimes differs, and sometimes a various reading alters its sense entirely. The various readings are exceedingly numerous, and the better one is sometimes found in the Mahābhārata and sometimes in Manu. If we enter on a more detailed analysis of the corresponding passages, there are three cases in which one or two consecutive chapters of the Mahābhārata contain from twenty to forty verses which occur in our Manu. Mah. XII, 232-233 include the greater portion of Bhrigu's account of the creation and some of the verses, said to have been enunciated by Manu himself on the same subject, i. e. Manu I, 18^b, 20, 28-29, 64-78, 81-86.

Further, Mah. XIII, 48, 14-44 gives a portion of Manu's definitions of and rules regarding the mixed castes, and contains the verses X, 27-32, 33^a, 34-37, 38^a, 39-40, 50, 52^b, 58-60, and 62, mostly with considerable variations, and Slokas resembling Manu X, 42-43 are found Mah. XIII, 33, 21-22, and 35, 17-18.

Finally, Mah. XII, 165, which treats of gifts, sacrifices, and penances much in the same manner as the eleventh chapter of Manu, exhibits, mostly in the beginning, the following verses, partly in somewhat different versions, XI, 2^b, 3^b, 4^a, 7, 11-17, 20, 22^b, 23^a, 27^a, 29-31, 34-40, 91^b, 105, 150, 177^b, 181, 207. The general sense of some other Slokas corresponds without a real agreement in words, and the same chapter of the Mah. contains also vv. 31^a and 32^a,

three-quarters of Manu II, 238, and v. 68^a the first half of Manu III, 172. Equivalents of Manu XI, 44, 74, 76^a, 77, 84 are found Mah. XII, 34, 2; 35, 4-6; 263, 45^b-46^a. Among other somewhat longer corresponding passages the following are the most noteworthy. Portions of the discussion on the reverence due to parents and teachers, Manu II, 229-234, occur Mah. XII, 108, 5-12. The rules regarding the disposal of the fee at an Ārsha wedding and the respect to be shown to females are found Mah. XIII, 45, 20; 46, 1-7, and some verses, Manu III, 134-135, 140-142, 158-159, 172, 180-181, 184-185, from the section on Srāddhas, Mah. XIII, 90, as well as fragments of III, 267-274 in the beginning of Mah. XIII, 88. The warning against quarrels with relatives, Manu IV, 179-185, is repeated Mah. XII, 244, 14^b-21^a. A number of the rules applicable to the ascetic, Manu VI, 42-48, 57^b, 58^a, reappears in the beginning of Mah. XII, 246 and 279, while Manu VI, 49 is read Mah. XII, 331, 30. The sketch of the state administration, Manu VII, 115-122, is given mostly in the same words, Mah. XII, 87, 3-11^a, and the same chapter contains also closely agreeing precepts regarding taxation together with the verses Manu VII, 127 and 139^a. The remainder of the corresponding passages ranges between triplets and single feet of Slokas, and is scattered over all the twelve chapters of Manu. The portions of the Mahābhārata where we chiefly meet with them, are III, 94, 180; XII, 15, 244-245, 265; XIII, 44-46, 90, 104-105, 115, 152¹.

In order to complete this sketch of the relation in which the two works stand towards each other, it will be advisable to give one of the three longest corresponding passages in full, and to carefully note both the points of contact and of difference. The piece most suitable for such a comparison is that from the first book of Manu. For the latter doubtlessly belongs to the additions made by the editor of the metrical version, and its account of the creation presents numerous problems which have sorely puzzled the com-

¹ It is impossible to give here more than these general indications. A more complete list of the verses of the Manu-smṛiti occurring in the Mah. will be found in the Appendix.

mentators. The solution of some of these difficulties is furnished by the corresponding passage of the Mahābhārata. This passage occurs in an account of the creation, communicated by Vyāsa-Kṛishṇa-Dvaipāyana to his son Suka, which Bhīshma narrates to Yudhishtīra.

MAHĀBHĀRATA XII, 232.

MANU I.

11. Vyāsa said: In the commencement exists the Brahman without beginning or end, unborn, luminous, free from decay, immutable, eternal, unfathomable by reasoning, not to be fully known.

12. Fifteen nimeshas (twinklings of the eye are) one kâsh/hâ¹, but thirty kâsh/hâs one should reckon as one kalâ; moreover, thirty kalâs and that which may amount to the tenth part of a kalâ shall be one muhūrta;

13. Thirty muhūrtas shall make a day and a night—that number has been fixed by the sages; a month is declared (to consist of) thirty nights and days, and a year of twelve months.

14. But those acquainted with calculations call two progresses of the sun, the southern and the northern one, a year².

15. The sun divides the days and nights of the world of men³, the night (being intended)

64. Eighteen nimeshas (twinklings of the eye are one kâsh/hâ¹), thirty kâsh/hâs one kalâ, thirty kalâs one muhūrta, and as many (muhūrtas) one day and night.

65. The sun divides days and nights, both human and divine, the night (being intended)

¹ Regarding the difference between the two computations, see Wilson, *Vishṇu-purāṇa* I, 47 (ed. Hall).

² The verse marked as 14 in the Bombay edition consists of a single line only.

³ The reading of the Mahābhārata, mānushalaukike for mānushadaivike, seems the better one.

for the repose of created beings and the day for exertion.

16. A month is a day and a night of the manes, but their division (is as follows): the bright (fortnight)¹ is their day for active exertion, the dark (fortnight) their night for sleep.

17. A year is a day and a night of the gods; the division is (as follows): the half year during which the sun progresses to the north will be the day, that during which it goes southwards the night.

18. Counting the sum of years (consisting) of those human days and nights which have been mentioned above, I will declare (the duration of) a day and night of Brahman.

19. I will declare severally and in due order the totals of the years in the *Kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara*, and *Kali* ages².

20. They declare that the *Kṛta* age (consists of) four thousand years (of the gods); the twilight preceding it consists of as many hundreds, and the twilight following it of the same number.

21. In the (other) three ages,

for the repose of created beings and the day for exertion.

66. A month is a day and a night of the manes, but the division is according to fortnights. The dark (fortnight) is their day for active exertion, the bright (fortnight) their night for sleep.

67. A year is a day and a night of the gods; the division is (as follows): the half year during which the sun progresses to the north will be the day, that during which it goes southwards the night.

68. But hear now the brief (description of) the duration of a night and day of Brahman and of the several ages (of the world) according to their order.

69. They declare that the *Kṛta* age (consists of) four thousand years of the gods; the twilight preceding it consists of as many hundreds, and the twilight following it of the same number.

70. In the (other) three ages,

¹ The reading of the *Mahābhārata* is obviously faulty, as it is well known that the dark fortnight is, according to the Hindus, the day of the manes. The fault has probably arisen by an accidental transposition of the words *suklaḥ* and *kṛṣṇaḥ*. The second var. lect. of the Mah. *tayoḥ punaḥ* for *tu pakshayoḥ* is less intelligible than Manu's, because a substantive is required to which *suklaḥ* and *kṛṣṇaḥ* can be referred.

² It is a particularly significant fact that in spite of the great difference between the two works, both show the intercalation of a fresh exordium.

with the preceding twilights and in the twilights following them, the thousands and hundreds are diminished by one-fourth (in each)¹.

22. These support the eternal, everlasting worlds; this is known as the eternal Brahman to those who know Brahman.

23. In the *Kṛita* age Dharma is four-footed and entire, and (so is) Truth; nor does any gain which is opposed to that (spirit of justice) accrue by unrighteousness².

24. In the other (three ages), by reason of (unjust) gains, Dharma is deprived successively of one foot, and unrighteousness increases through theft, falsehood, and fraud.

25. (Men are) free from disease, accomplish all their aims, and live four hundred years in the *Kṛita* (age); but in the *Tretâ* age (and the following ones) their life is lessened by one quarter in each³;

26. And the doctrines of the Veda decrease, as we

with their twilights preceding and following, the thousands and hundreds are diminished by one (in each).

81. In the *Kṛita* age Dharma is four-footed and entire, and (so is) Truth; nor does any gain accrue to men by unrighteousness.

82. In the other (three ages), by reason of (unjust) gains, Dharma is deprived successively of one foot, and through (the prevalence of) theft, falsehood, and fraud the merit (gained by men) is diminished by one-fourth (in each).

83. (Men are) free from disease, accomplish all their aims, and live four hundred years in the *Kṛita* (age), but in the *Tretâ* and (in each of) the succeeding (ages) their life is lessened by one quarter.

84. The life of mortals, mentioned in the Veda, the de-

¹ The reading of Manu, *sasamdhyaṃreshu ka* for *samdhāṃreshu tataḥ*, seems preferable, but his *ekāpāyena* is inferior to the *ekapādēna* of the *Mahābhārata*.

² *Nīlakaṇṭha* explains āgama in this verse and the next by 'doctrine.' I translate it by 'gain,' in accordance with the rendering adopted for Manu, but willingly acknowledge that the other rendering is possible in both works, and that the meaning may be 'nor does any unrighteous doctrine, opposed to that (Dharma), prevail' (*Mah.*), 'nor is any unrighteous doctrine spread among men' (*Manu*).

³ The reading *kṛite tretāyuge tveshām* instead of Manu's *kṛite tretādishu hyeshām* is more archaic.

hear, in each successive age, as well as the lives (of men), their blessings (*ârishah*), and the rewards which the Veda yields¹.

27. One set of duties (is prescribed) for men in the *Kṛita* age, different ones in the *Tretâ* and in the *Dvâpara*, and (again) another (set) in the *Kali* age, in proportion as (those) ages decrease in length.

28. In the *Kṛita* age the chief (virtue is the performance of) austerities, in the *Tretâ* (divine) knowledge is most excellent, in the *Dvâpara* they declare sacrifices (to be best), in the *Kali* liberality alone.

29. The wise know such (a period of) twelve thousand (divine) years (to be understood by) the term an age (of the gods); that (period) being multiplied by one thousand is called a day of Brahman.

30. (Know his) night to be as long². At the beginning of that (day) the lord who is the Universe finally awakes, after having entered deep meditation

sired results (*ârishah*) of sacrificial rites, and the (supernatural) power of embodied (spirits) are fruits proportioned among men according to (the character of) the age¹.

85. One set of duties (is prescribed) for men in the *Kṛita* age, different ones in the *Tretâ* and in the *Dvâpara*, and again another (set) in the *Kali* age, in proportion as (those) ages decrease in length.

86. In the *Kṛita* age the chief (virtue) is declared to be (the performance of) austerities, in the *Tretâ* (divine) knowledge, in the *Dvâpara* (the performance of) sacrifices, in the *Kali* liberality alone.

71-72. These twelve thousand (years), which thus have been mentioned above as the total of four (human) ages, are called one age of the gods. But know that the sum of one thousand ages of the gods (makes) one day of Brahman, and that his night has the same length².

¹ The Sanskrit text of the two Slokas agrees somewhat better than the translation. It looks as if neither of them was the original version, which probably declared that the age of men, their blessings, and the rewards of deeds, such as they are promised in the Veda, diminish in each successive age. Another version, which almost exactly agrees with Manu's, occurs Mah. III, 200, 115.

² Both the Mah. and Manu have the accusative case *râtrim*, which does not agree with the preceding verb *gṛēyam* (Manu) *uṣyate* (Mah.). It would seem that both give adaptations of an older verse, where a word like *âhuḥ*, which governed the accusative, occurred. Though the verb was changed, the further alteration of the case was forgotten.

and having slept during the period of destruction.

31. Those (only) who know that Brahman's day ends after (the completion of) one thousand ages (of the gods) and that his night lasts a thousand ages, are (really) men acquainted with (the length of) days and nights.

32. When imperishable Brahman awakes at the end of his night, he modifies himself and creates the element (called) the Great One (and) from that mind which is discrete.

MAHÂBHÂRATA II, 233.

1. Luminous Brahman is the seed from which single element this whole twofold creation, the immovable and the movable, has been produced.

2. Awaking at the beginning of his day, he creates the world by means of Ignorance—even first the element, (called) the Great One, (next) speedily mind which is discrete;

3. And conquering here resplendent (mind) which goes far, enters many paths, and has the nature of desire and doubt, creates the seven mind-born ones.

4. Mind, impelled by the desire to create, performs the work of creation by modifying itself; thence ether is produced; they declare that sound is the quality of the latter.

73. Those (only) who know that the holy day of Brahman, indeed, ends after (the completion of) one thousand ages (of the gods), and that his night lasts as long, are (really) men acquainted with (the length of) days and nights.

75. Mind, impelled by the desire to create, performs the work of creation by modifying itself; thence ether is produced; they declare that sound is the quality of the latter.

5. But from ether, modifying itself, springs the pure, powerful wind, the vehicle of all perfumes; touch is considered to be its quality.

6. Next from wind, modifying itself, proceeds the brilliant light which illuminates and is white; that is declared to possess the quality of colour;

7. And from light, modifying itself, (comes) water which possesses taste; from water smell and earth; (such) is declared (to be) the creation of (them) all.

8. The qualities of each earlier-named (element) enter each of the later-named ones, and whatever place (in the sequence) each of them occupies, even so many qualities it is declared to possess¹.

9. If some, perceiving a smell in water through a want of care, attribute (that quality to water), one must know that it belongs to earth alone, (and that it is) adventitious in water and wind.

10. Those Âtmans of seven kinds², which possess various powers, were severally unable to create beings without fully uniting themselves.

11. These great Âtmans, uniting and mutually combining

76. But from ether, modifying itself, springs the pure, powerful wind, the vehicle of all perfumes; that is held to possess the quality of touch.

77. Next from wind, modifying itself, proceeds the brilliant light which illuminates and dispels darkness; that is declared to possess the quality of colour.

78. And from light, modifying itself, (is produced) water, declared to possess the quality of taste; from water earth, which has the quality of smell; such is the creation in the beginning.

20. Among them each succeeding (element) acquires the quality of the preceding one, and whatever place (in the sequence) each of them occupies, even so many qualities it is declared to possess.

¹ The position of this verse in the Mahâbhârata makes the conjecture, put forward in the note to the translation, that the correct position of Manu I, 20 is after verse 78, exceedingly probable.

² According to Nîlakantha, the seven Âtmans, called above, ver. 3, the seven mind-born ones, are Mahat, Ahaṁkāra, and the five subtile elements.

with each other, entered the body; hence one speaks of Purusha [i.e. him who resides (usha) in a fortress (pur)].

12. In consequence of that entering (*śrayana*), the body (*śarīra*) becomes endowed with a (perceptible) form, and consists of sixteen¹ (constituent parts).

That the great elements² enter together with the *karman* (merit and demerit).

13. Taking with him all the elements, that first creator of created beings (enters it) in order to perform austerities; him they call the lord of created beings.

14. He, indeed, creates the creatures, both the immovable and the movable; then that *Brahmā* creates gods, sages, manes, and men,

15. The worlds, rivers, oceans, the quarters of the compass, mountains, trees, men, Kinnaras, Rakshas, birds, tame and wild beasts, and snakes, the imperishable and the perishable, both the immovable and the movable.

16. Whatever course of action they adopted in a former creation, even that

18^b. That the great elements enter together with their functions (*karman*)³.

28. But to whatever course of action the Lord at first appointed each (kind of

¹ The sixteen constituent parts are, according to *Nilakaṇṭha*, the five gross elements and the eleven organs.

² *Nilakaṇṭha* takes *mahānti bhūtāni*, 'the great elements,' in the sense of 'the subtle elements, and the great ones, the mahattattvas' (*bhūtāni sūkṣmāni mahānti mahattattvāni*).

³ This line is a good example, showing how the same words of the ancient school-tradition were made to serve different purposes.

alone they adopt in each succeeding creation.

17. They turn to noxiousness or harmlessness, gentleness or ferocity, virtue or sin, truth or falsehood, according to the disposition with which they were (first) created; hence that (particular course of action) pleases each.

beings), that alone it has spontaneously adopted in each succeeding creation.

29. Whatever he assigned to each at the (first) creation, noxiousness or harmlessness, gentleness or ferocity, virtue or sin, truth or falsehood, that clung (afterwards) spontaneously to it.

The remainder of Vyâsa's narrative, which continues through the following twenty-six verses, may be omitted, as, further on, it presents few points of contact with our *Smṛiti*. It must, however, be noticed that, according to verses 25-26, 'the Lord assigned to his creatures their names and conditions, in accordance with the words of the Veda.' This idea agrees with Manu I, 21, but the wording of the two passages differs very considerably.

The lesson which the facts, revealed by the above discussion, teach, is a double one. First, they clearly show that the editor of our metrical *Manu-smṛiti* has not drawn on the *Mahābhārata*, but that the authors of both works have utilised the same materials. Secondly, they make it highly probable that the materials, on which both works are based, were not systematic treatises on law and philosophy, but the floating proverbial wisdom of the philosophical and legal schools which already existed in metrical form. The first point is so evident that it seems to me unnecessary to waste any more words on it. With respect to the second conclusion, I would point out that it is made unavoidable by the peculiar character of the differences found in closely connected *Slokas*, by the occurrence of identical lines and *pādas* in verses whereof the general sense differs, and by the faint, shadowy resemblance in words and ideas, observable in other pieces. I may add, further, that the supposition that each special school possessed such a body of metrical maxims is perfectly well founded.

As has been repeatedly stated, the text-books of the ancient Vedic schools, the Sûtras and the Upanishads, contain already a not inconsiderable proportion of Anushûbh verses which sometimes recur in identical or slightly varying forms. Hence it is no more than might be expected that the teachers of the special schools should have continued in the path of their predecessors, and should have gradually augmented the stock of their 'Spruchweisheit,' until it extended to all legal and philosophical topics, and the accumulation of these detached verses made it easy and tempting to convert the old aphoristic handbooks into metrical treatises¹. The answer, which we are thus obliged to give to the question whence the editor of our *Manu-smṛiti* took his additional materials, agrees very closely with Professor Hopkins' hypothesis, who, as mentioned above, considers the law-book to be a conglomerate of the Mānava Dharma-sûtra and of the floating sayings attributed to Manu, the father of mankind. The latter restriction seems to me unadvisable, because among the mass of corresponding pieces found in the Mahābhārata comparatively few are attributed to the Pragâpati, and because a Hindu who was

¹ The probability of the existence of such a body of metrical maxims would become still more apparent, if it were possible to enter here on a comparison of portions of the older Purāṇas with the Mahābhārata and the metrical Smṛitis, as well as on a detailed consideration of the ancient Buddhist literature. Though the difficulty and magnitude of such a task forbid its being attempted in this Introduction, I cannot refrain from inserting a few general hints. The Purāṇas contain a good deal that is identical with or similar to passages of the Mahābhārata and Manu, and it is in many cases impossible to assume that the corresponding verses have been borrowed from the latter works. The Purāṇas, some of which, like the Vāyu, even in their present shape, go back to a very respectable antiquity, are popular sectarian compilations of mythology, philosophy, history, and the sacred law, intended, as they are now used, for the instruction of the unlettered classes, including the upper divisions of the Śūdra varṇa, the so-called Sakṣhūdras. It was only natural that their authors should have appropriated suitable portions of the floating metrical wisdom of the philosophical and legal schools.

The comparison of the ancient Buddhist literature is particularly instructive, because the Buddhists are a special philosophical school, and because their oldest works, though mostly consisting of prose, include a considerable number of Ślokas, among which a certain number, as, for instance, in the Dhammapada, shows affinities to verses of the Mahābhārata and even of Manu. They probably took over a certain stock of ancient metrical maxims, and added a great number of new ones.

thoroughly convinced of the truth of the dogma that Manu first taught the sacred law, would not hesitate to ascribe to that sage all the maxims which seemed to him to bear the stamp of authenticity, even if others attributed them to different authorities.

The answer to the next question, whether the conversion of the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra* was effected at one time or by degrees, and whether *Bhrigu's* recension has to be considered as the immediate offspring or as a remoter descendant of the *Sūtra*, must, I think, be answered, as has been tacitly assumed in the preceding discussion, in the sense of the first alternative. Not long ago it seemed that the contrary opinion was the more probable one. But the closer one examines the facts which at first sight seem to lead up to the inference that *Bhrigu's* *Manu-saṃhitā* forms the last link in a long chain of metrical *Manu-smṛitis*, the more one sees that they possess no, or very little, importance. On the other hand, those arguments which speak in favour of our text being, if not the first, at least one of the first attempts at a conversion of a Vedic school-book into a special law-book, gain by the same process in force and increase in number. The points which have been brought forward in order to prove that the existing text of Manu has suffered many recasts are, first, its numerous contradictory passages; secondly, the explicit statement of the Hindu tradition in the preface to the *Nārada-smṛiti*; thirdly, the quotations from a *Bṛihat Manu* and a *Vṛiddha Manu* met with in the medieval Digests of law; and fourthly, the untraceable or partly traceable quotations from Manu's *Dharmasāstra* found in some of the older Sanskrit works. The existence of these facts is undeniable. But it is not difficult to show that they are partly useless as arguments, and partly, under a better interpretation, lead to quite other conclusions. Thus in weighing the value of the argument drawn from the occurrence of contradictory passages, two circumstances, which mostly have been left out of account, must be kept in mind: first, that it is a common habit of Indian authors to place conflicting opinions, supported by authorities of equal weight, side by side, and to allow an option, or to

mention time-honoured rules, legal customs, and social institutions, and afterwards to disapprove of them; and secondly, that, as our *Smṛiti* is in any case a recast of an earlier *Sūtra*, that fact alone is sufficient to account for contradictions. It has been shown above¹, that some contradictory passages, such as those concerning the respective rank of the mother and the teacher, or regarding the permissibility of certain marriage-rites, express conflicting views, mentioned also in the *Dharma-sūtras*. The *Manu-smṛiti* only reproduces the ancient opinions, but omits, possibly for metrical reasons, to mark them as belonging to different authors or schools. In other cases we may hesitate between two explanations. If we find, for instance, that our text in the third and ninth chapters² violently inveighs against *Āsura* marriages, and in the eighth and ninth³ lays down rules which presuppose the legality of the sale or purchase of a bride, we may assume that the first utterance is due to the editor of the metrical version, and that the second represents the more archaic doctrine of the *Dharma-sūtra*. In favour of this supposition it may be urged that the *Mānava Gr̥hya-sūtra* unhesitatingly admits the acquisition of a bride by purchase⁴. But it is also possible that the *Dharma-sūtra* itself contained both the condemnation of the custom and the rules regulating it. For similar contradictions occur also in other *Sūtras*. Thus *Āpastamba* expressly forbids, in his sections on *Dharma*, the sale and gift of children and the procreation of *Kshetraga* sons⁵. Yet, in his *Srauta-sūtra* I, 9, 7, he gives a rule showing how the *Pindapitriyagñā* is to be performed by the son of two fathers (*dvipitā*). Such a person can only be a *Kshetraga*, a *Dvyāmushyāyana* *Dattaka*, or a *Putrikāputra*. If it is borne in mind that *Baudhāyana*, on whose works *Āpastamba's* *Sūtras* are based, admits the affiliation which the later member of his *vidyāvamsa* rejects, the obvious explanation of the contradiction is that *Āpastamba*, in spite of his disapproval of other than *Aurasa* sons, did

¹ See p. xxiv.² *Manu* III, 25, 51-54; IX, 98-100.³ *Manu* VIII, 204, 224-225; IX, 97.⁴ See above, p. xxxix.⁵ *Āp. Dh. S.* II, 13, 11; 27, 2.

not venture to change the prescriptions which he found in the older *Srauta-sûtra*. Similarly, the supposition that the author of the *Mânava Dharma-sûtra*, though condemning *Âsura* marriages, was unwilling to expunge the rules regulating the sale, is not at all improbable. It seems to be even better than the explanation proposed first. For the prohibition of the *Âsura* rite occurs in the quotation found in the *Sakuntalopâkhyâna*, and the latter, as we shall see presently, in all probability refers to the *Mânava Dharma-sûtra*. Hence I think that at least the remarks made Manu III, 26 did stand in the ancient text. The other repetitions of the same sentiments may have been added on the revision. Another famous instance of a contradiction, Manu IX, 58-70, where the appointment of a widow is first permitted and next forbidden, has probably to be explained in the same manner. If I here differ from Professor Jolly¹ and others, who ascribe the prohibition to the remodeller of the *Dharma-sûtra*, and if I adhere to the view expressed by *Bṛihaspati* and some Indian commentators, my reasons are that, as the conflicting statements of the *Dharma-sûtras* show, the propriety of the *Niyoga* was not generally acknowledged even in ancient times, and that the medieval *Nibandhakâras* frequently follow the strange method of teaching adopted by Manu. They, too, describe various antiquated customs, and afterwards add the remark that the matter taught is forbidden in the *Kali* age. Among the clear cases where a conflict of statements has been caused by additions of the editor, I may mention the rule, Manu IV, 222, prescribing a penance for an unlawful acceptance of food, which differs from that given XI, 153. Here the former must be considered spurious, because it occurs in a chapter which has nothing to do with penances. It is evident that neither the instances just mentioned, nor indeed any other, where our *Smṛiti* exhibits either two ancient conflicting rules or a modern precept contradicting an ancient one, can be used as arguments showing that the *Mânava Dharma-sûtra* underwent more than one revision. Under these circumstances it might appear advisable to rely on those contradictions

¹ Tagore Lectures, pp. 48, 61.

which occur in the decidedly modern portions of our text, in the additions to the ancient Dharma-sûtra, and to maintain that e.g. the differences in the two accounts of the creation¹, Manu I, 7-58 and 62-86, indicate that the first chapter owes its present shape to two different authors. Such a mode of reasoning would, no doubt, be correct if the additions to the Dharma-sûtra were independent, original productions. But as the preceding discussion on the sources of this additional matter has shown that the first chapter is a compilation from older versus memoriales, which certainly contained portions and possibly even the whole of both accounts, it becomes inconclusive. The contradictory verses may either have been strung together, as Medhâtithi seems to suggest², merely because they really are or were considered paraphrases of Vedic passages, or they may have been reconciled with each other by one of those ingenious methods of interpretation of which the Indian schoolmen are such great masters.

As regards the second argument, the assertion of the Nārada-smṛiti³, that Manu composed a Dharmasāstra in 100,000 verses arranged in 1080 chapters, which was successively reduced by Nārada to 12,000, by Mārkaṇḍeya to 8,000, and by Bhrigu's son, Sumati, to 4,000 verses, is so circumstantial that, in spite of its obvious exaggerations, it might be considered to have a substratum of truth, and to be important for the history of Manu's law-book. Abridgments of larger works⁴ are in literature as common as expansions of shorter ones. Yet the only assertion in the above account, which we can test, is certainly not true, that Nārada's version of Manu's laws is more ancient than that by Sumati Bhārgava or Bhrigu. The actual position of the

¹ See also Dr. Johāntgen, *Über das Gesetzbuch des Manu*, p. 15.

² In his discussion on the aim of the first chapter Medhâtithi says (comm. on I, 6): - - - - निरतिशयैश्वर्यहेतुधर्माद्विपरीतश्चाधर्मः । तदूपापरिज्ञानार्थमिदं शास्त्रं महाप्रयोजनमध्येतव्यमित्यध्यायतात्यर्थम् । मूलं तत्र मन्त्रार्थवादाः सामान्यतो दृष्टं च । तथा च मन्त्रः । तत्र आसीदित्यादि ॥

³ See above, p. xvii; and Jolly, *Tagore Lectures*, p. 57.

⁴ The two versions of Nārada furnish an interesting instance; see Jolly, loc. cit. p. 57.

two works has been inverted. Nārada's Vyavahāramātrikā shows a far more advanced development of the judicial theories than Bhrigu's Samhitā, and contains matter which conclusively proves that it cannot date from an earlier time than the fourth or fifth century of our era¹. As this test fails, Nārada's statement cannot be used for the determination of the order in which the various versions of Manu's laws were composed. It becomes more probable that it has been framed, with a view to enhance the importance of the Nārada-smṛiti, on the model of such purely fictitious stories respecting the origin of the Dharma, as that given in the Mahābhārata XII, 59, 22, and 80 seqq., where we are told that Brahman, assisted by the gods, first produced a Dharmasāstra in 100,000 chapters, which was successively abridged by Samkara in 10,000, by Indra in 5,000, by Bṛhaspati in 3,000, and by Kāvya in 1,000 Adhyāyas. Against the genuineness of Nārada's story we may also adduce the Paurāṇik statement, according to which Manu's laws were remodelled first by Bhrigu, secondly by Nārada, thirdly by Bṛhaspati, and fourthly by Āngiras².

The third argument, drawn from the fact that the medieval Nibandhas and commentaries quote passages from a Bṛhat (great) and Vṛiddha (old) Manu, has still less value. Professor Jolly has of late asserted in his able discussion³ of the quotations from these works that they are later, not earlier, than the existing text of Manu, because some of their rules resemble the advanced teaching of Yāgyavalkya and Nārada, while others contradict our Manu on points where he holds archaic views. Moreover, a passage of Vṛiddha Manu, to which Professor Max Müller has first called attention⁴, possibly indicates an acquaintance with Greek astrology. I can only agree with Professor Jolly's conclusions, and add that a comparison of the quotations from Bṛhat and Vṛiddha Manu with Bhrigu's Samhitā produces the impression that both works—if indeed the titles refer

¹ West and Bühler, Digest, pp. 48–50, third edition; Jolly, Tagore Lectures, p. 56; Preface to the Translation of Nārada, pp. xv–xvii.

² Mandlik, the Vyavahāramayūkha and Yāgy., p. xlvi; Jolly, Tagore Lectures, p. 44.

³ Tagore Lectures, pp. 65–66.

⁴ India, what can it teach us? p. 366.

to two and not to one—must have been enlarged versions of the latter¹. As it thus appears that there existed recensions posterior to our *Manu-smṛiti*, the existence of untraceable or partly traceable quotations from *Manu's Dharmaśāstra* in *Asvaghosha's Vāgrasūki*² and from *Manu* in *Varāhamihira's Brīhat-saṃhitā*³ possesses no great significance. With respect to *Varāhamihira's* reference, it must be noted that, according to *Albīrūni's Indica*, two astrological *Samhitās*, called after *Manu*, existed in the eleventh century A.D., the smaller of which was an abridgment made by a perfectly well-known human author⁴. Hence *Varāhamihira* may have taken his verses on the character of women from the latter. In both quotations the *Slokas*, not found in our *Smṛiti*, have a very modern look. The case is, however, different with the quotations from *Manu*, which, as has been shown above, occur in the *Mahābhārata*. We have been compelled to admit that the existing text of our *Smṛiti* is younger than the epic. If, therefore, the law-book referred to in the latter is not the ancient *Dharma-sūtra*, we must also concede the existence of a secondary recension which preceded *Bhṛigu's Samhitā*. The solution of this question is, owing to the

¹ In order to enable the reader to form his own judgment on this point, I add a list of the quotations which I have noted. Those from *Brīhat Manu* occur, 1. Col. Dig. II, 3, 26; 2. Col. Dig. V, 428 = *Gī. Dāy.* XI, 6, 34; 3. *Datt. Mīm.* II, 8; 4. *May.* IV, 5, 53;—those from *Vṛiddha Manu*, 1. Col. Dig. III, 1, 69; 2. Col. Dig. III, 1, 83 = *May.* XI, 5 = *Viv. K'int.* p. 99; 3. Col. Dig. III, 1, 86 = *Viv. K'int.* p. 89; 4. Col. Dig. III, 1, 90 = *May.* XI, 5 = *Viv. K'int.* p. 100; 5. Col. Dig. III, 1, 93 = *Viv. K'int.* p. 103; 6. Col. Dig. V, 162 = *Viv. K'int.* p. 272 = *Varad.* p. 21 = *Gī. Dāy.* IX, 17 (where attrib. to *Brīhat M.*); 7. Col. Dig. V, 408 = *Smṛi. K'and.* XI, 1, 15 = *Sar. Vil.* 504 = *Varad.* pp. 33, 40 = *Vīram.* III, 1, 2 = *Gī. Dāy.* XI, 1, 7 and *Viv. K'int.* p. 289 (where attrib. to *Brīhat M.*); 8. *Mit.* II, 5, 6 = *Viv. K'int.* p. 289 and *Varad.* p. 37 (where attrib. to *Brīhat M.*) = *Sar. Vil.* 591 (where attrib. to *M.*); 9. *Viv. K'int.* pp. 126–7; 10. *Viv. K'int.* p. 180; 11. *Varad.* p. 50; 12. *Varad.* p. 28, where in reality *Manu IX*, 206 seems to be quoted.

² Weber, *Indische Streifen*, vol. i, pp. 190, 192, 198.

³ Kern, *Brīhat-saṃhitā*, chapter 74, vv. 7–15, and Preface, p. 43.

⁴ *Albīrūnī*, *Indica*, chapter xiv; see also Kern, loc. cit. p. 42, where the probability of the existence of a *Mānavī Samhitā* has been shown. *Albīrūnī* says that the title of the two works was *Mānasa* (*Mānavī*?), and that the shorter one had been composed by one *PNK'L*, a native of Southern India. I owe these notes to the kindness of Professor Sachau, the learned editor and translator of *Albīrūnī's* important work.

shortness of the extracts, very difficult. But, considering all things, I feel inclined to assume that the author or authors of the Mahābhārata knew only the Dharma-sūtra. The character of the four verses and a half, quoted verbally, as well as of the paraphrase in the Sakuntalopākhyāna agrees well enough with this assumption, because the Mānava Dharma-sūtra, as we have seen, certainly did contain numerous Slokas. It is further corroborated by the fact that the Mahābhārata does not differ in its arrangement, or rather in its want of an arrangement of the civil and criminal law, from the Dharma-sūtras. Though the epic contains numerous verses on these topics, it nowhere shows an acquaintance with the eighteen titles of the law which are so characteristic of the secondary Smṛitis, the hand-books of the special law schools. On the other side it may be urged that the Mahābhārata says nothing of Dharma-sūtras, and that its general view of the origin of the sacred law coincides with that expressed in the later law-books. It holds that the moral and legal doctrines were revealed for the benefit of the human race, first by Brahman to various mythical Rishis, and by them to mankind. This objection may, however, be met by the not unreasonable assumption that at the time when the Mahābhārata was composed, the real origin of the old Sūtras had been forgotten, while the text had not yet been materially altered. What has been said above regarding the rise of the special law schools, and the facts known regarding the change in the tradition concerning the Sūtras of Gautama and Vasishṭha, make the hypothesis of such a transitional period not at all improbable. Should, nevertheless, the possibility of the existence of a metrical redaction of the Mānava-sūtra, preceding that ascribed to Bhṛigu, be considered as not altogether excluded, it would at least be necessary to concede that it could not have contained the present arrangement of the Vyavahāra portion under titles.

While there is thus no proof for the opinion that the modern portions of the Manu-smṛiti have been gradually added one to the other, or that the present text is one of

the last links in a long chain of metrical recensions, there are several points which tend to show that our *Manu-saṃhitā* is one of the first attempts at remodelling a Dharma-sūtra. The most important argument for its comparatively early date is furnished by the incompleteness and awkwardness of its rules on judicial procedure and on civil law¹. If we compare these rules with those of the Dharma-sūtras and with those of the other metrical *Smṛitis*, they are somewhat more explicit than the former, but very much inferior to the latter. As regards procedure, the *Manu-smṛiti* pays more attention to the moral side of the duties, incumbent on the judge and the other persons concerned, than to the technicalities, which are much more clearly and minutely described in the *Dharmasāstras* of *Yāgyavalkya* and *Nārada*. In this respect it comes close to the Dharma-sūtras, with which it particularly agrees in the absence of all mention of written plaints and of documentary evidence, as well as in the shortness of its remarks on ordeals. Among the ancient law-books the *Vāsishṭha Dharmasāstra* is the only one which has allusions to written documents, and names them, XVI, 10, 14-15, as one of the means of legal proof. In the other Dharma-sūtras there is no indication that their authors were acquainted with the art of writing. I have already pointed out in the Introduction to my translation of *Vasishṭha*² that most probably this omission has to be explained not by the assumption that in the times of Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Āpastamba writing was unknown or little used in India, but by the consideration that the general character of the Dharma-sūtras, which principally pay attention to the moral side of the law, does not require the introduction of matters belonging more properly to the customs of the country or to the *Arthasāstra*. Whatever may be thought of the prevalence of writing during the earlier times and of the value of my explanation, it may be regarded as perfectly certain that

¹ See on this subject and the following discussion, Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 279-281; Stenzler, *Yāgyavalkya*, pp. vii-x; *Journal of the German Or. Soc.* vol. ix, on the Indian Ordeals; and Jolly, *Tagore Lectures*, pp. 45-49.

² *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xvi, p. xxvi.

Bhrigu's Manu-saṃhitā belongs to a period when the art of writing was known and generally practised. For, first, we find two clear references to written documents, 'what has been caused to be written by force' (lekhitā, VIII, 168) and royal edicts (śāsana, IX, 232). Secondly, we have the expression nibandh, 'to record,' in a passage (VIII, 255) where the context leaves no doubt that a written entry is referred to. When it is said there, that in a boundary-dispute the king shall record the boundary, according to the unanimous declaration of the witnesses, together with their names, it is impossible to imagine how he can do so without drawing up a written document, which, of a necessity, must have legal force for the future. This use of the verb nibandh makes it further probable that Medhātithi is not altogether wrong, when he explains (VIII, 76) the compound anibaddha, 'a person not appointed (to be a witness to a transaction),' by 'a person not entered (as a witness in the document),' and refers the rule to cases of loans and other commercial transactions. Thirdly, there is the term karaṇa (VIII, 54 and 154), which, though less explicit, likewise points to the use of written bonds for loans. The former passage declares that 'a debt which is proved by karaṇa' (karaṇena vibhāvitam) must be paid, and the commentators explain karaṇa to mean 'written bonds, witnesses, and so forth.' Hence it has been rendered in the translation by 'good evidence.' Verse 154 prescribes that a debtor 'who, unable to pay a debt (at the fixed time), wishes to make a new contract, may renew (lit. change) the karaṇam (karaṇam parivartayet¹).' Two commentators, Kullūka and Rāghava, take the word here in the sense of 'a written bond,' while the older ones, Govinda, Nārāyaṇa, and probably also Medhātithi, explain it by 'bonds and so forth,' and make it include agreements before witnesses. From these explanations and the use of the word karaṇa in other legal works it would appear that karaṇa may also be cited as a witness for the acquaintance of our author with the art of writing. To the conclusion that writing must have been extensively used in business-

¹ Nandana's reading kāraṇam is clearly erroneous; see below, p. cxxiv.

dealings points, finally, the whole state of civilisation to which Manu's rules are adapted. The highly developed trade by land and by sea¹, on which ad valorem duties were imposed², the existence of official lists of prices which were renewed periodically³, the complicated system of calculations of interest, among which we find compound interest⁴, and the occurrence of mortgages⁵, would be impossible without written documents. These facts appear to me so eloquent that even though all the passages adduced above, which explicitly mention written documents, could be proved to be late interpolations, the general aspect of this question would remain unchanged. If, under these circumstances, Manu's rules on evidence contain nothing definite on the admissibility of documents, and if he agrees in this particular with the Dharma-sûtras and differs strongly from the Dharmasâstras of Yâgñavalkya and Nârada as well as other metrical Smṛitis, this omission gains a great importance for the historical position of the *Samhitâ*. Whether we explain it by an oversight of the editor or by the assumption that he left the determination of the value of written documents to custom or to another Sâstra, it shows that he was acquainted with the Dharma-sûtras alone or with Dharma-sûtras and such metrical Smṛitis as excluded the section on documents. As he certainly was an adherent of a special law school, and bent on making his work as complete as possible, he would not have omitted so important a point if he had known law-books like the Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti.

The omission of the details regarding ordeals is no less significant. Manu VIII, 109-116 describes only the administration of oaths more fully, and mentions the ordeals by fire and water in a cursory manner. Among the Dharma-sûtras there is only the Âpastambiya which (II, 29, 6) recommends the employment of divine proof (daiva) or ordeals in a general way without adding any particulars. The secondary law-books of Yâgñavalkya and Nârada describe five kinds of ordeals, and enter, the second more

¹ VIII, 156-157.² VII, 127-128; VIII, 348.³ VIII, 401-402.⁴ VIII, 139-142, 151-153.⁵ VIII, 165.

fully than the first, on descriptions of the manner in which they must be performed. Even the *Vishnu-smṛiti* agrees with them, and the fragments of the lost metrical *Smṛitis* show that most of the latter, too, contained sections resembling those of *Yāgñavalkya* and *Nārada*. It would be, in my opinion, a mistake to infer from the silence of *Gautama*, *Baudhāyana*, and *Vasishṭha* that in ancient times ordeals were unknown in India. Traces of such practices, which were formerly prevalent in various forms also among other Indo-European races, are found, as might be expected, even in Vedic works. If the authors of the *Dharma-sūtras* ignore them or just indicate their existence, the correct explanation of this fact, too, is that they considered the subject not important enough for giving details, and left it to custom. The authors of the secondary *Smṛitis*, as a matter of course, were anxious to fill up the blank left by their predecessors. But they probably did nothing more than bring the various local customs into a system which gradually was made more and more complete. Under these circumstances the fact that *Manu's* rules stand midway between those of the *Dharma-sūtras* and of the other metrical law-books is another argument for allotting the first place to his *Samhitā*. In the treatment of the civil and criminal law the inferiority of the *Manu-smṛiti* to the other *Dharmaśāstras* of the same class, even to *Yāgñavalkya's*, which contains a much smaller number of verses on *Vyavahāra*, manifests itself in various ways. In spite of the attempt at a scientific classification of the rules under certain heads, the arrangement of these sections is cumbrous and disorderly. Twice, at the end of the eighth and ninth chapters, we find collections of miscellaneous rules, which, as a comparison of the works of *Yāgñavalkya* and *Nārada* shows, might for the greater part have been easily fitted in to the one or the other of the eighteen titles. Under the single titles the rules are sometimes badly arranged. This is particularly visible in the chapter on inheritance, where, to mention only one most conspicuous instance of this want of care, the verse asserting the right of the mother and grandmother to take the estate of a predeceased son or grandson,

is placed so awkwardly that it is absolutely impossible to guess which place in the sequence of heirs the author meant to allot to them. As stated above, the verse most probably was inserted by the editor of the ancient Dharma-sûtra. If he had cared at all for order and intelligibility, he ought not to have contented himself with the enunciation of the maxim that these persons do inherit, but he ought to have indicated where the preceding close series of heirs has to be broken in order to admit them. Very significant, too, are the constant mingling of moral exhortations with the legal rules and the occasional recommendation of quaint judicial devices which are common in the earlier stages of the development of the law. Though the duty of kings to protect their subjects and to restrain the wicked has been fully explained in the seventh chapter, yet in the sections on theft (VIII, 302-311), on violence (VIII, 343-347), and on adultery (VIII, 386-387), the author expatiates again and again on the necessity of eradicating such offences. In the second case the specific rules, providing for the punishment of sâhasa crimes, are left out, the omission being repaired at the end of the ninth chapter. Both Yâgñavalkya and Nârada think it unnecessary to recur to the moral obligations of the king after pointing them out once. Both refrain also from mentioning the curious expedient which Manu recommends (VIII, 182-184) for the decision of doubtful disputes regarding deposits. Another important point is that Manu's rules on some titles are exceedingly incomplete, and touch one particular case only, from which it is not always easy to deduce the general principle. Thus, in treating of the subtraction or resumption of gifts, Manu (VIII, 212-213) confines his remarks to pious gifts which are not applied in the manner stipulated. Yâgñavalkya (II, 175-177) gives under this head at least some general principles, showing what is required for the validity of gifts; while Nârada¹ offers a fairly full and systematic treatment of the whole law of gifts. A similarly gradual development is visible under other heads, especially concerns among

¹ Professor Jolly's Translation, pp. 59-60.

partners and rescission of sale and purchase, the rules under which latter head Manu gives partly in their proper place and partly among the miscellaneous precepts at the end of the eighth chapter. A third point, finally, which deserves to be noted here, is the fact that legal definitions are almost entirely wanting in the Manu-smṛiti, become more frequent in Yāgñavalkya's work, and are regularly given by Nārada, as well as that many single rules which are common to Manu and Yāgñavalkya, or to Manu, Yāgñavalkya, and Nārada, are framed in the latter works with much greater precision than in the former¹. The inferiority of the Manu-smṛiti in all these points can only be explained by the assumption that it was composed at a time when the systematic treatment of the law had been begun, but had not reached a high state of perfection, while the superiority of the other metrical Smṛitis permits us to infer that they belong to a much later period when the special law schools had made a considerable progress in the elaboration of their theories. This argument is, it seems to me, the strongest which can be brought forward as a firm basis for the universally prevalent belief of all European and Indian Sanskritists in the priority of our Manu to all other known secondary law-books. For wherever we are able to trace larger portions of the history of a special Brāhmanical science, as e.g. in the case of grammar, we find that the later authors, though belonging to different schools and creeds, and though differing in the actual doctrines, invariably avail themselves of the method of their predecessors, developing and refining it more and more. Retrogressive steps, examples of which seem to occur in the handbooks of the Vedic schools², have hitherto not been found³. All

¹ Compare e. g. the rules regarding lawful interest, Manu VIII, 140-142, and Yāgñ. II, 34.

² Compare e. g. the case of the Gautamīya and Baudhāyanīya Dharma-sūtras, where the second and later work is inferior in method to the earlier one.

³ Should it be objected that the Vishnu-smṛiti, though certainly younger than Manu's and Yāgñavalkya's Dharmaśāstras, is deficient in a systematic arrangement of the rules on civil and criminal law, the answer would be that the editor of this work appears to have been a Vaishṇava sectarian, not an adherent of a school which made the law its special object of study.

the other arguments which have been or can be adduced to prove the antiquity of our *Manu-smṛiti* are less conclusive. If it has been said that this work contains some very archaic doctrines¹ which are not found in the other secondary law-books, that is perfectly true. But the inference regarding its age becomes doubtful, because on other subjects *Manu* is ahead of the other *Smṛitis*², and because in general the development of the actual doctrines seems to have been not quite steady and continuous. Still more precarious are the arguments, based on the language of the *Manu-smṛiti*, on its not mentioning the Greek astrology or Greek coinage and similar points. As we have to deal with a recast of a very ancient book, and as its editor has utilised a good many ancient verses in compiling his recension, it is only to be expected that a number of archaic forms and phrases should be found. But it is evident that they prove nothing with respect to the period when the compilation was made, because it is impossible to decide in each case to which of its component parts the archaism belongs. As regards the remaining argumenta a silentio, they are equally inconclusive. Even if we grant, for argument's sake, the correctness of the assertion that our *Manu* contains no allusion to the Greek order of the planets, to the zodiac, to judicial astrology, and to Greek or Scythian *dīnāras*, *drammas*, and *nānakas*, while all the other secondary law-books mention one or the other of these foreign importations, the omission may be purely accidental. These and similar points can be used for no other purpose than to show that there is nothing in *Manu's* text that compels us to place it in or after the period between 300–500 A.D., during which Greek influence made itself strongly felt in India. They possess

¹ One of the clearest instances of this kind is *Manu's* doctrine with regard to the succession of females to the estate of males, where the exclusion of the wife agrees with the teaching of the *Dharma-sūtras* (Jolly, *Tagore Lectures*, p. 48). The assertion of Professor Hopkins (*Castes according to the M. Dh.* p. 108 seqq.), that the prerogatives of *Brāhmaṇas* are greater according to *Yāgñ.* than according to *Manu*, seems to me erroneous, and chiefly based on an inadmissible interpretation of some passages of *Manu*. In my opinion the mutual relations of the castes, as described in the two law-books, cannot be used to prove a priority of the one to the other.

² E. g. in the doctrine concerning the *Niyoga*.

a certain importance only as auxiliaries to the chief argument derived from the imperfect development of the method or formal treatment of the law. But considering all that has been said in the preceding discussion, it is, I think, not too much to say that there is no obstacle against, and some reason for, our accepting as true the assertion, which is made in the *Manu-smṛiti* itself and supported by the tradition preserved in the *Skanda-purāṇa*, that *Bhrigu's*¹ *Samhitā* is the first and most ancient recast of a *Dharmasāstra* attributed to *Manu*, which latter, owing to the facts pointed out in the first part of this Introduction, must be identified with the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*. Though this recast must be considered the work of one hand, the possibility that single verses may have been added later or altered, is of course not excluded. A perfectly intact preservation of an Indian work which has been much studied, is *a priori* improbable, and the divergence of the commentators with respect to certain verses shows that some of those contained in our text were suspected by the one or the other of them. But the number of *Slokas* with regard to which real doubts can be entertained is comparatively small, and hardly amounts to more than a dozen².

The above discussion has also to a certain extent defined the relative position of our *Manu-smṛiti* in *Brāhmanical* literature, and has thus opened the way for the consideration of the last remaining problem, the question when the conversion of the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra* into a metrical law-book

¹ A clear and definite explanation of the question why the Hindu tradition ascribes the promulgation of *Manu's* laws to *Bhrigu* has hitherto not been traced. *Bhrigu's* only connexion with *Manu* is that mentioned in the text, according to which he is one of the mind-born sons or creatures of the father of mankind. This version of the legend of his origin is, however, by no means common. In the *Mahābhārata* XII, 182-192, we find 'a condensed *Dharmasāstra*,' which is said to have been revealed by *Bhrigu* to *Bharadvāja*. It includes an account of the creation, but makes no mention of *Manu*. As *Bhrigu* appears also elsewhere as the author of a *Dharmasāstra*, it is just possible that the legend may be based on *Bhrigu's* fame as a legislator and as the offspring of *Manu*.

² Many more verses are left out partly in *Medhātithi's* *Bhāṣya* and partly in *Nandana's* commentary. But see below, pp. cxxvi and cxxv, where it has been shown that omissions in the accessible MSS. of these two works alone do not mean much.

may have taken place. The terminus a quo which has been gained for the composition of Bhrigu's *Samhitā* is the age of the Mahābhārata, and the terminus ad quem the dates of the metrical *Smṛitis* of Yāgyñavalkya and Nārada. Though we are at present not in a position to assert anything positive regarding the period when the Mahābhārata and especially its twelfth and thirteenth Parvans were written, and though the date of Yāgyñavalkya's *Dharmasāstra* is very doubtful, yet some facts known regarding the Nārada-smṛiti are not without importance for framing our answer to the difficult question now proposed. Both Professor Jolly and myself¹ have lately discussed the significance of the mention of golden *dināras* or *denarii* in the longer and more authentic version of Nārada and of the circumstance that Asahāya, a predecessor of Manu's earliest commentator, Medhātithi, explained it and have arrived at a very similar conclusion, viz. that the Nārada-smṛiti dates either shortly before or shortly after the middle of the first thousand years of our era. If that is so, Bhrigu's *Samhitā* must, in consideration of the arguments just stated, be placed not only earlier, but considerably earlier, and the assertion that it must have existed at least in the second century of our era is not unwarranted. This latter inference is also made inevitable by the discovery that we have to admit the former existence of very ancient commentaries, and of at least one ancient *Vārttika* or *Kārikā* which referred to the text of Manu, known to us. With respect to the commentaries, Medhātithi, the author of the *Manubhāṣhya*, is a most valuable and clear witness. This author, who probably wrote in the ninth century A.D.², very frequently quotes opinions and various readings, expressed or men-

¹ Jolly, *Tagore Lectures*, p. 56; West and Bühler, *Digest*, p. 48. To the arguments adduced there I would add that Bāṇa, the friend of Śrīharsha-Harshavardhana (606-7-648 A.D.), makes a pretty clear allusion to the Nārada's *Dharmasāstra* in the *Kādambarī*, p. 91, l. 13 (Peterson's edition), where he calls a royal palace *nāradyam ivāvarṇyamānārāgadharmam*, 'similar to the Nāradya (*Dharmasāstra*), because there the duties of kings were taught (by the conduct of the ruler) just as they are taught (in the law-book).'

² For the details, see below, pp. cxxi-cxxiii.

tioned by his predecessors, and shows by the number of the conflicting explanations which he sometimes adduces for a passage of the text, that in his time a very large number of commentaries on the *Manu-smṛiti* existed. Among the persons thus quoted, he designates some by the terms *Pūrva* and *Kīramtana*. *Pūrva*, which means both 'former' and 'ancient,' is an ambiguous word. It can be applied to all persons who wrote before the author, though it frequently is used in speaking of those who lived centuries ago. *Kīramtana*, 'long previous or ancient,' is much stronger, and, according to the usage of Indian authors, denotes a predecessor belonging to a remote antiquity. As *Medhātithi*, writing in the ninth century, knew of commentaries to which he was compelled to assign a remote antiquity, it is only a moderate estimate if we assume that the earliest among them were in his time from three to four hundred years old. But if in the sixth or even in the fifth century A.D. glosses on our text existed, its composition must go back to much earlier times. For the widely divergent and frequently very questionable explanations of the more difficult passages, which *Medhātithi* adduces from his predecessors, indicate that even the earliest among them were separated by a considerable interval from the compiler of the *Manu-saṃhitā*, an interval so great that the real meaning of the text had been forgotten.

The merit of the discovery that one of the lost metrical *Dharmasāstras*, the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti*, was a *Vārttika* on our text of *Manu*, belongs to Professor Jolly, whose careful investigation of the fragments of the lost law-books, contained in the modern Digests, has contributed very materially to the elucidation of a difficult chapter in the history of Indian legal literature. He shows¹ that *Bṛihaspati* not only allots to *Manu's Smṛiti* the first place among all law-books, but that he explains, amplifies, and occasionally corrects its rules on various portions of the *Vyavahāra*. The particulars from *Manu* which *Bṛihaspati* mentions are such as to leave no doubt that the text which he knew in

¹ Tagore Lectures, pp. 60-62; see also above, p. xvi.

no way differed from that known to us. He explains, as Professor Jolly points out, the curious terms, used Manu VIII, 49, for the various modes by which a creditor may recover a debt, as well as the expression *asvâmin*, which occurs in the title of law, called *Asvâmivikraya*. He further mentions that Manu IX, 57-68 first teaches and afterwards forbids the practice of *Niyoga*, and gives, as it seems to me¹, the correct explanation of this contradiction. He also notes that Manu IX, 221-228 forbids gambling, which other writers on law permit under due supervision, and he corrects Manu's rules regarding the indivisibility of clothes and other objects enumerated IX, 219. An apparent contradiction in *Brîhaspati*'s rules with respect to subsidiary sons² proves that he knew and accepted Manu's teaching on this subject. He declares that the substitutes for a legitimate son of the body are forbidden in the *Kaliyuga*, and yet admits the rights of a *Putrikâ* or appointed daughter, who mostly is reckoned among the substitutes. This difficulty is easily solved, if it is borne in mind that Manu, differing from the other ancient law-books, does not reckon the *Putrikâ* among the subsidiary sons. He separates her, IX, 127-140, from the *Gauṇa Putras*, IX, 158-181, and strongly insists on her rights, while he restricts those of the others very much. The list of instances where *Brîhaspati* alludes to, annotates, or amplifies rules of Manu might, I think, be enlarged still further, and it seems to me that a comparison of those verses of his, which Colebrooke's *Digest* contains, with Manu gives one the impression that *Brîhaspati*'s work is throughout a revised and enlarged edition of the *Bhrigu-saṃhitâ*, or, to use the Indian expression, a *Manuvârttika* or *Manukârikâ*. Professor Jolly, finally, has pointed out that this evidence concerning the relation between Manu and *Brîhaspati* agrees with and gives some weight to the tradition preserved in the *Skanda-purâna*, according to which *Brîhaspati* composed the third of the four versions of Manu's *Dharmaśāstra*. The age of the *Brîhaspati-smṛiti*

¹ See also above, p. xciv.

² Jolly, *Tagore Lectures*, p. 158.

is circumscribed by its definition of the value of golden *dinâras*, and by the quotations from it which occur already in the oldest commentaries and *Nibandhas* from the ninth century A.D. downwards. Since the latter period it has been considered as a work of divine origin, revealed by the teacher of the gods. Hence Professor Jolly's supposition, that it must have existed some two or three hundred years earlier, places it not too early, but, in my opinion, rather too late. But even if the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti* dates only about 600 A.D., its statements regarding the high authority of Manu's teaching show that our version of the latter must have preceded it by many centuries.

The three points just discussed are, in my opinion, the only ones that are really useful for fixing the lower date of our *Manu-smṛiti*. All the other facts known to me which bear on the question are made valueless by flaws of one kind or the other. Thus if we find that another metrical *Dharmasâstra*, the *Kâtyâyana-smṛiti*, which probably belongs to the same period as the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti*, repeatedly quotes doctrines of Manu or *Bhrigu* found in our text, it is nevertheless not permissible to assume confidently with Kullûka on *Manu* VIII, 350¹, that its author knew and explained our text. For, as Professor Jolly has shown², there are other cases in which the teaching attributed by *Kâtyâyana* to *Bhrigu* or Manu differs from the opinion advanced in our *Smṛiti*. It is, of course, possible that the author, who assumes the name of *Kâtyâyana*, may have made a slip, or may have known several *Manu-smṛitis* or *Bhrigu-smṛitis*, and have referred in different places to different works. But, making every allowance for such possibilities, it cannot be said that his references furnish a really conclusive argument. Again, it has been pointed out³ that the author of the *Bhaviṣya-purâna* has largely drawn on the first three chapters of our *Manu*, whom he also names, and nobody who carefully compares the two

¹ कात्यायनश्च भृगुशब्दोल्लेखेन मनूकं श्लोकं व्यक्तं व्याख्यातवान् ॥

² Tagore Lectures, p. 62, ll. 22 and 24, *Bṛihaspati* has been printed twice by mistake for *Kâtyâyana*.

³ Professor Aufrecht's Catal. Sansk. MSS. Bodl. Libr. p. 30.

texts can have any doubt who the borrower is, as the *Purāṇa* regularly substitutes easy readings for difficult ones, and adds numerous explanatory verses. Besides, *Nārāyaṇa*, as well as Kullūka¹, quotes verses of the *Bhaviṣhya-purāṇa* from a section on penances not found in the accessible MSS., which likewise are clearly intended to explain the text of our *Samhitā*. All this is however useless, as for the present it is impossible to determine the date of the *Purāṇa* even approximatively. Professor H. H. Wilson², who has a very mean opinion of the book, declares that it cannot lay claim to a high antiquity, and seems to consider it a production of the ninth or tenth century A.D. Professor Aufrecht's discovery³ that the *Matsya-purāṇa*, which mentions a *Bhaviṣhya-purāṇa* in 14,500 verses, contains actually several sections which have been borrowed from the portions of the latter work preserved in the MSS., makes Professor Wilson's estimate improbable. For the *Matsya-purāṇa* was considered a canonical work about the year 1000 A. D., and used by Albîrûnî for his work on India⁴. Though it, therefore, becomes probable that the *Bhaviṣhya-purāṇa* is much older than Professor Wilson was inclined to assume, the data thus gained are much too vague for inferences regarding the age of our *Manu-smṛiti*.

Equally unsatisfactory are the results which an examination of the quotations from the *Manu-smṛiti*, found in various Sanskrit works, yields us. Perfectly indisputable quotations are not very common, and they occur mostly in works of comparatively recent date, e. g. in the *Yasastilaka* of the *Digambara-Gaina* poet Somadeva, 959 A. D.⁵, in *Śaṅkarācārya's Sâṁkhya-bhâṣya*, 804 A. D.⁶, and in *Kṣhî-*

¹ See e. g. his remarks on *Manu* XI, 101, and *Nārāyaṇa's* on XI, 131.

² *Vishṇu-purāṇa*, vol. i, pp. lxii-lxiv, and Renaud, *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 396.

³ *Catalogue*, p. 43.

⁴ I owe the knowledge of this fact also to the kindness of Professor Sachau.

⁵ See Professor Peterson's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS., 1883-84, pp. 42-43.

⁶ Deussen, *Vedānta*, p. 36. With respect to the date of *Śaṅkarācārya's* work, I follow the Hindu tradition, which places the birth of the author in 788 A. D. According to the statement of the late *Yāgyavalkya Sâstrî*, with whom I discussed the passages which he adduces in the *Āryavidyāsudhâkara*, p. 226, the sampra-

rasvâmin's Amarakoshodghâṭana¹. Other cases, where we find verses from the Manu-saṃhitâ quoted in ancient works, are made inconclusive by the vagueness of the reference or by the circumstance that the same passages occur also in other works. Thus we find Manu VIII, 416, with a slight verbal difference at the end of the first line², in the Sabara-bhâṣhya on Mîm. Sû. VI, 1, 12. Though the exact date of the latter work is uncertain, we know that it preceded Kumârilabhata's Tantravârttika, and its style, which closely resembles that of Patañjali's Mahâbhâṣhya, makes it probable that its author lived not much later than the beginning of our era. Hence its testimony would be of the greatest interest, provided it were perfectly clear. Unfortunately the Bhâṣhya introduces the verse merely by the words *evam ka smarati*, 'and thus he records or states in the Smṛiti,' without specifying the author. As the doctrine of the verse which declares a wife, a son, and a slave to be incapable of holding and acquiring property is found, though expressed differently, also in the Nârada-smṛiti, Vivâdapada V, 39, it may be that Sabara took the passage from some other work than the Manu-smṛiti. Again, though Patañjali in the Vyākaraṇamahâbhâṣhya on Pāṇini VI, 1, 84 adduces Manu II, 120 without any variant³, it would be extremely hazardous to conclude that he quotes from our text of Manu. For the Mahâbhârata (XIII, 104, 64^b–65^a) has exactly the same words.

dâya, referred to in his work, is that of Śrîṅgeri, where also documentary evidence for its correctness is said to exist. Hence I hesitate to accept Mr. Telang's conclusions, who places Saṅkara in the latter half of the sixth century, Mudrârâkshasa, Appendix, and Ind. Ant. vol. xiii, p. 95 seqq.

¹ Aufrecht, Journal of the Germ. Or. Soc. vol. xxviii, p. 107. The date of this author, who used to be identified with the teacher of Gayâpîḍa of Kaśmir (779–813 A. D.), seems, according to the latest researches, more recent.

² See the edition in the Bibl. Ind. vol. i, p. 611: भावी दासश्च पुत्रश्च निर्धनाः सर्वे एव ते । यत्ने समधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्य तद्धनम् ॥ At the end of the first line Manu has त्रय एवाधनाः स्मृताः ॥

³ See vol. iii, p. 58 of Professor Kielhorn's edition. I may add that the same work on Pāṇini II, 3, 35 (vol. i, p. 457, Kielhorn) quotes another verse, the first line of which agrees with Manu IV, 151^a, while the second entirely differs. In this case, too, the Mahâbhârata XIII, 104, 82 has a version closely resembling that of Manu.

More important are some allusions to the laws of Manu found in several works of considerable antiquity, and in inscriptions. Taken by themselves they would, indeed, not prove much. But considered in conjunction with the results of the three chief arguments, they certainly furnish a confirmation of the latter. The clearest case, perhaps, occurs in the *Kirâtârguṇīya* of Bhâravi, a poet, whose fame on the evidence of the Aihole inscription was well established in 634 A. D., and who, therefore, cannot possibly have lived later than in the beginning of the sixth century, but may be considerably older. He makes (Kir. I, 9) Yudhishtira's spy say, 'He (Duryodhana), conquering the six (internal) foes, desiring to enter on the path, taught by Manu, that is difficult to tread, and casting off (all) sloth, since by day and by night he adheres to the (prescribed) division (of the royal duties), shows increased manly energy in accordance with the Nîti.' At first sight it might seem as if this passage contained nothing more than an expression of the ancient belief according to which Manu settled the duties of mankind, and among them also those of kings. But if we keep in mind the inferences made unavoidable by Medhâtithi's statements regarding the ancient commentaries and by the character of the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti*, it becomes more probable that Bhâravi alludes to the seventh chapter of Bhṛigu's version of the *Manu-smṛiti*, which declares *vinaya*, humility or self-conquest, i. e. the conquest of the six internal foes, to be one of the chief qualities requisite for a king, and which carefully and minutely describes the employment of each watch of the day and the night. Other much less explicit allusions occur in the land-grants. It will suffice to adduce those found in the commencement of the Valabhi inscriptions of Dhruvasena I, Guhasena, and Dharasena II, to which I have called attention some time ago¹. The oldest of them is dated *Samvat* 207, i. e. not later than 526 A. D.² There it is said in the description

¹ See West and Bühler, *Digest*, p. 46, and for the inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, vols. iv, p. 104; v, 28; vi, 11; vii, 67, 69, 71; viii, 302. For other passages, see Hopkins, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xi, pp. 243-246.

² This is on the supposition that the era of the Valabhi plates began in 319 A. D., the latest date ever assigned to it.

of Dronasimha, the first Mahârâga of Valabhî and the immediate predecessor of Dhruvasena I, that 'like Dharmarâga (Yudhishthira) he observed as his law the rules and ordinances taught by Manu and other (sages).' Strictly interpreted, the passage says nothing more than that in Dronasimha's times various law-books existed, one and the chief of which was attributed. But, considering what we know from other sources, it is not improbable that it refers to our *Samhitâ*, which is acknowledged by *Bṛihaspati* as the paramount authority. This is all I am able to bring forward in order to fix the lower limit of the *Manu-smṛiti*. But the facts stated are, I think, sufficient to permit the inference that the work, such as we know it, existed in the second century A. D.

For an answer to the question whether our *Manu-smṛiti* can go back to a higher antiquity, and how much older it may be, we have at present very scant data. Its posteriority to the twelfth and thirteenth Parvans of the *Mahâbhârata* teaches us, as already stated, nothing definite. But there is a passage in its tenth chapter, vv. 43-44, which has been frequently supposed to convey, and probably does contain, a hint regarding its lower limit. There the *Kâmbogas*, *Yavanas*, *Sakas*, and *Pahlavas* are enumerated among the races which, originally of *Kshatriya* descent, were degraded to the condition of *Sûdras* in consequence of their neglect of the *Brâhmanas*¹. As the *Yavanas* are named together with the *Kâmbogas* or *Kâbulis* exactly in the same manner as in the edicts of *Asoka*², it is highly probable that Greek subjects of *Alexander's* successors, and especially the *Bactrian Greeks*, are meant. This point, as well as the mention of the *Sakas*³ or *Scythians*, would

¹ The verse contains also the name of the *Kînas*, which formerly has been taken to be valuable as a chronological landmark. More modern researches have proved this view to be untenable; see A. von Gutschmid, *Journal of the German Or. Soc.* vol. xxxiv, pp. 202-208; Max Müller, *India, what can it teach us?* p. 131; *Rig-veda*, vol. iv, p. li.

² See e. g. the fifth rock-edict, where the *Yona-Kamboga-Gamdhâra* or *Gamdhâra* are mentioned as *Asoka's* neighbours, the most distant being placed first.

³ The earliest mention of the *Sakas* probably occurs in a *Vârttika* of *Kâtyâyana* on *Pân.* VI, 1, 94, where *sakandhu* is explained by *saka* + *andhu*. According to the traditional explanation the compound means 'the well of the *Saka* king.'

indicate that the Slokas could in no case have been written before the third century B. C. This limit would be still further and very considerably contracted if the mention of the Pahlavas were quite above suspicion, and if the deductions of my learned friend, Professor Nöldeke¹, regarding the age of this word were perfectly certain. Pahlava and its Iranian prototype Pahlav are, according to the concurrent testimony of the most distinguished Orientalists, corruptions of Parthava, the indigenous name of the Parthians². Relying on the fact that the change of the Iranian *th* to *h* is first traceable in the name Meherdates, mentioned by Tacitus, and in the word Miïro, i. e. Mihira, on the coins of Kanishka or Kanerki³, Professor Nöldeke concludes that the form Pahlav cannot have originated among the Iranians earlier than in the first century A. D., and that it cannot have been introduced into India before the second century of our era. If this inference were unassailable, the remoter limit of the Manu-smṛiti would fall together with its lower one. But, with all due deference to the weight of Professor Nöldeke's name, I must confess that it appears to me very hazardous. For, first, the foundations of his theory are very narrow: secondly, one of his own facts is not quite in harmony with his assertions. However late we may place Kanishka, he cannot be later than the last quarter of the first century A. D. Kanishka was not a Parthian, and his coins probably were struck in the North of India. Hence it would appear that Iranian word-forms with the softening of *th* to *h* were known in India towards the end of the first century. Moreover, the word Pahlava occurs in the Girnâr inscription of Rudradâman⁴, which was incised shortly before the year 72 of the era of the Western Kshatrapas. This era, as has been long ago conjectured, and is now incontestably proved by Mr. Fleet's important discoveries, is

¹ Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 187-8, note 201^a.

² Olshausen, *Parthava und Pahlav, Mâda und Mâh* (*Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1877), and Nöldeke, *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, vol. xxxi, p. 557.

³ Sallet, *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Gr.* p. 197.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* vol. vii, p. 261. Rudradâman's lieutenant at Girnâr was the Pahlava Kulaipa (Khorai?), son of Suvirâkha.

the so-called Vikramasamvat or, more correctly, the Samvat of the Málaveras, the lords of Málava, which began in 57 B. C. Rudradâman's inscription consequently dates from the year 21-22 A. D., and it is thus certain that the word Pahlava was used in India at the beginning of the first century A. D. These circumstances make it impossible to accept Professor Nöldeke's inferences from the occurrence of the softened Iranian forms. But the mere mention of the Pahlavas would show that Manu's verse cannot have been composed before the beginning of the first century B. C. The Parthian dynasty of the Arsacides was founded in the middle of the third century B. C., and its sixth ruler, Mithradates I, according to some classical authors, invaded India about the middle of the second century¹. Coins of an Arsaces Theos and of an Arsaces Dikaïos, who uses also the Prakrit language and the North-Indian alphabet, have been found in the Panjâb, and belong to the same or a little later times². As the Brâhmanas are ever ready to give foreign nations, with which they come into contact, a place in their ethnological system, it is quite possible that about the beginning of the first century B. C. an Indian origin might have been invented for the Pahlavas. But even this reduction of the remoter limit of the Manu-smṛiti is, in my opinion, not quite safe. For though the evidence for the genuineness of Manu X, 43-44 is as complete as possible, and though the varia lectio for Pahlava, which Govinda offers, probably deserves no credit³, there is yet a circumstance which raises a suspicion against the latter reading. Parallel passages, closely resembling Manu's two verses, are found in the Mahâbhârata XIII, 33, 21-23^a and XIII, 35, 17-18, where the names of the degraded Kshatriya races are likewise enumerated, and the cause of their degradation is stated

¹ Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, II², 334.

² Sallet, Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Gr. pp. 51, 156-157.

³ The commentators and MSS. all give the two verses. If some MSS. of Medhâtithi read Pahnava for Pahlava, that is a clerical mistake caused by the similarity of the subscribed Devanâgarî la and na. Govinda's var. lect. Pallava is improbable, because the other races mentioned in the second line of verse 44 all belong to the North of India, while the Pallavas are, as far as we know, confined to the South.

in exactly the same or similar words. Both passages name the Yavanas, and one also the Sakas. But neither mentions the Pahlavas. Hence it becomes doubtful if the original version of these Slokas really did contain the latter name. It is further not impossible that its insertion is not due to the first remodeller of the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*, but has crept in later **accidentally, in the** place of some other name. The Indian *Pandits* are **not strong** in ethnology and history, and habitually careless with respect to the names of peoples and countries, which they frequently alter, or substitute in their works one for the other. I have, therefore, not the courage to reduce the terminus a quo by more than a hundred years on the strength of this single word, which occurs in a verse that evidently has had originally a different form. I think it safer to rely more on the mention of the Yavanas, Kāmbogas, and Sakas, and to fix the remoter limit of the work about the beginning of the second century A. D., or somewhat earlier.

This estimate of the age of the *Bṛigu Samhitā*, according to which it certainly existed in the second century A. D., and seems to have been composed between that date and the second century B. C., agrees very closely with the views of Professor Cowell¹ and Mr. Talboys Wheeler². It differs considerably from that lately expressed by Professor Max Müller, who considers our *Manu* to be later than the fourth century³, apparently because a passage quoted from *Vṛiddha Manu*, which he takes to be a predecessor of our *Samhitā*, mentions the twelve signs of the zodiac. I do not think that it has been proved that every work which enumerates the *râsis* must be later than the period when Ptolemy's astronomy and astrology were introduced into India. But irrespective of this objection, Professor Max Müller's opinion seems to me untenable, because, according to Professor Jolly's and my own researches⁴, the *Vṛiddha* or *Bṛihat Manu*, quoted in the digests and commentaries, is not earlier, but later than *Bṛigu's Samhitā*. Whatever may be thought

¹ Elphinstone, *History of India*, p. 249 (edition of 1874).

² *History of India*, vol. ii, p. 422.

³ *India, what can it teach us?* p. 366.

⁴ See above, p. xcvi.

of the details of my inferences and conclusions, I believe that the rudimentary state of the legal theories in our *Samhitâ*, as compared with *Yâgñavalkya* and *Nârada* (fourth or fifth century A. D.), the fact that the *Bṛhaspati-smṛiti* of the sixth or seventh century A. D. was a *Vārttika* on our text, and the assertion of *Medhâtithi*, that he knew in the ninth century commentaries belonging to a remote antiquity, force us to place it considerably before the term mentioned by Professor Max Müller.

III.

It now remains to give an account of the materials on which my translation is based, and of the manner in which they have been used. Among Sanskrit works the commentaries of *Medhâtithi*, *Govindarâga*, *Sarvagñā-Nârâyana*, *Kullûkabhaṭṭa*, *Râghavânanda*, and *Nandanâkârya*, as well as an anonymous *Tippaṇa*, contained in a Kasmîr MS. of the *Manu-samhitâ*, are the sources on which I have chiefly relied. Among the earlier translations, Sir William Jones' famous versio princeps and Professor J. Jolly's annotated German translation¹ of chapter VIII and chapter IX, 1-102 have been carefully used. Occasionally Mr. Loiseleur Deslongchamps' well-known edition of the text, the English translation of chapters I-III, 33 by *Târâkand Kakravartî* (*Kuckerbutty*)², and the *Mârâtî* translation of *Ganârdan Vâsudev Gurgar*³ have been consulted. Sir G. C. Haughton's edition and various Indian reprints of the text have been left aside, because they mostly repeat *Kullûka*'s readings or give *variae lectiones* for which no sufficient authority is shown.

Among the Sanskrit commentaries on the *Manu-smṛiti* the oldest extant is the voluminous *Manubhâshya* of *Bhaṭṭa*

¹ Published in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, vol. iii.

² I have used the copy of the India Office Library, 19-27, 17. The name of the author is given by Professor Goldstücker, *On the Deficiencies, &c.*, p. 5, note.

³ Published with the text of *Manu*, at the *Nirmayasâgar Press*, Bombay, 1877.

Medhâtithi, the son of Bhaṭṭa Virasvāmin. As its title, *bhāshya*, indicates, it is not a gloss which paraphrases every word of the text. Its aim is to show the general sense of Manu's dicta, to elucidate all really difficult passages, and to settle all doubtful points by a full discussion of the various possible interpretations, and of the opinions advanced by others. In carrying out this plan Medhâtithi displays a great amount of learning and not inconsiderable ability. He carefully uses a number of more ancient commentaries on Manu, and shows a full acquaintance with the *Sāstras* requisite for the successful explanation of his text, with Vedic literature, grammar, *Mīmāṃsā*, the *Dharma-sūtras*¹ and other *Smṛitis*, *Vedānta*, and the *Mahābhārata*. At the same time he avoids the common fault of Sanskrit commentators,—an undue copiousness in quotations which bear only remotely on the subject under consideration. Moreover, he frequently enhances the value of his explanations by illustrating Manu's rules by instances taken from every-day life, a point which most Hindu writers on law and on kindred subjects entirely neglect. Finally, he frequently takes up a much more independent position towards his author than the other commentators dare to assume. Thus he does not shrink from declaring that many verses are *arthavādas*, without legal force, and that many single words have been inserted merely *vṛttapûraṇārtham*, 'in order to make up the verse.' His chief weakness, on the other hand, which is not unfrequently observable, and which has drawn on him Kullûka's stricture² that he brings forward 'both valuable and valueless' remarks, consists in a disinclination to decide between conflicting interpretations and in his sometimes placing side

¹ Medhâtithi quotes the *Dharma-sūtras* in general, and Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, and Vasishṭha, as well as some other lost works, in particular. Among the lost *Dharma-sūtras* which he used, is a *Kātyāyanīya-sūtra*, quoted on Manu VIII, 215, which seems to have treated the civil law in detail, and probably is the original of the metrical *Kātyāyana-smṛiti*, from which the digests give so numerous extracts.

² See the concluding verses of Kullûka's commentary. Sir W. Jones' statement that Medhâtithi's work is reckoned 'prolix and unequal' (Preface to the Translation, p. xvii, St. Grady) is probably based on this remark of Kullûka.

by side, as equally admissible, widely divergent opinions. This vacillation is perhaps justified in a restricted number of passages, where the text is really ambiguous or very obscure. But more commonly it seems to be due solely to an excessive veneration for the views of his predecessors¹, whose commentaries, in part at least, possessed a high antiquity and a great reputation, or whom he had personal reasons to respect. On several occasions he mentions certain explanations as those of the Pûrvas or *Kīramtanās*, i. e. of the ancient commentators. Thus he remarks on Manu IV, 223, 'But the exposition given above is the view of the Ancients; hence it has also been given by us².' In another case, when explaining Manu IX, 141 and 147, he notes that his interpretation is that of upādhyāya, i. e. of his own teacher from whom he learnt the *Manu-saṃhitā*. Disagreeable as this want of decision may be to those who look to a commentary for a concise and authoritative explanation of its text, yet it is not without advantages. His copiousness in quoting the opinions of his predecessors makes his work extremely important for the student of the history of the *Manu-smṛiti* and of the Hindu law. The *Bhāṣya* clearly proves that Manu's text had been made for centuries an object of deep research, and that many of its verses had given rise to widely different interpretations. It shows, further, that a good many various readings existed. Finally, a comparison of the later still extant commentaries leaves no doubt that these in general are based on the *Manubhāṣya*, and that even their divergent opinions and readings are frequently derived from the earlier work. Under these circumstances the question of

¹ Though the opinions of 'others' are mentioned very frequently, and though sometimes those of three or four predecessors are contrasted, *Medhātithi* gives only once the name of an earlier commentator, Manu IX, 253, अथ यावती काचित्कालश्रुतिः सा सर्वार्थवाद इति कावर (?) [v. l. कार (?)] विष्णुस्वामी । यदत्र तत्त्वं तद्वर्जितमथस्तात् ॥ The name seems to be *Vishṇusvāmin*. But it is uncertain what the corrupt word, preceding it, may hide.

² यनु प्राग्व्याख्यातं तत्पूर्वेषां दर्शनमित्यस्माभिरपि वर्णितम् ॥ Compare also the remark on Manu V, 128, तत्र चिरंतनेष्व्याख्यातम् ॥

Medhâtithi's date acquires great importance. It is a matter of regret that in this, as in so many other cases, we do not possess any trustworthy historical information, but have to depend on such circumstantial evidence as can be collected from Medhâtithi's own quotations and from the quotations made by other authors from the Bhâshya. If we begin with the latter, the lower limit for the composition of Medhâtithi's work is fixed by Vigñânesvara's reference to his explanation of Manu IX, 118¹. Vigñânesvara wrote his commentary on Yâgyñavalkya in the reign of the Kâlukya king, Vikramâditya VI, who ruled at Kalyâna from Sakasamvat 997-1048, or 1073-1126-7 A.D.² The manner in which Vigñânesvara's reference is made, shows that in his times the Bhâshya possessed an established reputation. Hence it may be inferred that it was then not of recent date. To the same conclusion points also a passage in Kullûka's commentary on Manu VIII, 184³, where, in a remark on the arrangement of verses 181-184, Medhâtithi's name is placed before that of Bhogarâga. As in enumerating their predecessors the commentators usually adhere to the natural order, and place the oldest name first, it is very probable that Kullûka means to indicate that Medhâtithi preceded Bhogarâga. If, as again is most likely, the latter is identical with the royal polyhistor who reigned at Dhârâ during the first half of the eleventh century A. D., it follows that Medhâtithi cannot have written later than in the tenth century. With respect to the remoter limit for the composition of the Bhâshya, I have formerly stated⁴ that Medhâtithi quotes Kumârila and Saṅkarâçârya, the great authorities on Mīmāṃsâ and Vedânta. The former is mentioned by name in the remarks on Manu I, 3, and by his usual title Bhattachapâdâh,

¹ Colebrooke, Mit. I, 7, 13.

² See Journ. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc. vol. ix, pp. 134-138, and West and Bühler, Digest of Hindu Law, pp. 15-17, third edition.

³ यो निषेपमित्रादिह्योक्तचतुष्टयस्य चेदृश एव पाठकमो मेधातिथिभोजरादि-
भिर्निश्चितः ॥ See also Jolly, Tagore Lectures, p. 8.

⁴ West and Bühler, Digest, p. v, first edition.

'the venerable Bhaṭṭa,' in the commentary on Manu II, 18¹. As regards Saṅkarācārya, I find that Medhātithi's acquaintance with his writings is by no means as certain as I formerly thought. For in the passage where my own copy, a transcript of a *Puna* MS., makes Medhātithi quote the *Sârirakabhâshya*, the older and better MSS. of the India Office read *Sâriraka*, which probably implies a reference to the *Sâriraka-sûtras*². Under these circumstances it is no longer possible to assert that the *Bhâshya* is later than the works of the great Vedântist, who wrote in the beginning of the ninth century A. D. We have now only the quotations from Kumârila to fall back upon, whose date is much less certain. We know that Kumârila preceded Saṅkarācārya³, but the length of time which lies between them has hitherto not been exactly ascertained. Mr. Colebrooke, Dr. Burnell, and Professor Max Müller believe, for various reasons, that he lived in the seventh century or not later than 700 A. D.⁴ Though, as far as his quotations go, Medhātithi might have written earlier than the ninth century A. D., I still feel inclined to adhere to my former opinion. For a closer examination of the *Bhâshya* has revealed some other points which speak in favour of my view. Medhātithi repeatedly quotes the metrical law-books of Yâgñavalkya, Nârada, and Parâsara, as well as the version of the *Kâthaka* Dharma-sûtra, known as the *Vishnu-smṛiti*, and considers all as canonical. None of these works has, however, a claim to a high antiquity; and the *Vishnu-smṛiti*, in particular, which mentions the Greek name of a weekday, cannot be older than the fifth or sixth century A. D.

¹ I, 5, इति कुमारिलपक्षः ॥ II, 18, उक्तं च भट्टपादेः । विरुद्धा च विगीता च दृष्टाया दृष्टकारणे [जाः] । स्मृतिनै शुक्तिमूला ह्यास्या [स्याद्या] चैवा [वा] संभवश्रुतिः ॥

² Manu XII, 19, ननु च धर्माधर्मयोरिच्छां प्रति नियन्त्रित्वे [त्वं] ऐश्वर्यं हीयते । तथा दर्शितं शारीरके [v. l. of my MS. शारीरकभाष्ये] यथेह राजा सेवानुरूपं ददाति न च तस्येश्वरत्वमर्थेति । अतो महापरमात्मानौ पश्यत इति व्यपदिश्यते ॥

³ See Professor Cowell's note to Colebrooke's *Essays*, I, p. 323.

⁴ See Professor Max Müller, *India, what can it teach us?* p. 308, note.

If Medhâtithi, nevertheless, considers it to be an inspired work, revealed by the god Vishṇu, it is only reasonable to assume that a very considerable interval lies between the date of its composition and his own times. This is so much more probable, as the Vishṇu-smṛiti was probably written in Kasmîr, which, as will be shown presently, was also Medhâtithi's home. A more definite result with respect to Medhâtithi's date is, I fear, at present not obtainable. His references to other works, such as a Vākyapradîpa by one—rimisra¹, an Abhidhânakosha², Piṅgala's treatise on metrics³, a work of the ancient writer on Sâmkhya, Vindhyavâsin, and so forth, are, in the present state of our knowledge of the history of Sanskrit literature, not particularly useful. The Bhâshya furnishes, however, two interesting details regarding Medhâtithi's personal history. First, we hear that he wrote a metrical treatise on the sacred law, called Smṛitiviveka. Secondly, it appears that the valley of Kasmîr, which has produced so many Indian men of letters, was his native country. The Smṛitiviveka is mentioned repeatedly in the Bhâshya as a comprehensive work in which difficult legal questions were fully discussed⁴. As regards the other point, there is no direct statement in the Bhâshya which mentions Medhâtithi's birthplace. But the author refers so frequently to Kasmîr, its laws, its Vedic Sâkhâ, and even to its language, that the inference that it was his native country becomes unavoidable. Thus in explaining the word svarâshṭre, 'in his own kingdom' (Manu VII, 32), and the term ganapada, 'country or province' (Manu VIII, 41), he introduces the

¹ Manu XII, 118, प्रमाणात्तरमप्येकत्वप्रतिपादनपरत्वादेव ग्राहिणः प्रत्यक्षस्य-
रिमिश्रेः कृत एव क्लेशः । उक्तं च वाक्यप्रदीपे । न तदस्ति च तन्मास्तीत्यादि ॥
Professor Kielhorn informs me that the verse does not occur in Hari's Vākyapa-
dîya, which sometimes is called Vākyapradîpa.

² Manu IX, 185-6; the words quoted are, दायादं धनमिष्यते ॥

³ Manu IX, 42, यथोक्तं पिङ्गलेन । अत्रासिद्धिं [इ] गाथेति ॥ Piṅgala
VIII, 1; see Weber, Indische Studien, VIII, 147.

⁴ See e.g. comm. on II, 6, निपुणतश्चैव तन्निर्णीतमस्माभिः स्मृतिविषेके । and
ibidem, तदेतन्नेतन्तोस्माभिरुक्तम् । विसतरन् स्मृतिविषेके द्रष्टव्यः ॥

name of Kasmîr as an illustration¹. Again, in giving examples of royal monopolies in the remarks on Manu VIII, 399, he states correctly that the sale of saffron is a prerogative of the king of Kasmîr. Further, he repeatedly refers to the Kâthaka Sâkhâ of the Black Yagur-veda, which for a long time has been confined to Kasmîr alone; and, when trying to prove in the notes on Manu I, 58, that the Mânava Dharmasâstra may be called Manu's, though it was first taught by Hiranyagarbha, he adduces as an analogous instance the Kâthaka, which, though studied and taught by many others, is named after Kâtha. Such an illustration would hardly occur to anybody but a student of the Kâthaka Sâkhâ. Still more decisive, finally, is his remark in the commentary on Manu IV, 59, where he says that the rainbow is called in Kasmîr *vinakhâyâ*².

As regards the history of the text of Medhâtithi's commentary, Mr. Colebrooke states in the preface to the Digest, p. xv (Madras edition), that 'the Bhâshya' having been partly lost, has been completed by other hands at the court of Madanapâla, a prince of Dîgh. This assertion probably rests on the authority of a stanza in the Sârdûla-vikrîḍita measure, found in a number of copies at the end of a good many chapters, which says that 'the Bhâshya being mutilated, prince Madanapâla, the son of Sahâraṇa, brought a MS. from another country and made a *gîrnod-dhâra*, or restoration of the ruin, by causing copies to be taken from that'³. Considering the wording of the verse,

¹ VII, 22, *पितृपितामहादिक्कमागतो देशो व्यपदेशहेतुः । काश्मीरकस्य कश्मीराः पंचालानां पंचालाः ॥* VIII, 41, *कुरुकाशिकाश्मीरादिदेशनियमावधिर्जनपदः ॥*

² *इन्द्रायुषं शरधनुर्विनच्छायेति या कश्मीरेषु कथ्यते ॥* I must note that Professor Jolly, Tagore Lectures, p. 6, offers a different opinion, and takes Medhâtithi to be a southerner. His reasons—the termination *svâmin* in the name of Medhâtithi's father's name, *Vīrasvâmin*, and the attention paid by the ancient southern authors to the Bhâshya—do not seem to me sufficiently strong. For, as the Kasmirian name *Kshîrasvâmin* and scores of *Svâmins* in the northern inscriptions show, the title was, at least, formerly not confined to the south. Further, the intercourse between Kasmîr and southern India in the time of Bilhana and of Harshadeva accounts for the introduction of a Kasmirian work to the notice of the southern *Pandits*.

³ Professor Jolly states, Tagore Lectures, p. 7, that he has found the verse,

I can only agree with Professor Jolly (loc. cit.) that Madanapāla did not cause portions of the Bhāṣhya to be recomposed, but merely completed the defective MS. of his library from a copy purchased in some other part of India. The place where this *gṛnoddhāra* was made, was Kāshī/hā, near Delhi. For as the verse says that Madana was the son of Sahāraṇa, it is not doubtful that this person is identical with Madana or Madanapāla, the patron of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, who wrote the Subodhinī on the Mitāksharā and the Prayoga- or Madanapārigāta. Viśveśvara gives, in the introduction to the latter work, a portion of his patron's genealogy¹, and states that Madana belonged to the family of the chiefs of Kāshī/hā, and was the second son of one Sādhāraṇa. It is easy to see that in the verse quoted above the Prakritic form Sahāraṇa has been used instead of Sādhāraṇa for metrical reasons. This Madana has been identified by Mr. Colebrooke with the homonymous author of the Madanavinoda, which is dated in Vikramasamvat 1431 or 1375 A.D., and Mr. Sarvādhikāri² confirms this identification, by telling us that the Madanavinoda contains the same pedigree of Madana as the Pārigāta. Hence 'the restoration' of the Bhāṣhya must have occurred about five hundred years ago.

more or less correctly given, in seven old MSS. from various parts of India. In my opinion it should be read as follows: मान्या कापि मनुस्मृतिस्तदुचिता व्याख्या मेधातिथेः सा लुप्तेव विधिवशात्कचिदपि प्राप्यानयत्युस्तकम्। खोजीन्द्रो मदनः सहारणसुतो देशान्तरादाहृतं जीर्णोद्धारमचीकरोत्त इतस्तत्पुस्तकेर्लक्षिते ॥ I differ from Professor Jolly at the end of the second pāda, where he reads with a Benares MS. प्राप्यं न यत्युस्तकम्, and at the end of the third pāda, where he changes the reading of the MSS. आहृते or आहृतो to आहृतेः.

¹ Aufrecht, Cat. Sansk. MSS. of the Bodleian Library, p. 274.

² Tagore Lectures of 1880, p. 389. Mr. Sarvādhikāri wishes to read the date brahma (1) gāgāt (3) yuga (4) indu (1), (Māgha sudi 6, Monday,) as 1231. He thinks that yuga may also denote the figure 2, and that the reading Vikramasamvat 1231 is necessary, because the Pārigāta is quoted by Kāṇḍeśvara, who wrote in the thirteenth century. He is, however, mistaken, as the astronomical calculation shows that Māgha sudi 6 of Vikramasamvat 1431 did fall on a Monday (Jan. 8, 1375), while the same day in V. S. 1231 was a Thursday. The Pārigāta quoted by Kāṇḍeśvara must, therefore, be some other work on law. The title is a not uncommon one.

It would, however, seem that it either was not thorough, or that its effects were not lasting. For all the copies of Medhâtithi's commentary which I have seen or used are throughout more or less corrupt, and in some parts, especially in chapters VIII and IX, as well as at the end of chapter XII, in a desperate condition. The latter portion is in great confusion, some pieces being missing, and others being given twice over. In chapters VIII and IX many verses are left out, though it is evident from cross-references, or from remarks made by Kullûka, that they must have been explained by Medhâtithi. In the parts of the commentary still extant, the corruptions are often very bad, and the sense frequently doubtful or only to be made out conjecturally. Under these circumstances I believe that it would be unwise to attach too much weight to the omission of verses with respect to which the Bhâshya stands alone. Before we can attempt to come to a decision regarding the exact state of the Manu-smṛiti in Medhâtithi's times, we require, I think, better MSS. of his work. The officers in charge of the search for Sanskrit MSS. in India could render a very great service to the history of the Indian law, if they would direct their efforts to the acquisition of really good MSS. of the Bhâshya, and if thus a competent scholar were enabled to publish a trustworthy edition. The MSS. used for the notes to my translation are, my own apograph of chapters I-VI and X-XII, made in 1864 from a Puna MS., and the copies of the India Office Library, Nos. 934-935, 1407-1409, 1414, 1551-1552. All of them go back to one codex archetypus, derived from Madana's restored copy, and the best is that contained in the Indian Office Library, Nos. 1551-1552, which is dated Samvat 1648, mârgasīrsha sudi 3, somavāsare, or Monday, November 18, 1591 A.D.¹

Next, after the Manubhâshya, but probably at a considerable interval, follows the Manuśikâ of Govindarâga,

¹ For this and some other calculations of dates I have to thank Dr. Schram, Privat-Docent of astronomical chronology in the University of Vienna.

the son of *Bhaṭṭa Mādhava*. The exact date of this author is likewise not ascertainable. He is extremely reticent about himself and his predecessors, and quotes, with the exception of *Smṛitis*, not a single work on law except his own *Smṛiti-maṅgarī* or *Smṛiti-maṅgarīpāṅgikā*, a compilation of rules on penances¹, derived from various *Dharmaśāstras*. The remoter limit of his age can, however, be deduced from *Kullūka's* remarks on *Manu VIII*, 184, whence it appears that *Govindarāga* was later than *Bhoga* of *Dhârâ* (first half of the eleventh century). The lower limit is fixed by the mention of his name in *Gimûtavâhana's* *Dâyabhāga*² and in *Sûlapāni's* work on penances³. I can only agree with Professor Jolly, who thinks that he lived in the twelfth or thirteenth century⁴. The termination of *Govindarāga's* name has induced several scholars (see Jolly, loc. cit.) to assume that he was a prince, and it has been proposed to identify him with a *Govindakāṇḍa* of *Benares* or with a homonymous king of *Kānôg*. But the son of a *Bhaṭṭa* can only be a *Brāhmaṇa*, and it must not be forgotten that *Govindarāga* is the equivalent of *Govindrâo*, a name very common among the *Marāṭhâ Brāhmaṇas*.

The *Manuśikâ* is a very concise, but by no means obscure⁵

¹ Commentary on *Manu III*, 247 and 248; see also *Kullūka* on *Manu IV*, 212. A copy of this work, written at *Vasurâvī* in *Samvat* 1467, *ârvina badi* -- *sanau*, during the reign of *Mahârâna Udayasimha*, is preserved in the India Office Library, No. 1736. *Colebrooke* thought that the date had to be referred to the *Vikrama* era, and the editors of the series of facsimiles issued by the *Palaeographical Society*, No. III, have followed him. But it is not doubtful that the prince mentioned in the colophon is *Mahârâna Udayasimha* of *Mevâḍ*, who ascended the throne in 1541 A. D. Hence the date of the MS. refers to the *Saka* era, and corresponds to 1545 A. D. The *Smṛiti-maṅgarī* contains no quotations from other law-books than *Smṛitis*. The name of *Govindarāga's* father, *Bhaṭṭa Mādhava*, occurs frequently in the colophons of the several sections.

² *Colebrooke*, *Dây. XI*, 2, 31, where *Govinda's* name is also placed after *Bhogarāga's*.

³ *Aufrecht*, Cat. Sansk. MSS. of the Bodleian Library, p. 283^a.

⁴ Jolly, *Tagore Lectures*, p. 9.

⁵ 'Obscure' is the epithet applied to it by *Sir W. Jones*, Pref. to the trans. of *Manu*, p. xvii. (*St. Grady*). This estimate is probably derived from *Kullūka's* utterance in the concluding verses of his commentary, स्तोके वस्तु निगूढं मत्पुत्रवचनाद्भोविन्दराजो जगौ. It is only what might be expected from a plagiarist who bitterly hated the man whose work he wished to supersede.

verbal paraphrase of Manu's text. In the main it is an abstract of Medhâtithi's Bhâshya from which Govinda has appropriated whatever seemed to him most valuable. He has discarded the greater number of his predecessor's optional explanations, as well as his lengthy controversial disquisitions on difficult points of law, while he has greatly condensed others. He has added explanations of those words on which Medhâtithi does not comment, and he sometimes also puts forward opinions, not traceable in the earlier work, which may be either his own or derived from sources inaccessible to us. But in such cases he is occasionally unlucky, and arrives at results which his successor Kullûka ridicules, not without reason. Thus in his remarks on Manu III, 50, where the text says that a man who restricts conjugal intercourse to a minimum, is equal in chastity to a student 'in whichever order he may live,' Govinda takes the last words in too literal a sense and enunciates the, for a Hindu, monstrous doctrine that Manu intends to permit ascetics, whose children have all died, to return to conjugal life and to repair the loss which they have suffered. Some other strange errors have been pointed out by Professor Jolly in his Tagore Lectures, p. 9, note 1. These occasional eccentricities do not, however, seriously diminish the usefulness of the *Manuśikā*. It remains not only the earliest, but the best complete explanation of Manu's text. It frequently assists the student to find his way through the tangled forest of the Bhâshya, and it contains many valuable interpretations of words left unexplained by Medhâtithi. The MS. used for the notes is the unique copy, acquired by myself for the Government of Bombay (Deccan College Library, Coll. of 1879-1880, No. 239). It is in a very fair condition, and contains the whole text and the commentary, excepting that on IX, 71-336. It was written at Stambhatirtha or Cambay, probably about 250-300 years ago.

The chronological position of the next commentary on our list, Sarvagña-Nârâyana's Manvarthavivṛiti or Manvarthanibandha, is fixed, as Professor Jolly has first pointed out, by a passage in the introduction to Râghavânanda's

commentary¹. The latter author says there that 'he has taken cognisance of (the opinions) approved by Kullôka and Nârâyana, and of those entertained in their hearts by Govinda and Medhâtithi.' As it is evident that in the second group the later author has been placed first, the assumption that the same order has been observed with respect to the first pair, and that Râghavânanda, applying the principle of *uttarottaragariyastva*, i. e. naming the more important persons later, intends the whole series to be read backwards², is not unreasonable. In its favour speaks also the fact that Nârâyana quotes Govindarâga on Manu VIII, 123. In order to fix the date when Nârâyana wrote, we have to rely chiefly on some quotations. His opinions on law are first quoted by Kamalâkara, who wrote in the beginning of the seventeenth century³. But a Nâmanidhâna by Nârâyana Sarvagîa is mentioned by Râyamukûta in his commentary on the Amarakosha, which was composed in 1431 A.D.⁴ The only MS. of the Manvarthavivṛiti⁵ hitherto found (Deccan College Collection of 1879-1880, No. 238) bears at the end of Adhyâya VIII, the date Sam. 1544 kaitra badi 9 ravau, which corresponds to Sunday, March 27, 1497 A.D. Hence it follows that Nârâyana cannot have written later than in the last half of the fourteenth century. Possibly he may be somewhat older.

The Manvarthavivṛiti is not a running commentary which explains every word of the text. It confines itself to the elucidation of selected difficult passages and words. It was written with the avowed intention of undoing the work of the author's predecessors. At the end of chapters

¹ Jolly, Tagore Lectures, p. 11; the passage has been printed in Dr. Burnell's Tanjore Catalogue, p. 126.

² This manner of enumerating a series of persons or of arguments is also found occasionally in older Sanskrit works; see e.g. Vasishṭha XIII, 58.

³ Aufrecht, Catalogue Sansk. MSS. Bodl. Libr. p. 279.

⁴ See Professor Aufrecht's Analysis in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxviii, p. 114.

⁵ This MS., which has been used for the notes to the translation, is a very fair copy, containing the commentary alone. Fols. 1-8 have been half eaten by rats. Fols. 192-3 have been lost.

I, VI, and VIII we find a verse, apparently belonging to Nārāyaṇa, which says, 'This commentary of the Manu-smṛiti, composed by the illustrious Nārāyaṇa Sarvagña, thrusts far away the exposition given in contemptible compilations ¹.' Again, at the end of chapter IV we read, 'Direct your attention to the good words of Nārāyaṇa Sarvagña, which propound the real meaning of Manu and repel the exposition given in contemptible compilations ².' As might be expected from these utterances, Nārāyaṇa shows a great anxiety to find explanations differing from those of Medhātithi and Govinda. Sometimes he attains this aim by returning to views which Medhātithi mentions and rejects; but more frequently his explanations have been either taken from commentaries inaccessible to us, or represent opinions formed by him independently. All his peculiar interpretations deserve careful attention. In many cases they are decidedly preferable to those of the other commentators, and have therefore been not rarely followed in the translation. Nārāyaṇa seems to have been not only deeply versed in the sacred law, but to have possessed also a knowledge of various other Śāstras. As we learn from his commentary on Manu V, 56, 80, 104, XI, 72, he also wrote two other works on Dharma, a Kāmadhenudīpikā and a Suddhidīpikā. His Kosha has been mentioned above. Commentaries of his on parts of the Mahābhārata, e. g. on the Udyogaparvan, on the Svargārohanaparvan ³, and on the Sanatsugātiya, are still extant ⁴.

¹ श्रीनारायणसर्वज्ञकृता वृत्तिः मनुस्मृतेः । कुनिबन्धकृतव्याख्यानमियं दूरे निरस्यति ॥ Thus at the end of chapter I; in the other two passages the MS. has the faulty form निरस्यते.

² व्याहृतमनुतात्पर्यप्रतिहतकुनिबन्धदर्शितव्याख्याम् । नारायणस्य सूक्तिं सर्वज्ञस्यानुसंधत्त ॥ Three other boastful verses occur at the end, 1. of chapter III, श्रीनारायणसर्वज्ञवृत्तिसंदर्शितानयाः । मनुस्मृतिगिराचार्ये [१] मधिगच्छत सूरयः ॥ 2. of chapter V, श्रीनारायणसर्वज्ञनिर्मितां वीक्ष्य भारतीम् । धर्मस्य निर्णयं ब्रूत पदवाक्यसुनिश्चितम् ॥ 3. of chapter IX, श्रीनारायणसर्वज्ञोक्तं मन्वरेणिवन्धनम् । वीक्ष्य धर्मे त्वरा ब्रूत वे[दि]त्य सर्वे कृते [ता] कृतम् ॥

³ Weber, Berlin Catalogue, Nos. 304, 399; Aufrecht. Catalogue, Bodl. Libr. p. 2.

⁴ Telang, Sacred Books of the East, vol. viii, p. 148.

The fourth work on our list, the well-known Manvarthamuktâvali of Kullûkabhaṭṭa, the son of Divâkarabhaṭṭa, was considered until lately the most trustworthy guide for the exposition of Manu. In the introductory verses to his commentary Kullûka informs us that he was a Gauda or Bengali by birth, his father residing in Nandana in Varendrî¹, and that he wrote his work at Benares with the assistance of other *Pandîts*. As regards his times, we only know that Nârâyana Sarvagña and another commentator, Dharañidhara², stood between him and Govindarâga, and that Raghunandana, who wrote in the beginning of the sixteenth century, is the earliest author who quotes him³. He, therefore, lived probably in the fifteenth century.

The Manvarthamuktâvali is, as Professor Jolly has been the first to recognise⁴, little more than an improved edition of Govindarâga's *Manuṣikâ*. In spite of the asperity with which Kullûka repeatedly inveighs against his predecessor, he has not disdained to copy very large portions of the *Manuṣikâ*, sometimes verbatim and sometimes in very insufficient extracts, where the omissions make the meaning obscure. Moreover, even where the wording of the two commentaries differs, the influence of Govinda is distinctly visible. Under these circumstances the value of the *Muktâvali* is, since the recovery of the *Manuṣikâ*, not very great, though it is undeniable that in certain cases Kullûka's independent remarks or criticisms of the earlier works are useful. Its great fame in India and its frequent occurrence in the libraries of native lawyers in all parts of the Peninsula may be explained by the fact that it was written and approved at Benares, which town has, since remote times, been a most important literary centre and the chief source from which the *Pandîts* draw their supplies of books. For the notes I

¹ In the colophon of chapter XII, the place is called Vârendranandana. The district of Varendra lies between Dinâjpur and the Ganges, Cunningham, Arch. Reports, XV, Plate 1, and p. 40.

² See concluding verses at the end of chapter XII.

³ Aufrecht, loc. cit. p. 292.

⁴ Die Juristischen Abschnitte aus dem Gesetzbuche des Manu, p. 3, des Separatabdrucks; Tagore Lectures, p. 10.

have used no MSS. of the Muktāvali; but two editions, Gībānand's reprint of the earlier Calcutta edition¹ and the Bombay lithographed edition of Sakasamvat 1780. The latter is by far the better one, but leaves, like all other editions which I have seen, much to desire from a critical point of view. There are a good many passages in which the text does not agree with the commentary.

On the Manvarthamuktāvali rests the Manvarthakāndrikā, written by Rāghavānanda Sarasvatī, an ascetic of Saṅkarākārya's school², and a pupil of one Viśvesvarabhagavatpāda. Though the author asserts, as stated above, that he used four older commentaries, he mostly adheres to Kullūka's opinions. It is only rarely that he prefers Nārāyaṇa's interpretations or recurs to views of Govindarāga and Medhātithi, which Kullūka refuted or left unnoticed. His exposition of the philosophical portions of the text is, however, mostly independent, and he interprets them throughout in such a manner as to agree with the Vedānta doctrines of his school. The Kāndrikā is not a running commentary which paraphrases every word of Manu, but gives mostly, besides a short summary of the general meaning, merely remarks on difficult words and passages. It is probably a modern work, dating from the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century³. I have not met with any quotations from it in other law-books. The oldest known MS. is that brought by Anquetil from Gugarāt and deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Devanāgarī 49, fonds d'Anquetil, No. 16). Its date, Samvat 1706 varshe kārttika badi 10 somadine, corresponds, according to Dr. Schram's

¹ The reason why I used this very incorrect text, was that Professor Jolly kindly lent me his copy in which he has entered the various readings of Medh., Gov., Nār., Rāgh., of the Kāsmīr copy and other MSS.

² According to H. H. Wilson, Works, I, pp. 202-3 (ed. Rost), the ascetics, bearing the title Sarasvatī, follow the sampradāya of Saṅkarākārya. See also Aufrecht, Catalogue Sansk. MSS. Bodl. Libr. p. 227.

³ Mr. Loiseleur Deslongchamps' attempt (Lois de Manou, p. xvi) to identify Rāghavānanda with Raghunandana, the bhāṣākārya of the sixteenth century, is an unlucky guess. It seems to me that the author of the Kāndrikā is identical with the ascetic Rāghavānanda, pupil of Advayānanda, pupil of Viśvesvara, who is mentioned as an author on Sāṃkhya and Vedānta philosophy by Dr. F. E. Hall, Catalogue, pp. 6, 91, &c.

calculation, to Monday, November 29, 1649. Another old MS. of about the same date is mentioned by Dr. Burnell, Tanjore Catalogue, p. 126. For the notes I have used the Paris MS., which was kindly lent to me by the French Government, as far as Manu IX, 187. It contains both the commentary and the text, the former being, however, left out on I, 45-78. For the remaining portion I have consulted a very old, but much damaged copy of the Deccan College Collection of 1882-1883, acquired by Professor Bhândarkar for the Government of Bombay.

The name of the sixth commentary is, according to the MS., the loan of which I owe to the courtesy of Divân Bahâdur Raghunâthrâo of Madras, Manuvyâkhyâna, but according to Dr. Burnell, Tanjore Catalogue, p. 126, Nandinî. Its author calls himself Nandana (Nandanâtârya according to Dr. Burnell), the son of Lakshmana, a member of the Bhâradvâga gotra, and the dear friend of the illustrious Vîramalla¹. In all probability he was a native of Southern India. For his work is, as far as I am aware, known in Southern India alone; its MSS. are met with only in the Madras Presidency, and Professor Jolly (loc. cit., p. 12) has found that many of his peculiar readings agree with those found in Southern MSS. of the Manu-smṛiti. As his name is not quoted in any commentary on Manu or in any work on law, known to me, it would seem that he is either of very modern date or that his opinions were not held in any great esteem. Mr. Raghunâthrâo's MS. is dated Sakasamvat 1724, Mâgha sudi pratipad, or 1803 A.D. The Manuvyâkhyâna is a very short commentary, which mostly repeats and explains only a few words or phrases of the text. It dismisses many verses which stand in need of elucidation with the curt remark *spashṭaḥ*, 'clear,' and

¹ The colophon of chapter XII runs as follows: इति श्रीभारद्वाजगोषेय
श्रीलक्ष्मणभजेन श्रीवीरभट्टप्रियसत्तेन श्रीनन्दनेन विरचिते मनुव्याख्याने
भृगुप्रोक्तायां संहितायां द्वादशोऽध्यायः ॥ Vîramalla was probably a prince or
chief, and the mention of his name will eventually aid to ascertain Nandana's
time. A third variety of the latter's name occurs in the Madras edition of Cole-
brooke's Digest, p. xv, note 6, where the editor speaks of a commentary on Manu,
Nandaragkrit (?) by Nandarâga.

passes by others without any note. Though no names are ever quoted, most of the explanations have been taken on purely eclectic principles from the earlier commentaries, among which the first four of our list must certainly be reckoned. The favourite among them is the *Manvartha-vivṛiti*. The notes to the translation show a considerable number of cases where 'Nār. and Nand.' form a separate group, and on important points advocate opinions opposed to those of *Medhâtithi*, *Govinda*, and *Kullûka*. But there are also other passages, concerning which *Nandana* agrees either with *Medhâtithi* alone, or with 'others,' quoted by *Medhâtithi*, with *Kullûka* or even with *Govinda*. Finally, he offers in a certain number of cases expositions not traceable elsewhere, some of which, especially those on the philosophical pieces, deserve attention. The text which *Nandana* follows, differs not inconsiderably from the *vulgata*. It shows, besides very numerous, more or less important *variae lectiones*, some omissions, additions, and transpositions of entire verses. Many of *Nandana*'s various readings are derived from *Medhâtithi*, *Nârâyana*, and other older commentators, who either themselves follow them or at least mention their existence. As regards those which *Nandana* alone offers, the majority seem to be either corruptelae or conjectures, and sometimes very unlucky ones¹. The transpositions, which partly occur in passages regarding the order of which the other commentators agree, appear to have sometimes at least no better authority than guesses made by *Nandana*. Thus if he places *Manu* I, 27 after verse 19, and X, 14 after verse 6, and adds in each case that, 'if some read the verses further on, that must be due to an error of the copyists,' I can only see in this remark a

¹ To the first class belongs स्ववासिनी: for सुवासिनी: M. III, 114, the senseless कारणम् for करणम् M. VIII, 154 (not given in the notes), अभ्यङ्गम् for अयनम् IX, 202, and so forth; to the second, दारकर्मण्यमैषुनी for दारकर्मणि मैषुने M. III, 5, परीक्षकान् for परीक्षितान् M. VII, 54, अलक्षितः for अलक्षणः M. VIII, 162, नास्ति कायाः for दाढिकायाः M. VIII, 283 (not given in the notes), यमयोश्चैकगर्भेषु for यमयोश्चैव गर्भेषु M. IX, 126, अननयाम् (loc. sing. of अननारी) for अननार्याम् M. X, 28, and so forth.

confession of his having done violence to the traditional text. The verses which Nandana adds are, I think, all interpolations, some of which perhaps go back to early times, as they occur also in the Southern MSS. and in the Kasmîr copy. With respect to the omissions, Nandana sometimes follows one or several of the other commentators. In other cases he agrees with the Southern MSS. alone, and again in others he stands quite by himself. One of the omissions of the last class, Manu V, 61, is, as has been pointed out in the notes, purely due to an accidental lacuna in the MS. which Nandana used. With respect to numerous other cases it must be noted that the two copies of the Manuvyākhyāna which European scholars have examined, Mr. Raghunāthrao's and Dr. Burnell's (chapters VIII-IX, now in the India Office Library), differ very considerably. Thus in chapter VIII, Dr. Burnell's copy omits, according to Professor Jolly's collation¹, verses 8, 11, 14, 74, 81, 103, 227-228, 231, 332, while Mr. Raghunāthrao's MS. has them all excepting verses 8, 228, and 231, and gives even notes on 11, 14, 81, 103, 227. These differences between the two copies seem to extend also to readings in Manu's text and to explanations. But it is not rarely difficult to give a definite opinion on these points, because Mr. Raghunāthrao's MS. sometimes gives only the Pratikas of the verses, and is often so corrupt that the sense can be made out only by means of conjectural emendations.

Under these circumstances it will not be advisable to attach too much weight to *variae lectiones*, derived from the Manuvyākhyāna, which are not supported by the authority of other commentaries.

The anonymous *Tippāna*, or collection of detached explanatory remarks, in the Kasmîr birch bark MS.² is of very small importance. It looks as if it owed its origin to the marginal notes of some learned *Pandit*, which, later, were copied with the text and placed after the verses to

¹ Compare also Professor Hopkins, Notes on the Nandini, Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, October, 1883, p. xviii, where, however, only verses 8, 11, 74, 81, and 332 are enumerated as missing.

² Deccan College Collection of 1876-1877, No. 355.

which they refer. Professor Jolly¹ has pointed out that in one case it characteristically agrees with Govindarâga ; and other instances, e.g. the remarks on Manu I, 52, may be added. There are also some cases (see e.g. the explanation of *Āimbha*, Manu V, 91) where the Kasmîr commentary agrees with curious explanations given by Nandana. The text also agrees occasionally with peculiar readings adopted by Nandana or by Nârâyana and Nandana². But I should consider it hazardous to draw from these instances any conclusions regarding the sources of the *Tippāna*. The Kasmîr MS., which has been very carefully written and corrected, is mutilated at the end, about one-third of each of the last dozen leaves being torn off. The loss falls on Manu XI, 218–XII, 126.

The above remarks on the materials which I had at my disposal show that, in spite of their undeniable importance, they were insufficient for a radical change in the treatment of Manu's text. As the recension, given by Kullûka, was the only one accessible in its entirety and in tolerably trustworthy copies, I could not do anything else than take that for the basis of my translation. Practical reasons, too, especially the consideration that the Indian public has been accustomed to Kullûka's text, and that the numerous references in the translations of Hindu law-books point to the Manu of Kullûka, made the adoption of this principle highly desirable. I have, therefore, retained every verse which Kullûka explains, though the weight of the authorities might be against its genuineness, and I have refrained from receiving into the text any verse which he omits. In cases of the former kind the names of the dissenting commentators have been given in the notes, where also translations of the best accredited and more important additional verses, given by other commentators, will be found³. I have, moreover,

¹ Tagore Lectures, p. 11.

² See e.g. notes on Manu I, 2 ; III, 59, 73, 195.

³ I may add that I have paid no attention to those verses which the medieval Nibandhas on law quote as Manu's, but which are not traceable in the recension approved of by the commentators. These verses are in my opinion all spurious. In most cases we have simply to deal with misquotations caused by the careless-

adhered to Kullûka's order of the verses, except in some cases where he is evidently in the wrong, and the transposition causes no great inconvenience. On the other hand, I have tried to remove the numerous palpable blunders in the readings of the editions, which are mostly due, not to Kullûka himself, but to the editors of his text. The notes show what has been changed, and on whose authority it has been done. I have, finally, added a selection of the more important various readings given in the other commentaries.

With respect to the translation, my proceeding has been somewhat different. Though I should have liked to follow in the text Kullûka's commentary alone, and to give the renderings of the other commentators in the notes, I found that to be impracticable. The bulk of my volume would have become enormous, and in very many passages I should have been compelled to declare the rendering placed in the text to be utterly erroneous. In order to escape these difficulties I have generally, except in very doubtful passages, translated in accordance with that exposition which seemed to me most reasonable, and have placed some of the other particularly noteworthy explanations in the notes. In a certain number of verses where the real meaning of the text is very doubtful, I have not gone beyond a literal rendering of Manu's words, which, like the original, may be interpreted in different ways. In such cases the notes exhibit all the various interpretations found in the commentaries. In a very small number of verses the explanations of the commentators have been set aside altogether for reasons duly stated in the notes. The length of my notes varies very much, according to the interest or difficulty of the subject treated in the text. Thus the summary of the opinions of the commentators on the practically important titles of the Hindu law, Manu IX, 1-219, is as complete as the state of the MSS. allowed me to make it. Almost all the explanations of the difficult philosophical portions of chapters I and XII have likewise

ness of the Nibandhakâras, who are as little to be depended upon for accuracy as Indian writers on other scientific subjects or as the European medieval writers on classical philology. They quoted mostly, if not invariably, from memory.

been given. But the extracts from the commentaries on the easier sections referring to the duties of students, householders, Snâtakas, and so forth, have been made very short, as for the right understanding of the greater part of their verses little more is wanted than the parallel passages of the other ancient Smṛitis. Among the latter, those translated in vols. ii, vii, and xiv of this series have been quoted everywhere. If Nârada has been excluded, the reason is that the new translation, which Professor Jolly will soon publish according to recently discovered materials, would have made the references useless. The quotations from Manu, which occur in the translated Nibandhas on Hindu law, have been collected, for the convenience of practical lawyers, in the Appendix. As regards the relation of my version to those of earlier translators, it will be evident to everybody how much I am indebted to Sir William Jones' great work, which, in spite of the progress made by Sanskrit philology during the last hundred years, still possesses a very high value. I have also to acknowledge my obligation to the German translation of chapter VIII and of vv. 1-102 of chapter IX by Professor Jolly, which is based on the materials used by myself. If no reference has been made to the translation lately published by Drs. Burnell and Hopkins, the reason is that the printing of mine was complete some time before its appearance.

In conclusion, I must express my thanks to several colleagues, especially to Professors Jolly and Kielhorn, for assistance rendered in various ways, as well as to Dr. R. Rost, Chief Librarian at the India Office; to K. M. Chatfield, Esq., Director of Public Instruction, Bombay; to the Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale of France; and to Divân Bahâdur Raghunâth Râo of Mylapur, Madras, for liberal loans of MSS.

LAWS OF MANU.

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CHAPTER I.

1. THE great sages approached Manu, who was seated with a collected mind, and, having duly worshipped him, spoke as follows :

2. 'Deign, divine one, to declare to us precisely and in due order the sacred laws of each of the (four chief) castes (*varṇa*) and of the intermediate ones.

3. 'For thou, O Lord, alone knowest the purport, (i. e.) the rites, and the knowledge of the soul, (taught) in this whole ordinance of the Self-existent (*Svayambhū*), which is unknowable and unfathomable.'

I. 1. Kull. thinks that *pratipūgya*, 'having worshipped,' may also mean 'after mutual salutations,' and he connects, against the opinion of the other commentators, 'duly' with 'spoke.' Gov., Nār., Rāgh., and K., as well as various MSS. (Loiseleur I, p. 313; Bikaner Cat. p. 419), begin the *Samhitā* with the following verse, omitted by Medh., Kull., and Nand.: 'Having adored the self-existent Brahman, possessing immeasurable power, I will declare the various eternal laws which Manu promulgated.'

2. After this verse Nand. inserts four lines, the first and last of which are also found in K.: (a) 'The origin of the whole multitude of created beings, of those born from the womb, of those born from eggs, of those produced from exudations and from germinating seeds, and their destruction;' (b) 'The settled rule of all customs and rites deign to describe at large, according to their times and fitness.'

3. 'The ordinance of the Self-existent,' i. e. 'the Veda' (Kull., Nār., and Rāgh.), or 'the Veda or the prescriptive rules (*vidhi*)

4. He, whose power is measureless, being thus asked by the high-minded great sages, duly honoured them, and answered, 'Listen !'

5. This (universe) existed in the shape of Darkness, unperceived, destitute of distinctive marks, unattainable by reasoning, unknowable, wholly immersed, as it were, in deep sleep.

contained in it' (Medh.), or 'the institutes' (Gov.). *Añintya*, 'unknowable,' i.e. 'the extent of which is unknowable' (Kull. and Râgh.), or 'unknowable on account of its depth' (Gov.), or 'the meaning of which cannot be known by reasoning' (Nâr.), or 'not perceptible by the senses' (Medh.), or 'difficult to understand' (Nand.). *Aprameya*, 'unfathomable,' i.e. 'not to be understood without the help of the *Mîmāṃsā* and other methods of reasoning' (Kull.), or 'unfathomable on account of its extent' (Gov., Nand.), or 'unfathomable on account of its extent, or not directly knowable but to be inferred as the foundation of the *Smṛiti*' (Medh.), or 'difficult to understand' (Râgh.). Kull. and Râgh. explain *kārya-tattvārtha* by 'the purport, i.e. the rites, and the nature of the soul;' Medh., Gov., and Nand. by 'the true purport, i.e. the rites.' Nand. takes *sarvasya*, 'whole,' as depending on 'ordinance,' and in the sense of 'prescribed for all created beings.'

In the commentary on verse 11 Medh. gives still another explanation of this verse, according to which it has to be translated as follows: 'For thou, O Lord, alone knowest the nature and the object of the products employed in the creation of this universe, which is unthinkable on account of its greatness, and unknowable.' This version belongs to 'other' commentators, who explain Manu's whole account of the creation purely on *Sāṃkhya* principles.

5. The account of the creation given in verses 5-13 bears, as Dr. Muir remarks (Sanskrit Texts, IV, p. 26), some resemblance to that contained in some passages of the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*, especially XI, 1, 6, 1 seqq., and is probably founded on some Vedic work, 'with an intermixture of more modern doctrines.' In explanation of the wording of verse 5, Medh. and Kull. point to passages like Rv. X, 129, 3, and *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* II, 8, 9, 4. *Sāyana*, too, quotes the verse in his commentary on the latter passage.

The commentators Medh. and Gov. explain the fact that Manu, being asked to expound the law, gives an account of the creation,

6. Then the divine Self-existent (Svayambhū, himself) indiscernible, (but) making (all) this, the great elements and the rest, discernible, appeared with irresistible (creative) power, dispelling the darkness.

by the supposition that it is intended to show what a great scope the work has, and how necessary its study is, as the production of the various created beings depends on merit and demerit. Kull., on the other hand, tries to prove that the account of the creation, which belongs to the knowledge of the supreme soul, is part of the sacred law, and hence properly finds its place here. All the commentators, with the exception of Rāgh., explain *tamaḥ*, 'darkness,' by *mūlaprakṛtiḥ*, 'the root-evolvent' of the Sāṃkhya philosophy, and *tamobhūtam*, 'in the shape of darkness,' by 'absorbed in the root-evolvent.' Rāgh., who throughout explains Manu's sayings in the sense of the Vedānta school, takes it for an equivalent of *avidyā*, 'ignorance.' The explanation of the four adjectives, which express in different terms the impossibility of knowing the *mūlaprakṛti*, differs very much in the six commentaries. The most reasonable appears to be Kullūka's view, who assumes that the four words refer to the impossibility of attaining a knowledge of the *prakṛti* by the three means mentioned below, XII, 105, and 'by reasoning' (*tarka*). He paraphrases *apragñāta*, 'unperceived,' by 'imperceptible by the senses;' *alakṣhaṇa*, 'destitute of marks,' by 'uninferrible;' *avigñeya*, 'unknowable,' by 'undefinable by words or authoritative statement.'

6. The above translation follows Gov., Nār., and Kull. The other three commentators take *mahābhūtādivṛttauḡāḥ* as a relative compound. On this supposition the translation would run as follows: 'Then the divine Self-existent, (himself) undiscernible, (but) making this (universe) discernible, appeared,—he whose (creative) power works in the great elements and the rest, and who dispels the darkness.'

'Then,' i. e. at the end of the period of destruction. *Avyaktaḥ*, '(himself) undiscernible,' i. e. 'not to be known except by Yogins' (Medh.), or 'not perceptible by the external senses' (Gov., Kull., Nār.), or 'not to be known except through the texts of the Upanishads' (Rāgh.), or 'difficult to know' (Nand.). Medh. would prefer to read *avyaktam*, 'this indiscernible (universe).' 'The great elements and the rest,' i. e. 'the other principles, the great one and so forth'

7. He who can be perceived by the internal organ (alone), who is subtle, indiscernible, and eternal, who contains all created beings and is inconceivable, shone forth of his own (will).

(Medh., Gov., Nâr., Kull., Nand.), or 'egoism' (Râgh.). 'Appeared,' i.e. 'assumed a body of his own free will, not in consequence of his karman, his acts in a former existence' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand.), or 'became discernible' (vyakta), (Nâr.), or 'became ready to create' (kâryonmukha), (Râgh.). Gov. explains *vṛitauḡâḥ*, 'with irresistible power,' by 'who obtained power' (*prâptam balam yena*). Kull. explains *tamonudaḥ*, 'dispelling the darkness (i. e. of destruction),' by 'giving an impulse to the root-evolvent,' and Râgh. takes it in a similar way.

The commentators whose opinion Medh. adduces under verse 11, explained this verse also as a description of the self-evolution which the *prakṛiti* performs according to the *Sâmkhyas*. They took *svayambhûḥ*, 'the self-existent,' in the sense of 'which modifies itself of its own accord;' *bhagavân*, 'divine,' in the sense of 'which is powerful enough to perform its business' (*svavyâpâra īśvaraḥ*). The other words presented, of course, no great difficulties.

7. 'By the two pronouns *yo 'sau*, "he who," he indicates the supreme soul, known in the whole world, in the Vedas, *Purâṇas*, *Itihâsas*, and so forth' (Kull. in accordance with Medh.). The latter proposes, besides the explanation of *atîndriyagrâhyaḥ*, 'who can be perceived by the internal organ (or the mind alone),' which Gov., Kull., and Nand. adopt, another one, 'who, being beyond the cognisance of the senses, can be perceived by Yoga-knowledge alone.' Nâr. and Râgh., too, differ from the interpretation given above. 'Subtile,' i.e. 'who is beyond all distinctions, such as small and great' (Medh.), or 'who is unperceivable by the external senses' (Kull.), or 'who is perceivable by subtile understanding only' (Gov.), or 'who is without limbs or parts' (Râgh.). Nand. points to the common epithet of the supreme soul, 'smaller than small' (*Kâṭh. Up. II, 20; Bhagavadgîtâ VIII, 9*). *Avyaktaḥ*, 'indiscernible,' is taken by Kull. to mean 'destitute of limbs or parts.' *Sarvabhûta-mayaḥ*, 'who contains all created beings,' means, according to Medh., either 'that he conceives the idea of creating all beings,' or 'that, in accordance with the Advaita Vedânta, all beings are illusory modifications of him.' The latter view seems to be the one adopted by all the other commentators. 'Shone forth,' i.e. either 'assumed

8. He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and placed his seed in them.

9. That (seed) became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun ; in that (egg) he himself was born as Brahman, the progenitor of the whole world.

10. The waters are called *nârâh*, (for) the waters are, indeed, the offspring of Nara ; as they were his first residence (ayana), he thence is named *Nârâyana*.

a visible body' or 'was self-luminous' (Medh.), 'assumed a body' (Gov.), 'appeared in the form of the evolutes, the great one, and so forth' (Kull.), 'became discernible' (Nand.).

8. Besides the passages quoted under verse 5, compare also the Paurāṇik story of the mundane egg, Wilson, *Vishṇu-purāṇa* I, pp. 39-40 (ed. Hall). 'He' is according to Medh. and Râgh. 'Hiraṇyagarbha,' according to the other commentators, 'the supreme soul.' Medh. refers to Rig-veda X, 121, 1. According to Medh. (verse 11) those who understood the whole passage to refer to the unintelligent prakṛti, explained abhidhyâya, 'with a thought,' to mean 'independently of all external action, just as a man performs an act merely by a thought.' They also asserted that the waters were produced as the first element only, but not before the great one and the other principles. Kull., on the other hand, sees in the expressions, used in this verse, the proof that Manu was an adherent of the non-dualistic Vedānta.

9. Medh., Kull., and Râghava take the epithet 'golden' figuratively, and consider it to be intended to convey the idea of purity or, as Râgh. also proposes, of brilliancy. Instead of 'he himself was born as Brahman (masc.),' the translation may also be 'Brahmâ himself was born.' Medh. gives both explanations. The other commentators adopt that given in the text. The being produced is, according to all except Râgh., Hiraṇyagarbha. Râgh., as a strict Vedāntin, thinks that it is Virâḥ. All the commentators point out that pitāmaha, 'the progenitor,' lit. the grandfather, is a common name of Brahman (masc.).

10. This punning explanation of Brahman's name *Nârâyana* occurs in most of the Purāṇas, see Wilson, *Vishṇu-purāṇa* I, p. 56 (ed. Hall). Both Medh. and Gov. seem to have read *âpo narâh*,

11. From that (first) cause, which is indiscernible, eternal, and both real and unreal, was produced that male (Purusha), who is famed in this world (under the appellation of) Brahman.

12. The divine one resided in that egg during a whole year, then he himself by his thought (alone) divided it into two halves;

13. And out of those two halves he formed heaven and earth, between them the middle sphere, the eight points of the horizon, and the eternal abode of the waters.

14. From himself (âtmanaḥ) he also drew forth the mind, which is both real and unreal, likewise from the mind egoism, which possesses the function of self-consciousness (and is) lordly;

15. Moreover, the great one, the soul, and all

‘the waters are called narâḥ.’ Nara is another name of the supreme soul.

11. All our commentators except Râgh., whose explanation is wide off the mark, understand by the ‘(First) cause’ the supreme soul. Sadasadâtma, ‘who is both real and unreal,’ means according to Medh., Gov., and Kull. ‘who is existent or real, because he can be known through the Veda and Vedânta, but non-existent or unreal, as it were, because he cannot be perceived by the senses.’ Nand.’s explanation, ‘who is both the real, the efficient cause and the unreal the products, matter and the rest,’ seems, however, preferable. He says, *sad iti kâraṇam asad iti prakṛtyâdi kâryam*. Regarding the ancient Vedic term Purusha, ‘the male’ or ‘spirit,’ see Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, V, pp. 367–377.

12. Kull. explains the term ‘a year’ by ‘a year of Brahman.’ But Medh. and Gov., who say that a human year is meant, are in accordance with *Satapatha-brâhmaṇa* XI, 1, 6, 2.

13. The number ‘eight’ is obtained by adding to the four cardinal points, ‘the intermediate ones,’ north-east, south-east, &c.

14–15. The commentators offer two entirely different explanations of these two difficult verses. According to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh. they describe the production of the Tattvas, the

(products) affected by the three qualities, and, in their order, the five organs which perceive the objects of sensation.

principles of the Sâmkhya system, the first three of which, Mahat, Ahankâra, and Manas, have been placed in an inverted order. Though Manu clearly states (verse 14) that the creator drew the Manas (which they take to mean the internal organ) from the âtman (i. e. according to Medh. and Gov. 'from the Pradhâna,' which is his own shape [tatpradhânâd âtmanaḥ svasvarûpât, Medh.], or according to Gov., Kull., and Râgh. 'from the Paramâtmân,' the supreme soul, or according to another explanation of Râgh. 'from himself' [svasmât | gîvasyâ bhogârtham vâ]), that he drew the Ahankâra, egoism, from the Manas, and that he afterwards created the mahântam âtmânâman, 'the great one, the soul;' (i. e. according to Medh. the Mahat which is called the soul because like the soul it is found in all bodies, or according to Kull. the Mahat which is called the soul because it is produced from the soul or is useful to the soul), yet they think that it must be understood that the Mahat was produced first, from it the Ahankâra, and from the latter the Manas. The next term sarvâṇi trigunâṇi, 'all the products modified by the three qualities,' they refer to all products or evolutes named and to be named hereafter. They are thus obliged to disregard the ka, 'and,' at the end of verse 15 a, and Râgh. states distinctly that ka indicates there a stress to be laid on the preceding word (kakâro 'vadhâraṇârthaḥ'). Finally, Gov., Kull., and Râgh. are of opinion that the third ka, 'and,' at the end of verse 15 b indicates that the organs of action and the subtle elements have to be added in accordance with the doctrine of the Sâmkhya, while Medh. holds that the subtle elements alone have to be understood.

Nand. and, to judge from the fragments of his commentary, Nâr. also give a far different explanation. According to them the first created Manas is another name for the principle usually called Mahat. In proof of this assertion Nand. adduces a passage from a Purâṇa, which Medh. quotes on verse 74, where Manas is given as a synonym of Mahat (see also Cowell, Sarvadarsana-saṃgraha, p. 222, note 1). They farther take mahântam âtmânâman, 'the great one, the soul,' to denote the Manas or internal organ ([mahântam] ka mano nâma tattvam âtmânâman âtmano gîvasyâ-vakṣedakatvâd vyapadesaḥ, Râgh.). By the expression sarvâṇi trigunâṇi Nand. seems to understand the subtle elements (tanmâtra),

16. But, joining minute particles even of those six, which possess measureless power, with particles of himself, he created all beings.

and he too believes that the particle *ka* at the end of verse 15 *b* shows that the organs of action have to be understood. The object of the two verses is, according to Nand., not to give an account of the actual order of creation, but to show that the material cause of all created beings consists of portions of the creator's body, of the Mahat, Ahaṁkāra, the Manas, the Tanmātras, and the organs of sensation and action which belong to him; (anena slokadva-yenaitad uktam bhavati | ātmīyānām mahadahāṁkāramanastan-mātragñānakarmendriyānām amsāḥ sarvabhūtopādānam iti ||) It would seem that Nand. and Nār.'s view, as regards the explanation of Manas (verse 14), is correct, but it may be doubted whether, with respect to the terms in verse 15, mahān ātmā and sarvāṇi trigunāni, they have been equally lucky. The explanation of the first four commentators seems altogether inadmissible. In conclusion, it may be stated that Nand. gives also the most acceptable explanation of the epithet of the Manas, sadasadātmakam, which, he says, means 'partaking of the nature of an evolvent and of an evolute' (prakṛtīvikṛtyātmakam), and of īśvaram, 'lordly,' 'which causes all actions to be done' (sarva-karmapravartakam).

16. The translation follows Nand., Rāgh., and Vigñānabhikṣhu (Sāṁkhyasāra, p. 19, ed. Hall), who agree that the verse derives the subtle or rudimentary bodies of individual beings from the subtle body of the creator, and the individual souls from his soul. They explain ātmamātrāsu by aparikkhinnasyaikaśyātmana upādhiḥ avayavatpratīyamāneṣu ātmasu (Rāgh.), svagīvāmeṣu (Nand.), and svāmsakētanēṣu (Vigñ.). But they differ with respect to the meaning of 'the particles of those six.' 'Those six' are, according to Rāgh. and Vigñ., 'the six senses,' i.e. the five organs of sensation and the mind (which by implication indicate the whole subtle body, Vigñ.); according to Nand., the six classes of tattvas, which he believes to be mentioned in the preceding two verses, viz. (1) the great one, (2) egoism, (3) mind, (4) the subtle or rudimentary elements, (5, 6) the organs of sensation and action.

Medh., Gov., and Kull., on the other hand, take the verse as follows: 'Joining minute particles of those six (i.e. of egoism and of the five subtle elements) which possess immeasurable power to particles of the same (i.e. of evolutes from the same six [Gov., Kull.], i.e. of the gross elements produced from the Tanmātras and the organs

17. Because those six (kinds of) minute particles, which form the (creator's) frame, enter (â-sri) these (creatures), therefore the wise call his frame sarîra, (the body.)

produced from egoism [Medh.]), he framed all beings.' It would seem that Nand.'s explanation comes nearest to the truth, though, as stated above, his manner of showing that six principles or classes of principles are mentioned in the preceding verses is not altogether satisfactory. But, at all events, he has seen that the expression 'those six' must refer to the enumeration in the preceding two verses.

17. The translation again follows Nand., with whom Nâr. seems to have agreed. He says, 'Because six (kinds of) particles of his frame, i.e. the six before-mentioned portions of the body of Brahman, the Mahat, and the rest, enter, i.e. pervade these—all the creatures mentioned in the preceding verse are referred to—on account of that entering (srayanât), they call the body of that, i.e. of Brahman, sarîra. The meaning is as follows: The body of Hiranyagarbha is called sarîra, because it enters (srayati) all beings by means of its portions, being (their) material cause; but it is not destroyed (siryate) like a common body.' Nand. thinks, therefore, that the punning explanation of the word sarîra from *śad' âsri*, or *sri*, is given in order to show that the other etymology, which derives it from *śrî*, 'to destroy,' is not applicable to the body of Brahman.

Medh., Gov., and Kull. take the verse very differently. They agree in supposing that the body is called sarîra, because the six elements mentioned enter into or produce the gross elements and the organs. Medh. reads *tânîmani* for *tasyemâni*, and according to his interpretation the translation would be, 'Because the six (kinds of) minute particles producing the body enter into (being their cause) or produce these (i.e. because egoism, the before-mentioned organs and the subtle elements enter the gross elements which will be mentioned hereafter), therefore the wise call the body, which is the visible shape of that (Pradhâna), sarîra.' Kull., who reads *tasya*, differs from this version only therein that he refers *tasya* to Brahman. Râgh. finally gives, in accordance with his explanation of 'those six,' the following version, 'Because the six (kinds of) fine particles constituting the subtle frame of that (Hiranyagarbha, i.e. the mind and the rest) enter these (gross bodies as their place of enjoyment), therefore the wise call the visible frame of that (i.e. of the individual soul) the sarîra.' He agrees, therefore, with Medh., Gov., and Kull. so far that he, too, refers the verse to the gross bodies.

18. That the great elements enter, together with their functions and the mind, through its minute parts the framer of all beings, the imperishable one.

18. The commentators give five different versions of this verse : (1) Medh., 'That (i.e. the Pradhâna is) the producer of all beings and imperishable, because these, (viz.) the gross elements with their functions (and before them) the mind with its minute particles (i.e. the subtle elements, intelligence, egoism, and the organs), enter it.' (2) Gov. and Kull., 'From that (i.e. the Brahman, which has the form of the subtle elements and of egoism) are produced the gross elements, together with their functions and the mind, which is the producer of all beings through its minute (i.e. imperceptible) portions (i.e. its products, good and bad thoughts, pleasure and pain, and so forth, the world being produced by the good and evil actions originating in the mind) and imperishable.' (3) Râgh., 'That (i.e. the gross body) the gross elements enter (as producers [or produce]) and the mind, which is the producer of all beings and imperishable, together with the actions (i.e. merit and so forth) and with the (organs which are chiefly) limbs.' (4) Nand., '(As) that (body of Hiranyagarbha), though through its small portions it produces all beings, yet is imperishable, (even thus) the great beings (egoism, mind, the trigunâs, the organs of sensation and action) and the mind (i.e. the principle, called the great one), with the actions (i.e. the individual souls) enter it.' (5) Nâr.'s explanation is mutilated, but seems to have been as follows, 'That (i.e. the subtle body) the gross elements (which produce the gross body) enter, together with the karman (i.e. merit and demerit) and the mind, (which is) the producer of all beings and imperishable, together with (its functions, knowledge, desire, hatred, &c., which are, as it were, its) minute portions.'

It seems to me that not one of the above explanations can be accepted in its entirety. I agree with Nâr. in thinking that the word 'that' refers to the subtle body and that the verse describes the origin of the gross body as the result of the union of the great, i.e. the gross elements and of the manas with the subtle body. If the mahânti bhûtâni are the gross elements, it will, however, be necessary to understand by karmabhiḥ, 'their functions,' which, as Medh. and Kull. mention, are 'the function of supporting for the earth, of ripening or cooking for fire and so forth.' By manas I understand here the internal organ which forms the con-

19. But from minute body(-framing) particles of these seven very powerful Purushas springs this (world), the perishable from the imperishable.

20. Among them each succeeding (element) acquires the quality of the preceding one, and whatever place (in the sequence) each of them occupies, even so many qualities it is declared to possess.

necting link between the gross senses or the gross body and the individual soul, and thus may be said to frame or fashion all beings. As its nature is atomic, it is necessary to connect *avayavaîḥ sūkshmaîḥ* with *sarvabhūtaḥ* and to take *avayava* either in the manner proposed by Kull., or to assume that the several mind-atoms are referred to, which belong each to a different individual.

19. With respect to the explanation of the expression 'the seven Purushas,' the commentators differ as much as regarding 'the six' in ver. 16. Medh., Gov., and Kull. add 'the great one' or the Mahat to their previous enumeration, 'egoism and the five subtle elements,' while Nâr. and Nand. add the 'portions of the Âtman' (ver. 16) to those elements which they understand to be comprised by 'the six.' That is, probably, the meaning of Râgh. also, who says, *purushânâm manaâdipurushântânâm saptânâm*, 'of the Purushas, i. e. of those seven, the first of which is the mind, and the last of which is the Purusha.' All the commentators agree that the term Purusha, 'male or spirit,' is applied to the principles in a metaphorical sense, but they give various reasons for the fact, 'because they are for the sake of the soul,' *purusha* (Medh.), or 'because they were produced by the Purusha, the Âtman' (Kull.). Nâr. understands 'and' with *avyayât* and says, 'and from the imperishable, i. e. from *Prakṛti*.' 'The perishable' designates, of course, 'the gross bodies.'

20. This verse expresses the doctrine that the first element ether (*âkâra*) possesses one quality, sound, alone; the next, wind two, sound and tangibility; the third, fire or light, three and so forth; see also *Sâmkhyasâra*, p. 18. Nand. places ver. 27 before this verse, and asserts that 'if some read the latter seven verses further on, that is only due to an error of the copyists.' Though vers. 20 and 27 are without any connexion with what precedes and follows, I do not think it advisable to adopt Nand.'s proposal, which I fear is based on nothing but a clever guess, against the authority of all the other commentators. If it were permissible to transpose the

21. But in the beginning he assigned their several names, actions, and conditions to all (created beings), even according to the words of the Veda.

22. He, the Lord, also created the class of the gods, who are endowed with life, and whose nature is action; and the subtile class of the Sâdhya, and the eternal sacrifice.

23. But from fire, wind, and the sun he drew forth the threefold eternal Veda, called *Rik*, *Yagur*, and *Sâman*, for the due performance of the sacrifice.

24. Time and the divisions of time, the lunar mansions and the planets, the rivers, the oceans, the mountains, plains, and uneven ground,

25. Austerity, speech, pleasure, desire, and anger, this whole creation he likewise produced, as he desired to call these beings into existence.

verses, I would propose to insert here ver. 27 and to place this verse (20) after ver. 78.

22. The commentators differ very much regarding the explanation of this verse. Medh. proposes, 'And the Lord created (for the sake) of men who are intent on performing sacrificial rites (the multitude) of the gods, the subtile class of the Sâdhya and the eternal sacrifice.' 'Others' mentioned by him, Gov. and Kull., insert another 'and' between *karmâtmanâm* and *prâñinâm*, and explain, 'The Lord created the multitude of the gods whose nature is the sacrifice and of those endowed with life.' By the 'gods whose nature is the sacrifice' they understand the inanimate implements, used at sacrifices, but frequently addressed in the Veda as divine beings, while the gods endowed with life are said to be Indra, and so forth. Râgh., with whom Nâr. seems to have agreed, says, 'And the Lord created among beings endowed with life the to us invisible multitude of the gods, who by the results of their actions have obtained their divine station, or who subsist on offerings.' None of these speculations is of much use. But it may be that *karman* means 'sacrificial rites,' and *karmâtmanâm* may be translated by 'whose nature is the sacrifice,' or 'whose divinity depends on the performance of sacrifices.' Regarding the Sâdhya, see Wilson, *Vishnu-purâna* II, p. 22 (ed. Hall).

26. Moreover, in order to distinguish actions, he separated merit from demerit, and he caused the creatures to be affected by the pairs (of opposites), such as pain and pleasure.

27. But with the minute perishable particles of the five (elements) which have been mentioned, this whole (world) is framed in due order.

28. But to whatever course of action the Lord at first appointed each (kind of beings), that alone it has spontaneously adopted in each succeeding creation.

29. Whatever he assigned to each at the (first) creation, noxiousness or harmlessness, gentleness or ferocity, virtue or sin, truth or falsehood, that clung (afterwards) spontaneously to it.

30. As at the change of the seasons each season of its own accord assumes its distinctive marks, even so corporeal beings (resume in new births) their (appointed) course of action.

31. But for the sake of the prosperity of the

26. Other pairs of opposites are desire and anger, passionate attachment and hatred, hunger and thirst, sorrow and delusion, and so forth (Kull.).

27. 'The minute perishable particles of the five (elements)' are according to Medh., Gov., and Kull. the subtle or rudimentary elements which may be called 'perishable,' because they are changed to gross elements. Râgh. explains the epithet 'perishable' by adding 'because they have been produced.' The commentators offer various explanations in order to account for the insertion of this verse which interrupts the continuity of the text. Medh. thinks that it is a résumé. Gov. and Kull. state that it is meant to remove the doubt, whether Brahman's mental creation was effected without the help of the 'principles,' and Nâr. asserts that it is meant to teach that atoms are not eternal. Nand., as stated above, note on ver. 20, places the verse immediately after ver. 19.

31. Nâr. explains lokavivṛiddhyartham, 'for the sake of the

worlds, he caused the Brāhmaṇa, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya, and the Sūdra to proceed from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet.

32. Dividing his own body, the Lord became half male and half female; with that (female) he produced Virāḡ.

33. But know me, O most holy among the twice-born, to be the creator of this whole (world), whom that male, Virāḡ, himself produced, having performed austerities.

34. Then I, desiring to produce created beings, performed very difficult austerities, and (thereby) called into existence ten great sages, lords of created beings,

35. Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Prakētas, Vasishṭha, Bhrīgu, and Nārada.

36. They created seven other Manus possessing great brilliancy, gods and classes of gods and great sages of measureless power,

prosperity of the worlds,' by *varṇair lokarakṣaṇasamvardhanārtham*, 'in order to protect the world by means of the castes and to make it prosperous.' Medh., Gov., and Kull., who interpret the compound by 'in order that (the inhabitants of) the worlds might multiply,' point to the benefits conferred by sacrifices of householders, III, 76. Nand. says with reference to the bearing of the verse, 'Now he speaks of the creation of the deities representing the four castes.' Regarding the origin of the castes, see Rig-veda X, 90, 12.

32-33. 'Produced,' i. e. 'begat' (Medh., Kull.), Wilson, *Vishṇu-purāṇa* I, p. 104, note 2 (ed. Hall).

34-35. Wilson, *Vishṇu-purāṇa* I, p. 100, note 2 (ed. Hall).

36. 'Manus,' i. e. 'creators in the several Manvantaras' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.). 'Gods,' i. e. 'such gods as had not been created by Brahman' (verse 22, Medh., Kull.); *devanikāyān*, 'classes of gods' (Nand., Nār.), means according to Medh., Kull., and Rāgh. 'the abodes of the gods' (*devasthānāni*). Rāgh. gives also the meaning 'the servants of the gods.'



37. Yakshas (the servants of Kubera, the demons called) Rākshasas and Pisākas, Gandharvas (or musicians of the gods), Apsarases (the dancers of the gods), Asuras, (the snake-deities called) Nāgas and Sarpas, (the bird-deities called) Suparnas and the several classes of the manes,

38. Lightnings, thunderbolts and clouds, imperfect (rohita) and perfect rainbows, falling meteors, supernatural noises, comets, and heavenly lights of many kinds,

39. (Horse-faced) Kinnaras, monkeys, fishes, birds of many kinds, cattle, deer, men, and carnivorous beasts with two rows of teeth,

40. Small and large worms and beetles, moths, lice, flies, bugs, all stinging and biting insects and the several kinds of immovable things.

41. Thus was this whole (creation), both the immovable and the movable, produced by those high-minded ones by means of austerities and at my command, (each being) according to (the results of) its actions.

42. But whatever act is stated (to belong) to (each of) those creatures here below, that I will truly declare to you, as well as their order in respect to birth.

43. Cattle, deer, carnivorous beasts with two rows of teeth, Rākshasas, Pisākas, and men are born from the womb.

44. From eggs are born birds, snakes, crocodiles,

37. The several classes of manes are enumerated below, III, 194-199.

38. Rohita is said to be an imperfect rainbow which appears to be straight, known according to Gov. by the name *sastrotpāta*.

fishes, tortoises, as well as similar terrestrial and aquatic (animals).

45. From hot moisture spring stinging and biting insects, lice, flies, bugs, and all other (creatures) of that kind which are produced by heat.

46. All plants, propagated by seed or by slips, grow from shoots; annual plants (are those) which, bearing many flowers and fruits, perish after the ripening of their fruit;

47. (Those trees) which bear fruit without flowers are called *vanaspati* (lords of the forest); but those which bear both flowers and fruit are called *vr̥ksha*.

48. But the various plants with many stalks, growing from one or several roots, the different kinds of grasses, the climbing plants and the creepers spring all from seed or from slips.

49. These (plants) which are surrounded by multi-form Darkness, the result of their acts (in former existences), possess internal consciousness and experience pleasure and pain.

50. The (various) conditions in this always terrible and constantly changing circle of births and deaths to which created beings are subject, are stated to

46. I read, with Medh., Gov., Nand., and Kull, *taravaḥ* instead of the *sthāvarāḥ* of the editions, and translate it, as required by the context, by 'plants.'

47. My translation of *ubhayataḥ*, 'both,' is based on Gov.'s comment '*vr̥kshāḥ punaḥ pushpaphalenobhayaṇāpi yuktā bhavanti*,' with which Nār. and Nand. agree. The latter, however, proposes to read '*ubhayathā*.'

49. 'Multiform Darkness,' see below, XII, 42.

50. *Bhūta*, 'created beings,' means according to Gov. and Kull. *kshetragṇā*, 'embodied souls.' According to Gov. and Nār. *nityam*, 'always,' must be construed with *ghore*, 'terrible.' Nār., however, considers *nitye*, 'in this eternal,' to be a better reading, which Nand. also gives.

begin with (that of) Brahman, and to end with (that of) these (just mentioned immovable creatures).

51. When he whose power is incomprehensible, had thus produced the universe and me, he disappeared in himself, repeatedly suppressing one period by means of the other.

52. When that divine one wakes, then this world stirs; when he slumbers tranquilly, then the universe sinks to sleep.

53. But when he reposes in calm sleep, the corporeal beings whose nature is action, desist from their actions and mind becomes inert.

54. When they are absorbed all at once in that great soul, then he who is the soul of all beings sweetly slumbers, free from all care and occupation.

55. When this (soul) has entered darkness, it remains for a long time united with the organs (of

51. 'Disappeared in himself,' i.e. 'he divested himself of the body which he had assumed at his own will' (Medh., Gov., Kull.). 'One period by means of the other,' i.e. 'the period of creation by means of the period of destruction' (Medh., Gov., Kull.).

52. Instead of the figurative *nimilati*, 'closes the eyes, sinks to sleep,' Gov. and K., read *praliyate*, 'is absorbed.'

53. *Sarīrinah*, 'corporeal beings,' means according to Medh., Gov., and Kull. 'embodied souls.' *Karmâtmânaḥ*, 'whose nature is action,' i.e. who are endowed with actions (Nand., Nâr.), means according to Medh., Gov., and Kull. 'who in consequence of their actions became incorporate.'

54. According to Gov. and Kull., this verse describes the *mahâ-pralaya*, the great or total destruction at the end of a *kalpa*, while the preceding referred to the *antarâlapralaya*, the intermediate or incomplete destruction. Medh. explains 'he who is the soul of all beings' by the *Sâmkhya* term *Pradhâna*, 'the chief cause or Nature,' while Gov. and Kull. refer this expression as well as *mahâtman* 'to the supreme soul or supreme lord' of the *Vedânta*.

55-56. The commentators offer three different explanations of these two verses. Medh., Gov., and Kull., whom the translation

sensation), but performs not its functions; it then leaves the corporeal frame.

56. When, being clothed with minute particles (only), it enters into vegetable or animal seed, it then assumes, united (with the fine body), a (new) corporeal frame.

57. Thus he, the imperishable one, by (alternately) waking and slumbering, incessantly revivifies and destroys this whole movable and immovable (creation).

given above follows, think that ayam, 'this (soul),' refers to the individual soul, and that the two verses incidentally mention what happens to it on the death of the individual in which it resides. First, they say, it enters darkness, i.e. knowledge (*gñāna*) ceases, and, though for some time the soul's connection with the organs continues, it does not perform its functions of breathing, and so forth. Next it leaves the old body. It then is enveloped by the elementary body, consisting of the *puryash/aka*, the eight constituents, i.e. the rudimentary elements (*bhûta*) and organs (*indriya*), mind (*manas*), intelligence (*buddhi*), memory of past actions (*vâsanâ*), merit or demerit (*karman*), the vital airs (*vâyu*), and *avidyâ*. In this condition it enters the seed of some plant or the embryo of some animal and then assumes a new gross body. Nâr., on the other hand, considers that the first verse gives a description of the fate of the individual soul during a swoon (*mûrkhâ*), and the second alone refers to its migration after death. Under this supposition verse 56 must be translated as follows: 'Being of atomic size (the soul) enters vegetable or animal seed and, united (with the rudimental body), leaves its (former) corporeal frame.' Nand. finally understands by ayam, 'this (soul),' the creator (*bhagavân*), and thinks that the first verse describes his behaviour during the time of destruction, while the second refers to a new creation. He says, 'When he has entered darkness,' i.e. the root-evolvent or nature, 'and has remained there for a long time,' i.e. as long as the period of destruction lasts, 'then, endowed with organs, he assumes a visible shape,' i.e. he appears in the shape of the creation. His note on verse 56, where he reads *samsrîsh/au* for *samsrîsh/ah*, is too short to make it intelligible how he gets over the difficulties opposed to his interpretation.

58. But he having composed these Institutes (of the sacred law), himself taught them, according to the rule, to me alone in the beginning; next I (taught them) to Marîki and the other sages.

59. Bhrigu, here, will fully recite to you these Institutes; for that sage learned the whole in its entirety from me.

60. Then that great sage Bhrigu, being thus addressed by Manu, spoke, pleased in his heart, to all the sages, 'Listen!'

61. Six other high-minded, very powerful Manus, who belong to the race of this Manu, the descendant of the Self-existent (Svayambhû), and who have severally produced created beings,

62. (Are) Svâroḥisha, Auttamî, Tâmasa, Raivata, Kâkshusha, possessing great lustre, and the son of Vivasvat.

63. These seven very glorious Manus, the first among whom is Svâyambhuva, produced and protected this whole movable and immovable (creation), each during the period (allotted to him).

64. Eighteen nimeshas (twinklings of the eye, are one kâshthâ), thirty kâshthâs one kalâ, thirty kalâs one muhûrta, and as many (muhûrtas) one day and night.

58. 'According to the rule,' i.e. 'with the subsidiary ceremonies enjoined in the Sâstra' (Kull.), or 'with due attention, carefully' (Medh., Gov.).

61. 'Who belong to the race of this Manu Svâyambhuva,' i.e. 'who were born in the same race or family, for they were all immediately created by Brahman and thus belong to one race' (Medh.).

64. As tâvataḥ, 'as many,' stands in the accusative, Medh., Gov., and Kull. understand vidyât 'one should know to be.' But Nâr. is probably right in assuming a vibhaktivatyaya, i.e. that the author used the accusative because the nominative did not suit the metre.

65. The sun divides days and nights, both human and divine, the night (being intended) for the repose of created beings and the day for exertion.

66. A month is a day and a night of the manes, but the division is according to fortnights. The dark (fortnight) is their day for active exertion, the bright (fortnight) their night for sleep.

67. A year is a day and a night of the gods; their division is (as follows): the half year during which the sun progresses to the north will be the day, that during which it goes southwards the night.

68. But hear now the brief (description of) the duration of a night and a day of Brahman and of the several ages (of the world, yuga) according to their order.

69. They declare that the *Kṛita* age (consists of) four thousand years (of the gods); the twilight preceding it consists of as many hundreds, and the twilight following it of the same number.

70. In the other three ages with their twilights preceding and following, the thousands and hundreds are diminished by one (in each).

71. These twelve thousand (years) which thus have been just mentioned as the total of four (human) ages, are called one age of the gods.

72. But know that the sum of one thousand ages of the gods (makes) one day of Brahman, and that his night has the same length.

73. Those (only, who) know that the holy day of

Nand., who merely substitutes 'tāvantaḥ' for 'tavataḥ,' seems to have held the same opinion.

66. Thus the moon regulates time for the manes.

69-71. Wilson, *Vishṇu-purāṇa* I, pp. 49-50 (ed. Hall).

73. According to the commentators the word *punya*, 'holy,' is

Brahman, indeed, ends after (the completion of) one thousand ages (of the gods) and that his night lasts as long, (are really) men acquainted with (the length of) days and nights.

74. At the end of that day and night he who was asleep, awakes and, after awaking, creates mind, which is both real and unreal.

75. Mind, impelled by (Brahman's) desire to create, performs the work of creation by modifying itself, thence ether is produced; they declare that sound is the quality of the latter.

76. But from ether, modifying itself, springs the pure, powerful wind, the vehicle of all perfumes; that is held to possess the quality of touch.

77. Next from wind, modifying itself, proceeds the brilliant light, which illuminates and dispels

used in order to indicate that the knowledge of the duration of Brahman's day is 'meritorious.'

74. Two explanations of the second half of the verse are offered by the commentators. It may mean either that Brahman on awaking from his sleep first creates the great principle (mahat), which here, as elsewhere, is called *manas*, 'mind,' or that he appoints (*sṛigati*) his own internal organ or mind (*manas*), which at an intermediate destruction (*avântara* or *antarâlapralaya*) remains in existence, to create the world. Medh. and Kull. give both explanations, and prefer the former. Gov. gives the second alone, while Nâr. and Nand. adhere to the first. The latter takes *manas* as denoting the three principles, the great one, egoism, and mind, and explains *sadasadâtmakam*, 'which is both real and unreal,' as in verse 14, by *prakṛtīvīkṛtīyâtmakam*, 'being both an evolvent and an evolute.'

75. 'Thence,' i.e. 'from mind changed to egoism,' Nâr. (similarly Kull.), or 'from Brahman.'

76. As the Sâmkhya doctrine (*Sâmkhyakârikâ*, ver. 25) makes all the rudimentary elements proceed from egoism, Medh. takes the first words of the verse to mean, 'But from egoism which modifies itself, wind springs next after ether.' He, of course, adopts the same trick of interpretation in the following three verses.

darkness; that is declared to possess the quality of colour;

78. And from light, modifying itself, (is produced) water, possessing the quality of taste, from water earth which has the quality of smell; such is the creation in the beginning.

79. The before-mentioned age of the gods, (or) twelve thousand (of their years), being multiplied by seventy-one, (constitutes what) is here named the period of a Manu (Manvantara).

80. The Manvantaras, the creations and destructions (of the world, are) numberless; sporting, as it were, Brahman repeats this again and again.

81. In the *Kṛita* age Dharma is four-footed and entire, and (so is) Truth; nor does any gain accrue to men by unrighteousness.

82. In the other (three ages), by reason of (unjust) gains (*âgama*), Dharma is deprived successively of

78. 'In the beginning,' i.e. 'after a total destruction' (*mahâ-pralaya*), (Kull.); 'after an intermediate destruction' (Gov., *Nâr.*); 'before the creation of the mundane egg' (Nand.).

81. The reason why Dharma, 'justice or law,' is said to be *ĥatushpât* is explained, as Kull. points out, by Manu VIII, 16. Regarding the ulterior signification of the myth which represents Dharma as a four-footed animal, the following opinions are advanced: 1. The four feet represent the four principal priests at the sacrifice (Medh.); 2. or the four chief castes (Medh., Nand.); 3. or the four chief means of gaining merit, austerities, knowledge, sacrifices, and liberality, see below, verse 86 (Medh., Kull., *Nâr.*, K.); 4. or finally the four kinds of speech, mentioned *Rig-veda* I, 164, 45 (Medh.). All the commentators agree in stating that Truth, though comprised in the Dharma, is mentioned specially in order to show its paramount importance. Nand. reads the last words *nâdharma nâgamaḥ kâṣṭhin*, &c., and explains, 'Neither any demerit nor any sacred lore, *Sâstra*, approached men, i. e. no Institutes of the law were necessary.'

82. Medh. explains the first half-verse differently, 'In the other three ages, Dharma, the sacred law, (which is derived) from the

one foot, and through (the prevalence of) theft, falsehood, and fraud the merit (gained by men) is diminished by one fourth (in each).

83. (Men are) free from disease, accomplish all their aims, and live four hundred years in the *Kṛita* age, but in the *Tretâ* and (in each of) the succeeding (ages) their life is lessened by one quarter.

84. The life of mortals, mentioned in the *Veda*, the desired results of sacrificial rites and the (super-natural) power of embodied (spirits) are fruits proportioned among men according to (the character of) the age.

85. One set of duties (is prescribed) for men in the *Kṛita* age, different ones in the *Tretâ* and in the

sacred lore (*âgama*), i.e. the *Veda*, is made to withdraw one foot after the other, one foot in each age, i.e. disappears (gradually) because the power of men to learn and to remember the sacred texts diminishes.' Gov. says, 'But in the *Tretâ* and the other ages, *Dharma*, the sacred law, (derived) from the sacred lore (*âgama*), the *Sâstra*, i.e. the performance of sacrifices and so forth, is made to withdraw, i.e. is diminished successively by one quarter in each age, through (the prevalence of) theft, falsehood, and fraud.' Nand. finally differs still more, 'In the other three ages, i.e. the *Tretâ* and the rest, *Dharma*, (virtue or justice is determined) by means of the sacred lore (*âgama*),' the *Sâstra*, but this *Dharma* is lessened by one quarter in each; 'lessening the *Dharma*' is intended to convey the meaning of 'lessening the determination of the *Dharma*.' The translation follows Kull., Nâr., and Râgh.

83. In order to reconcile this statement regarding the age of men in the *Kṛita* age with various passages of the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Purâṇas*, which attribute to certain heroes and sages lives of many thousand years, the commentators explain our passage as meaning that four hundred years were the natural term of life, which, however, might be lengthened through the performance of austerities. They further assert that in the passage *Kâṭhaka* 34, 5, which names one hundred years as the term of human existence, the numeral is used in the sense of 'many.'

Dvâpara, and (again) another (set) in the Kali, in proportion as (those) ages decrease in length.

86. In the *Kṛita* age the chief (virtue) is declared to be (the performance of) austerities, in the *Tretâ* (divine) knowledge, in the *Dvâpara* (the performance of) sacrifices, in the Kali liberality alone.

87. But in order to protect this universe He, the most resplendent one, assigned separate (duties and) occupations to those who sprang from his mouth, arms, thighs, and feet.

88. To *Brâhmaṇas* he assigned teaching and studying (the Veda), sacrificing for their own benefit and for others, giving and accepting (of alms).

89. The *Kshatriya* he commanded to protect the people, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Veda), and to abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures ;

90. The *Vaisya* to tend cattle, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Veda), to trade, to lend money, and to cultivate land.

91. One occupation only the lord prescribed to the *Sûdra*, to serve meekly even these (other) three castes.

92. Man is stated to be purer above the navel (than below) ; hence the Self-existent (*Svayambhû*) has declared the purest (part) of him (to be) his mouth.

93. As the *Brâhmaṇa* sprang from (Brahman's)

87. See above, verse 31.

88-91. See below, X, 75-79, 99.

89. I read with Medh., Râgh., and K. *saṃâdisat*, 'he commanded,' for *saṃâsataḥ*, 'briefly.' Nand. reads *akalpayat*.

92. See below, V, 132.

93. *Dharmataḥ prabhuḥ*, 'by right the lord,' agrees with Nâr.'s and Nand.'s glosses. Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh. say, 'he is with

mouth, as he was the first-born, and as he possesses the Veda, he is by right the lord of this whole creation.

94. For the Self-existent (Svayambhū), having performed austerities, produced him first from his own mouth, in order that the offerings might be conveyed to the gods and manes and that this universe might be preserved.

95. What created being can surpass him, through whose mouth the gods continually consume the sacrificial viands and the manes the offerings to the dead?

96. Of created beings the most excellent are said to be those which are animated; of the animated, those which subsist by intelligence; of the intelligent, mankind; and of men, the Brāhmanas;

97. Of Brāhmanas, those learned (in the Veda); of the learned, those who recognise (the necessity and the manner of performing the prescribed duties); of those who possess this knowledge, those who perform them; of the performers, those who know the Brahman.

98. The very birth of a Brāhmaṇa is an eternal incarnation of the sacred law; for he is born to (fulfil) the sacred law, and becomes one with Brahman.

respect to the law the lord, i.e. entitled to prescribe their duties to this whole creation.'

94. Tapas taptvā, 'having performed austerities,' is added, as Nand. says, in order to show 'particularly great consideration' (tapas taptvety âdarâtisayaḥ). See above, verses 33, 34, 41.

97. Medh., Nâr., and Nand. explain *kr̥itabuddhayaḥ*, 'who recognise (the necessity and the manner of performing the prescribed duties),' by 'who know the meaning of the Veda.' 'Those who know the Brahman,' i.e. 'the sacred lore which leads to final emancipation.'

99. A Brâhmana, coming into existence, is born as the highest on earth, the lord of all created beings, for the protection of the treasury of the law.

100. Whatever exists in the world is the property of the Brâhmana; on account of the excellence of his origin the Brâhmana is, indeed, entitled to it all.

✓ 101. The Brâhmana eats but his own food, wears but his own apparel, bestows but his own in alms; other mortals subsist through the benevolence of the Brâhmana.

102. In order to clearly settle his duties and those of the other (castes) according to their order, wise Manu sprung from the Self-existent, composed these Institutes (of the sacred law).

✓ 103. A learned Brâhmana must carefully study them, and he must duly instruct his pupils in them, but nobody else (shall do it).

✓ 104. A Brâhmana who studies these Institutes (and) faithfully fulfils the duties (prescribed therein), is never tainted by sins, arising from thoughts, words, or deeds.

✓ 105. He sanctifies any company (which he may enter), seven ancestors and seven descendants, and he alone deserves (to possess) this whole earth.

106. (To study) this (work) is the best means of securing welfare, it increases understanding, it procures fame and long life, it (leads to) supreme bliss.

100. 'On account of the excellence of his origin,' i.e. because he sprang from Brahman's mouth.

103. The verse is not intended to exclude Kshatriyas and Vairyas from the right of studying the Manusamhitâ, but merely from teaching it.

104. *Samsitavratâh*, 'who faithfully fulfils the duties,' is based on Gov.'s full explanation *etadarthâvabodhena samsitavrato visish/a-yamaniyamañ san*, with which Medh. closely agrees.

107. In this (work) the sacred law has been fully stated as well as the good and bad qualities of (human) actions and the immemorial rule of conduct, (to be followed) by all the four castes (*varṇa*).

✓ 108. The rule of conduct is transcendent law, whether it be taught in the revealed texts or in the sacred tradition; hence a twice-born man who possesses regard for himself, should be always careful to (follow) it.

✓ 109. A *Brāhmaṇa* who departs from the rule of conduct, does not reap the fruit of the Veda, but he who duly follows it, will obtain the full reward.

110. The sages who saw that the sacred law is thus grounded on the rule of conduct, have taken good conduct to be the most excellent root of all austerity.

111. The creation of the universe, the rule of the sacraments, the ordinances of studentship, and the respectful behaviour (towards Gurus), the most excellent rule of bathing (on return from the teacher's house),

107. 'The good and bad qualities of (human) actions,' i.e. according to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Nand. 'the good and the bad results of actions,' or according to Rāgh. and Nār. 'the prescribed actions which are good and the forbidden ones which are bad.'

108. My translation of *ātmavân*, 'who possesses regard for himself,' follows Medh. and Kull. Gov. explains it by 'of excellent disposition,' Nār. by 'endowed with firmness,' and Rāgh. by 'who believes in a life after death.'

109. *Vedaphalam*, 'the fruit of the Veda,' i.e. 'the rewards for the acts prescribed by the Veda' (Medh., Gov., Kull., and Nār.).

110. Vas. VI, 1-8. 'The rule of conduct or good conduct' (*âkâra*), mentioned here and in the preceding verses, comprises the numerous usages prescribed partly in the Veda and partly in the *Dharmaśāstras*, such as anointing oneself with butter on the occasion of particular sacrifices or sipping water on certain occasions.

112. (The law of) marriage and the description of the (various) marriage-rites, the regulations for the great sacrifices and the eternal rule of the funeral sacrifices,

113. The description of the modes of (gaining) subsistence and the duties of a Snâtaka, (the rules regarding) lawful and forbidden food, the purification of men and of things,

114. The laws concerning women, (the law) of hermits, (the manner of gaining) final emancipation and (of) renouncing the world, the whole duty of a king and the manner of deciding lawsuits,

115. The rules for the examination of witnesses, the laws concerning husband and wife, the law of (inheritance and) division, (the law concerning) gambling and the removal of (men noxious like) thorns,

✓ 116. (The law concerning) the behaviour of Vaisyas and Sûdras, the origin of the mixed castes, the law for all castes in times of distress and the law of penances,

117. The threefold course of transmigrations, the result of (good or bad) actions, (the manner of attaining) supreme bliss and the examination of the good and bad qualities of actions,

118. The primeval laws of countries, of castes (*gâti*), of families, and the rules concerning heretics and companies (of traders and the like)—(all that) Manu has declared in these Institutes.

119. As Manu, in reply to my questions, formerly promulgated these Institutes, even so learn ye also the (whole work) from me.

CHAPTER II.

1. Learn that sacred law which is followed by men learned (in the Veda) and assented to in their hearts by the virtuous, who are ever exempt from hatred and inordinate affection.

2. To act solely from a desire for rewards is not laudable, yet an exemption from that desire is not (to be found) in this (world): for on (that) desire is grounded the study of the Veda and the performance of the actions, prescribed by the Veda.

3. The desire (for rewards), indeed, has its root in the conception that an act can yield them, and in consequence of (that) conception sacrifices are performed; vows and the laws prescribing restraints are all stated to be kept through the idea that they will bear fruit.

4. Not a single act here (below) appears ever to be done by a man free from desire; for whatever (man) does, it is (the result of) the impulse of desire.

5. He who persists in discharging these (prescribed duties) in the right manner, reaches the deathless

II. 2. Âp. I, 6, 20, 1-4. 'Is not laudable,' because such a disposition leads not to final liberation, but to new births' (Gov., Kull.).

3. Nand. takes the beginning of the verse differently, 'The desire for rewards is the root of the resolve to perform an act' (*saṃkalpa*). 'Vows,' i.e. 'acts to be performed during one's whole lifetime, like those of the *Snâtaka*' (chap. IV), Medh., Gov., Nâr.; 'the vows of a student,' Nand.; 'the laws prescribing restraints,' i.e. 'the prohibitive rules, e.g. those forbidding to injure living beings,' Medh., Gov., Nâr.; 'the rules affecting hermits and *Saṃnyâsins*,' Nand. Kull. refers both terms to the rules in chap. IV.

5. 'In the right manner,' i.e. 'as they are prescribed in the Vedas and without expecting rewards.' 'The deathless state,' i.e. 'final liberation.'

state and even in this (life) obtains (the fulfilment of) all the desires that he may have conceived.

6. The whole Veda is the (first) source of the sacred law, next the tradition and the virtuous conduct of those who know the (Veda further), also the customs of holy men, and (finally) self-satisfaction.

7. Whatever law has been ordained for any (person) by Manu, that has been fully declared in the Veda : for that (sage was) omniscient.

8. But a learned man after fully scrutinising all this with the eye of knowledge, should, in accordance with the authority of the revealed texts, be intent on (the performance of) his duties.

6. Âp. I, 1, 1, 1-3; Gaut. I, 1-4; XXVIII, 48; Vas. I, 4-6; Baudh. I, 1, 1, 1-6; Yâgñ. I, 7.

Śīla, 'virtuous conduct,' i.e. 'the suppression of inordinate affection and hatred,' Medh., Gov.; 'the thirteenfold śīla, behaving as becomes a Brāhmaṇa, devotedness to gods and parents, kindness,' &c., Kull.; 'that towards which many men who know the Veda naturally incline,' Nār.; 'that which makes one honoured by good men,' Nand. 'Customs,' e.g. such as tying at marriages a thread round the wrist of the bride (Medh., Gov.), wearing a blanket or a garment of bark (Kull.). Though the commentators try to find a difference between śīla and âkâra, it may be that both terms are used here, because in some Dharma-sûtras, e.g. Gaut. I, 2, the former and in some the latter (e.g. Vas. I, 5) is mentioned. The 'self-satisfaction,' i.e. of the virtuous (Medh., Gov., Nand.), is the rule for cases not to be settled by any of the other authorities (Nār., Nand.), or for cases where an option is permitted (Medh., Gov., Kull.).

7. The last clause is taken differently by Gov., who explains it, 'for that (Veda) is made up, as it were, of all knowledge.' Medh. gives substantially the same explanation.

8. 'All this,' i.e. 'the Sâstras' (Medh., Gov., Kull.); 'these Institutes of Manu' (Nār.); 'these different authorities' (Nand.). 'With the eye of knowledge,' i.e. 'with the help of grammar, of the Mîmāṃsâ, &c.' (Medh., Kull.).

9. For that man who obeys the law prescribed in the revealed texts and in the sacred tradition, gains fame in this (world) and after death unsurpassable bliss.

10. But by *Sruti* (revelation) is meant the Veda, and by *Smṛiti* (tradition) the Institutes of the sacred law: those two must not be called into question in any matter, since from those two the sacred law shone forth.

11. Every twice-born man, who, relying on the Institutes of dialectics, treats with contempt those two sources (of the law), must be cast out by the virtuous, as an atheist and a scorner of the Veda.

12. The Veda, the sacred tradition, the customs of virtuous men, and one's own pleasure, they declare to be visibly the fourfold means of defining the sacred law.

13. The knowledge of the sacred law is prescribed for those who are not given to the acquisition of wealth and to the gratification of their desires; to those who seek the knowledge of the sacred law the supreme authority is the revelation (*Sruti*).

14. But when two sacred texts (*Sruti*) are con-

11. 'Relying on the Institutes of dialectics,' i.e. 'relying on the atheistic institutes of reasoning, such as those of the Bauddhas and *Kârvâkas*' (Medh.); 'relying on methods of reasoning, directed against the Veda' (Kull., Nâr.).

12. The first half of this verse agrees literally with *Yâgñ. I, 7*.

13. According to 'another' commentator, quoted by Medh., and according to Gov., Kull., and Nâr., the meaning of the first half is, 'the exhortation to learn the sacred law applies to those only who do not pursue worldly objects, because those who obey (or learn, Nâr.) the sacred law merely in order to gain worldly advantages, such as wealth, fame, &c., derive no spiritual advantage from it (because they will not really obey it,' Nâr.). Medh., on the other hand, thinks that *vidhiyate*, 'is prescribed,' means 'is found with.'

flicting, both are held to be law; for both are pronounced by the wise (to be) valid law.

15. (Thus) the (Agnihotra) sacrifice may be (optionally) performed, at any time after the sun has risen, before he has risen, or when neither sun nor stars are visible; that (is declared) by Vedic texts.

16. Know that he for whom (the performance of) the ceremonies beginning with the rite of impregnation (Garbhâdhâna) and ending with the funeral rite (Antyeshî) is prescribed, while sacred formulas are being recited, is entitled (to study) these Institutes, but no other man whatsoever.

17. That land, created by the gods, which lies between the two divine rivers Sarasvati and Dri-shadvati, the (sages) call Brahmâvarta.

18. The custom handed down in regular succession (since time immemorial) among the (four chief) castes (varna) and the mixed (races) of that country, is called the conduct of virtuous men.

19. The plain of the Kurus, the (country of the) Matsyas, Pañcâlas, and Sûrasenakas, these (form), indeed, the country of the Brahmarshis (Brâhmanical sages, which ranks) immediately after Brahmâvarta.

15. The Agnihotra, here referred to, consists of two sets of oblations, one of which is offered in the morning and the other in the evening. The expression samayâdhyushite, rendered in accordance with Kull.'s gloss, 'when neither sun nor stars are visible,' is explained by Medh. as 'the time of dawn' (ushasâ kâlâ), or 'as the time when the night disappears,' with which latter interpretation Gov. agrees.

16. The persons meant are the males of the three Âryan varṇas. The sacraments may be performed for women and Sûdras also, but without the recitation of mantras (II, 66; X, 127).

19. This tract comprises the Doab from the neighbourhood of Delhi as far as Mathurâ, the capital of the ancient Sûrasenakas.

20. From a Brāhmaṇa, born in that country, let all men on earth learn their several usages.

21. That (country) which (lies) between the Himavat and the Vindhya (mountains) to the east of Prayāga and to the west of Vinasana (the place where the river Sarasvatī disappears) is called Madhyadesa (the central region).

22. But (the tract) between those two mountains (just mentioned), which (extends) as far as the eastern and the western oceans, the wise call Āryāvarta (the country of the Āryans).

23. That land where the black antelope naturally roams, one must know to be fit for the performance of sacrifices; (the tract) different from that (is) the country of the Mlekkhas (barbarians).

24. Let twice-born men seek to dwell in those (above-mentioned countries); but a Sūdra, distressed for subsistence, may reside anywhere.

25. Thus has the origin of the sacred law been succinctly described to you and the origin of this universe; learn (now) the duties of the castes (varṇa).

26. With holy rites, prescribed by the Veda, must the ceremony on conception and other sacraments be performed for twice-born men, which sanctify the body and purify (from sin) in this (life) and after death.

21. The place where the river Sarasvatī disappears lies in the Hissār districts. Prayāga, i.e. Allahābād.

22. Vas. I, 9; Baudh. I, 2, 10.

23. Vas. I, 13-15; Baudh. I, 2, 12-15; Yāgñ. I, 2.

25. Gov. explains dharma, 'the sacred law,' by 'spiritual merit.'

26-35. Gaut. VIII, 14-20; Vi. XXVII, 1-12; Yāgñ. I, 10-13.

26. Medh. mentions another explanation for the first words, 'With holy rites, accompanied by the recitation of Vedic texts,' and Gov. thinks that 'vaidika' is to be taken in both meanings.

27. By burnt oblations during (the mother's) pregnancy, by the *Gâtakarman* (the ceremony after birth), the *Kauda* (tonsure), and the *Mauṅgibandhana* (the tying of the sacred girdle of *Muṅga* grass) is the taint, derived from both parents, removed from twice-born men.

28. By the study of the Veda, by vows, by burnt oblations, by (the recitation of) sacred texts, by the (acquisition of the) threefold sacred science, by offering (to the gods, *Rishis*, and manes), by (the procreation of) sons, by the great sacrifices, and by (*Srauta*) rites this (human) body is made fit for (union with) Brahman.

29. Before the navel-string is cut, the *Gâtakarman* (birth-rite) must be performed for a male (child); and while sacred formulas are being recited, he must be fed with gold, honey, and butter.

27. 'The burnt oblations during the mother's pregnancy' are the *Pumsavana*, *Sîmantonnayana*, and so forth; see *Âsv. Grîhya-sûtra* I, 13-14.

28. 'By vows,' i.e. 'the vows undertaken by the student when he learns particular portions of the Vedas, such as the *Sâvitrvrata*' (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Nâr.*); 'voluntary restraints, such as the abstention from honey, meat, &c.' (*Kull.*, *Râgh.*); 'vows such as the *Prâgâpatya* penance' (*Nand.*). 'By burnt oblations,' i.e. 'the daily offerings of fuel' (II, 108). *Traividya*, 'by the acquisition of the threefold sacred science,' i.e. 'by learning the meaning of the three Vedas' (*Medh.*, *Nand.*); 'by undertaking the vow to study the three Vedas during thirty-six years' (III, 1; *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*). *Igyayâ*, 'by offering to the gods, *Rishis*, and manes,' i.e. by performing the so-called *Tarpana* (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*), or 'by offering the *Pâkayagñas*' (*Nâr.*, *Nand.*). *Medh.* takes *brâhmî*, 'fit for union with Brahman,' to mean 'connected with Brahman,' but gives our version, which all the other commentators adopt, as the opinion of 'others.'

29. *Âsv. Grîhya-sûtra* I, 15, 1; *Mânava Grîhya-sûtra* I, 17, 1; *Pâraskara Grîhya-sûtra* I, 16, 4. Though the text clearly says that the child is to be fed with gold, honey, and butter, it appears from the *Grîhya-sûtras*, as also some of the commentators point out,

30. But let (the father perform or) cause to be performed the Nâmadheya (the rite of naming the child), on the tenth or twelfth (day after birth), or on a lucky lunar day, in a lucky muhûrta, under an auspicious constellation.

31. Let (the first part of) a Brâhmaṇa's name (denote something) auspicious, a Kshatriya's be connected with power, and a Vaisya's with wealth, but a Sûdra's (express something) contemptible.

32. (The second part of) a Brâhmaṇa's (name) shall be (a word) implying happiness, of a Kshatriya's (a word) implying protection, of a Vaisya's (a term) expressive of thriving, and of a Sûdra's (an expression) denoting service.

33. The names of women should be easy to pronounce, not imply anything dreadful, possess a plain meaning, be pleasing and auspicious, end in long vowels, and contain a word of benediction.

that the last two substances only are to be given to the child, after they have been touched with a piece of gold, or a golden ring.

30. Âsv. *Grihya-sûtra* I, 15, 4-10; *Pâraskara* I, 17, 1-6. Nâr. and Nand. are in doubt whether the numerals 'the tenth or twelfth' refer to lunar or solar days, because they stand in the feminine gender and either tithi or râtri may be supplied. Kull. gives an alternative version of the date, 'after the tenth (the last day of impurity, i. e.) on the eleventh or twelfth,' which Medh. also mentions, but rejects. Kull. considers that the third and fourth vâ, 'or,' which stand after muhûrta and nakshatra, have the sense of 'just,' and do not introduce a third alternative.

31-32. K. omits 31b and 32a. Nâr. and Râgh. think that the second part of a Brâhmaṇa's name must contain the word *śarman* and no other, while the general opinion of the others is that it may be *śarman* or some synonym, implying 'happiness or refuge.' Medh. expressly rejects the former view, and gives as examples of correct formations, Svâmidatta, Bhavabhûti, Indrasvâmin, Indrâśrama, Indradatta.

33. Medh. irreverently, but pertinently, remarks that there is no

34. In the fourth month the Nishkramana (the first leaving of the house) of the child should be performed, in the sixth month the Annaprâsana (first feeding with rice), and optionally (any other) auspicious ceremony required by (the custom of) the family.

35. According to the teaching of the revealed texts, the Kûdâkarman (tonsure) must be performed, for the sake of spiritual merit, by all twice-born men in the first or third year.

36. In the eighth year after conception, one should perform the initiation (upanâyana) of a Brâhmaṇa, in the eleventh after conception (that) of a Kshatriya, but in the twelfth that of a Vaisya.

37. (The initiation) of a Brâhmaṇa who desires proficiency in sacred learning should take place in the fifth (year after conception), (that) of a Kshatriya who wishes to become powerful in the sixth, (and that) of a Vaisya who longs for (success in his) business in the eighth,

38. The (time for the) Sâvitṛi (initiation) of a

difference between 'auspiciousness' (maṅgala) and 'benediction' (âśīrvâda), and that the latter word has been added merely in order to complete the verse.

34. Âsv. Grîhya-sûtra I, 16; Pâraskara I, 17, 5; 19, 1-6. The last clause, which permits the adoption of particular family-customs, refers, according to Medh., Gov., and Kull., to all sacraments.

35. Âsv. Grîhya-sûtra I, 17, 1; Pâraskara II, 1. Nâr. and Nand. explain dharmataḥ, 'for the sake of spiritual merit,' by 'according to the law of the family' (see Âsv. Grîhya-sûtra, loc. cit.).

36-37. Âp. I, 1, 5, 8-21; Gaut. I, 5-14; Vas. II, 3; XI, 49-73; Baudh. I, 3, 7-12; Vi. XXVII, 15-28; Yâgyñ. I, 14.

37. As the commentators point out, the person who has the particular wish is not the boy, but his father.

38-40. Âp. I, 1, 22-2, 10; Gaut. XXI, 11; Vas. XI, 74-79;

Brâhmaṇa does not pass until the completion of the sixteenth year (after conception), of a Kshatriya until the completion of the twenty-second, and of a Vaisya until the completion of the twenty-fourth.

39. After those (periods men of) these three (castes) who have not received the sacrament at the proper time, become Vrâtyas (outcasts), excluded from the Sâvitṛī (initiation) and despised by the Âryans.

40. With such men, if they have not been purified according to the rule, let no Brâhmaṇa ever, even in times of distress, form a connexion either through the Veda or by marriage.

41. Let students, according to the order (of their castes), wear (as upper dresses) the skins of black antelopes, spotted deer, and he-goats, and (lower garments) made of hemp, flax or wool.

42. The girdle of a Brâhmaṇa shall consist of a triple cord of Muñga grass, smooth and soft ; (that) of a Kshatriya, of a bowstring, made of Mûrvâ fibres ; (that) of a Vaisya, of hempen threads.

Baudh. I, 16, 16 ; Vi., loc. cit., and LIV, 26 ; Yâgñ. I, 37-38. 'Some' take the preposition â, 'until,' in the sense of 'until the beginning of,' Kull.

40. 'Connexion through the Veda,' i.e. teaching them or studying under them, sacrificing for them, or electing them to be priests, accepting religious gifts from them or giving them. Râgh. omits verse 40.

41. Âp. I, 2, 39-3, 9 ; Gaut. I, 16, 21 ; Vas. XI, 61-67 ; Baudh. I, 3, 14 ; Vi. XXVII, 19-20. Râgh. explains *ruru*, 'a spotted deer,' by 'a tiger.'

42. Âp. I, 2, 33-37 ; Gaut. I, 15 ; Vas. XI, 58-60 ; Baudh. I, 3, 13 ; Vi. XXVII, 18 ; Yâgñ. I, 29. Medh. and Gov. think that the girdle of a Kshatriya is not to consist of three separate strings twisted together, and Kull. apparently holds the same opinion. Râgh. and Nâr. say that every bowstring naturally consists of three strings.

43. If *Muñga* grass (and so forth) be not procurable, (the girdles) may be made of *Kusa*, *Asman-taka*, and *Balbaga* (fibres), with a single threefold knot, or with three or five (knots according to the custom of the family).

44. The sacrificial string of a *Brāhmaṇa* shall be made of cotton, (shall be) twisted to the right, (and consist) of three threads, that of a *Kshatriya* of hempen threads, (and) that of a *Vaisya* of woollen threads.

45. A *Brāhmaṇa* shall (carry), according to the sacred law, a staff of *Bilva* or *Palāsa*; a *Kshatriya*, of *Vata* or *Khadira*; (and) a *Vaisya*, of *Pīlu* or *Udumbara*.

46. The staff of a *Brāhmaṇa* shall be made of such length as to reach the end of his hair; that of a *Kshatriya*, to reach his forehead; (and) that of a *Vaisya*, to reach (the tip of his) nose.

47. Let all the staves be straight, without a blemish, handsome to look at, not likely to terrify men, with their bark perfect, unhurt by fire.

48. Having taken a staff according to his choice, having worshipped the sun and walked round the

43. 'With a single threefold knot' seems to mean that each of the strings of the girdle shall first be knotted, and the three knots be afterwards tied together in one. *Nār.* and *Rāgh.*, however, take *trivṛtā*, 'threefold,' separately, and refer it to the string. They thus support Sir W. Jones' translation, 'in triple strings, with one, &c.'

44. *Âp.* II, 4, 22; *Gaut.* I, 36; *Vas.* XII, 14; *Baudh.* I, 5, 5; *Vi.* XXVII, 19.

45-47. *Âp.* I, 2, 38; *Gaut.* I, 22; *Vas.* XI, 52-57; *Baudh.* I, 3, 15; *Vi.* XXVII, 22-24; *Yâgñ.* I, 29.

47. *Anudvegakarâḥ*, 'not likely to terrify anybody' (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*), means according to *Nār.* 'not causing displeasure (to the wearer) by faults such as roughness.'

48-57. *Âp.* I, 3, 25-4, 4; *Gaut.* II, 35-41; *Vas.* XI, 68-70; *Baudh.* I, 3, 16-18; *Vi.* XXVII, 25; *Yâgñ.* I, 30; 51-57. *Âp.* II,

fire, turning his right hand towards it, (the student) should beg alms according to the prescribed rule.

49. An initiated Brāhmaṇa should beg, beginning (his request with the word) lady (bhavati); a Kshatriya, placing (the word) lady in the middle, but a Vaisya, placing it at the end (of the formula).

50. Let him first beg food of his mother, or of his sister, or of his own maternal aunt, or of (some other) female who will not disgrace him (by a refusal).

51. Having collected as much food as is required (from several persons), and having announced it without guile to his teacher, let him eat, turning his face towards the east, and having purified himself by sipping water.

52. (His meal will procure) long life, if he eats facing the east; fame, if he turns to the south; prosperity, if he turns to the west; truthfulness, if he faces the east.

53. Let a twice-born man always eat his food with concentrated mind, after performing an ablution; and after he has eaten, let him duly cleanse himself with water and sprinkle the cavities (of his head).

54. Let him always worship his food, and eat it without contempt; when he sees it, let him rejoice,

1, 2-3; 3, 11; Gaut. IX, 59; Vas. III, 69; XII, 18-20; Baudh. II, 5, 18, 21-6, 2; 13, 12; Vi. LVIII, 34-35, 40-44; Yâgñ. I, 27, 31, 112.

52. Medh. and Nâr. propose for *ṛitam*, 'truthfulness,' an alternative explanation, 'the sacrifice.'

53. The word *nityam*, 'always,' indicates that this rule refers to householders also (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Nand.).

54. 'Worship,' i.e. 'consider as a deity' (Medh., Gov., Nand.), or 'meditate on its being required to sustain life' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or 'praise it with the verse,' Rig-veda I, 187, 1 (Nâr.).

show a pleased face, and pray that he may always obtain it.

55. Food, that is always worshipped, gives strength and manly vigour; but eaten irreverently, it destroys them both.

56. Let him not give to any man what he leaves, and beware of eating between (the two meal-times); let him not over-eat himself, nor go anywhere without having purified himself (after his meal).

57. Excessive eating is prejudicial to health, to fame, and to (bliss in) heaven; it prevents (the acquisition of) spiritual merit, and is odious among men; one ought, for these reasons, to avoid it carefully.

58. Let a Brâhmana always sip water out of the part of the hand (tirtha) sacred to Brahman, or out of that sacred to Ka (Pragâpati), or out of (that) sacred to the gods, never out of that sacred to the manes.

59. They call (the part) at the root of the thumb the tirtha sacred to Brahman, that at the root of the

55. Ūgam, 'manly vigour' (Gov., Kull.), or 'energy' (Nâr., Nand.), or 'bulk' (Medh.).

56. Medh. reads nâdyâd etat tathântarâ, and gives, besides the explanation adopted in the translation, two alternative interpretations: (1) 'let him not eat after interrupting his meal;' (2) 'let him not eat taking away his left hand from the dish.' Nand. reads nâdyâk kaitat tathântarâ, 'and let him not eat such a (remnant) given to him during (a meal by one of the company).'

58-62. Âp. I, 15, 1-16; Vas. III, 26-34; Baudh. I, 8, 12-23; Vi. LXII, 1-9; Yâgyñ. I, 18-21.

58. Though the text speaks of the Brâhmana only, the rule refers, as the commentators remark, to other Âryans too.

59. Aṅgulimûle, 'at the root of the little finger' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), means according to Medh. and Nand. 'at the root of the fingers.'

(little) finger (the tīrtha) sacred to Ka (Pragâpati), (that) at the tips (of the fingers, the tīrtha) sacred to the gods, and that below (between the index and the thumb, the tīrtha) sacred to the manes.

60. Let him first sip water thrice ; next twice wipe his mouth ; and, lastly, touch with water the cavities (of the head), (the seat of) the soul and the head.

61. He who knows the sacred law and seeks purity shall always perform the rite of sipping with water neither hot nor frothy, with the (prescribed) tīrtha, in a lonely place, and turning to the east or to the north.

62. A Brāhmaṇa is purified by water that reaches his heart, a Kshatriya by water reaching his throat, a Vaisya by water taken into his mouth, (and) a Sūdra by water touched with the extremity (of his lips).

63. A twice-born man is called upavṛtin when his right arm is raised (and the sacrificial string or the dress, passed under it, rests on the left shoulder) ; (when his) left (arm) is raised (and the string, or the dress, passed under it, rests on the right shoulder, he is called) prāñnāvṛtin ; and nivṛtin when it hangs down (straight) from the neck.

64. His girdle, the skin (which serves as his upper garment), his staff, his sacrificial thread, (and) his water-pot he must throw into water, when they have been damaged, and take others, reciting sacred formulas.

60. '(The seat of) the soul,' i. e. 'the heart' (all except Medh., who adds, or 'the navel').

61. 'Neither hot,' i. e. 'not boiled or heated on the fire' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nār., Nand.).

63. Baudh. I, 8, 5-10.

64. Baudh. I, 6, 7 ; Vi. XXVII, 29.

65. (The ceremony called) *Kesânta* (clipping the hair) is ordained for a *Brâhmaṇa* in the sixteenth year (from conception); for a *Kshatriya*, in the twenty-second; and for a *Vaisya*, two (years) later than that.

66. This whole series (of ceremonies) must be performed for females (also), in order to sanctify the body, at the proper time and in the proper order, but without (the recitation of) sacred texts.

67. The nuptial ceremony is stated to be the Vedic sacrament for women (and to be equal to the initiation), serving the husband (equivalent to) the residence in (the house of the) teacher, and the household duties (the same) as the (daily) worship of the sacred fire.

68. Thus has been described the rule for the initiation of the twice-born, which indicates a (new) birth, and sanctifies; learn (now) to what duties they must afterwards apply themselves.

69. Having performed the (rite of) initiation, the teacher must first instruct the (pupil) in (the rules of) personal purification, of conduct, of the fire-worship, and of the twilight devotions.

65. *Yâgñ.* I, 36. This is the ceremony also called *Godâna*; *Âsv. Gṛihya-sûtra* I, 18; *Pâraskara* II, 1, 3-7.

66-67. *Âsv. Gṛihya-sûtra* I, 16, 16; *Vi. XXVII*, 13-14; *Yâgñ.* I, 13. 'The Vedic sacrament,' i.e. 'the sacrament performed with sacred texts' (*Nand., Râgh.*), or 'having for its object the study of Vedic texts' (*Medh., Nâr.*). Hence women must not be initiated. As the parallel passage of *Âsv.* shows, the sacraments preceding the tonsure alone are to be given to them.

68. 'Which indicates their (real) birth, because an uninitiated man is equal to one unborn' (*Medh., Gov.*).

69-73. *Gaut.* I, 46-56; *Vi. XXX*, 32; *Yâgñ.* I, 15, 27.

70. But (a student) who is about to begin the study (of the Veda), shall receive instruction, after he has sipped water in accordance with the Institutes (of the sacred law), has made the *Brahmâñgali*, (has put on) a clean dress, and has brought his organs under due control.

71. At the beginning and at the end of (a lesson in the) Veda he must always clasp both the feet of his teacher, (and) he must study, joining his hands; that is called the *Brahmâñgali* (joining the palms for the sake of the Veda).

72. With crossed hands he must clasp (the feet) of the teacher, and touch the left (foot) with his left (hand), the right (foot) with his right (hand).

73. But to him who is about to begin studying, the teacher, always unwearied, must say: Ho, recite! He shall leave off (when the teacher says): Let a stoppage take place!

74. Let him always pronounce the syllable Om at the beginning and at the end of (a lesson in) the Veda; (for) unless the syllable Om precede (the lesson) will slip away (from him), and unless it follow it will fade away.

70. *Laghuvâsâh*, '(has put on) a clean dress' (Medh., Kull.), or 'a dress which is not gorgeous' (Gov., Nâr., Nand.), i.e. less valuable than the teacher's (Râgh.).

71-72. Âp. I, 5, 19-23; Baudh. I, 3, 28; Vi. XXVIII, 14-16.

73. Nâr. and Nand. read *adhyeshyamânas tu gurum*, &c. 'But the pupil, desiring to study, shall say to his teacher, Venerable Sir, recite! &c.' and this agrees with Gaut. I, 46. Nâr. mentions also the reading translated above, which the other commentators give.

74. Âp. I, 13, 6-7; Gaut. I, 57; Vi. XXX, 33. Visîryate, translated according to Kull. by 'will fade away,' means according to Medh. 'will become useless for practical purposes;' according to Gov. and Nâr. 'will not be properly understood during the lesson.' Medh. adds that the two terms contain similes, taken from boiling milk,

75. Seated on (blades of Kusa grass) with their points to the east, purified by Pavitras (blades of Kusa grass), and sanctified by three suppressions of the breath (Prânâyâma), he is worthy (to pronounce) the syllable Om.

76. Pragâpati (the lord of creatures) milked out (as it were) from the three Vedas the sounds A, U, and M, and (the Vyâhr̥itis) Bhûh, Bhuvah, Svah.

77. Moreover from the three Vedas Pragâpati, who dwells in the highest heaven (Parameshthin), milked out (as it were) that R̥ik-verse, sacred to Savitrî (Sâvitri), which begins with the word tad, one foot from each.

78. A Brâhmaṇa, learned in the Veda, who recites during both twilights that syllable and that (verse), preceded by the Vyâhr̥itis, gains the (whole) merit which (the recitation of) the Vedas confers.

79. A twice-born man who (daily) repeats those three one thousand times outside (the village), will be freed after a month even from great guilt, as a snake from its slough.

80. The Brâhmaṇa, the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya who neglect (the recitation of) that R̥ik-verse and the

and that one speaks also of the visarṇa, i.e. the spoiling of boiled milk.

75. Gaut. I, 48-50; Yâgñ. I, 23. 'Purified by Pavitras,' i.e. 'having touched the seat of the vital airs with blades of Kusa grass' (Medh., Gov., Nâr.); see Gaut. I, 48. Medh. mentions another explanation of Pavitra, adopted by Nand. also, according to which it means 'purificatory texts.' Regarding the term 'suppression of the breath,' see Vas. XXV, 13; Vi. LV, 9.

76. Vi. LV, 10.

77. Vi. LV, 11. The Sâvitri, i.e. the verse tat savitur vareṇyam, Rig-veda III, 62, 10.

78. Vi. LV, 12; Baudh. II, 11, 6.

79. Vi. LV, 13; Baudh. IV, 1, 29; Vas. XXVI, 4.

80. Vi. LV, 14.

timely (performance of the) rites (prescribed for) them, will be blamed among virtuous men.

81. Know that the three imperishable Mahāvya-hr̥tis, preceded by the syllable Om, and (followed) by the three-footed Sāvitrī are the portal of the Veda and the gate leading (to union with) Brahman.

82. He who daily recites that (verse), untired, during three years, will enter (after death) the highest Brahman, move as free as air, and assume an ethereal form.

83. The monosyllable (Om) is the highest Brahman, (three) suppressions of the breath are the best (form of) austerity, but nothing surpasses the Sāvitrī; truthfulness is better than silence.

84. All rites ordained in the Veda, burnt oblations and (other) sacrifices, pass away; but know that the syllable (Om) is imperishable, and (it is) Brahman, (and) the Lord of creatures (Pragâpati).

85. An offering, consisting of muttered prayers, is ten times more efficacious than a sacrifice performed

81. Vi. LV, 15. *Brahmano mukham*, literally, 'the mouth of Brahman,' is probably meant to convey the double sense given in the translation. Both interpretations are given by Medh., Kull., and Râgh., while Gov., Nâr., and Nand. explain it merely by 'the beginning or portal of the Veda;' see also Âp. I, 13, 6.

82. Vi. LV, 16.

83. Vi. LV, 17.

84. Vi. LVI, 18. 'Pass away,' i.e. 'as far as their results are concerned' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.), 'as far as their form and their results are concerned' (Nand.). Sacrifices procure only the perishable bliss of heaven, while the constant recitation of the syllable Om secures union with Brahman. According to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh., Brahman is here a neuter; according to Nâr. and Nand., a masculine. The words 'and (it is) Brahman (and) Pragâpati' (Medh., Gov., Nâr., Râgh.) are taken by Kull. as 'since it is Brahman (and) Pragâpati,' by Nand. as 'just like Brahman, the Lord of creatures.'

85. Vi. LVI, 19; Vas. XXVI, 9. The sacred texts meant are, of course, Om, the Vyâhr̥tis, and the Gâyatri.

according to the rules (of the Veda); a (prayer) which is inaudible (to others) surpasses it a hundred times, and the mental (recitation of sacred texts) a thousand times.

86. The four Pākayagñas and those sacrifices which are enjoined by the rules (of the Veda) are all together not equal in value to a sixteenth part of the sacrifice consisting of muttered prayers.

87. But, undoubtedly, a Brāhmaṇa reaches the highest goal by muttering prayers only; (whether) he perform other (rites) or neglect them, he who befriends (all creatures) is declared (to be) a (true) Brāhmaṇa.

88. A wise man should strive to restrain his organs which run wild among alluring sensual objects, like a charioteer his horses.

89. Those eleven organs which former sages have named, I will properly (and) precisely enumerate in due order,

90. (Viz.) the ear, the skin, the eyes, the tongue, and the nose as the fifth, the anus, the organ of generation, hands and feet, and the (organ of) speech, named as the tenth.

86. Vi. LVI, 20; Vas. XXVI, 10. 'The Pākayagñas,' i.e. 'the so-called great sacrifices to gods, manes, goblins, and men (III, 70) excluding the Brahmayagña' (Medh., Kull., Nār., Nand.). Gov. and Rāgh. understand the term as indicating 'all Smārta and Śrauta rites;' see also Jolly on Vishṇu, loc. cit.

87. Vi. LVI, 21; Vas. XXVI, 11. Maitraḥ, 'one who befriends (all creatures),' i.e. 'does not offer animal sacrifices.' Rāgh. proposes also the interpretation 'he who worships Mitra, the Sun.' Brāhmaṇaḥ, 'a (true) Brāhmaṇa,' i.e. 'one connected with Brahman,' 'one who will be absorbed in Brahman' (Kull.), 'the best of Brāhmaṇas' (brahmish/haḥ, Rāgh.). Medh. and Gov. take the last clause differently, 'it is declared (in the Veda that) a Brāhmaṇa (shall be) a friend (of all creatures).'

91. Five of them, the ear and the rest according to their order, they call organs of sense, and five of them, the anus and the rest, organs of action.

92. Know that the internal organ (*manas*) is the eleventh, which by its quality belongs to both (sets); when that has been subdued, both those sets of five have been conquered.

93. Through the attachment of his organs (to sensual pleasure) a man doubtlessly will incur guilt; but if he keep them under complete control, he will obtain success (in gaining all his aims).

94. Desire is never extinguished by the enjoyment of desired objects; it only grows stronger like a fire (fed) with clarified butter.

95. If one man should obtain all those (sensual enjoyments) and another should renounce them all, the renunciation of all pleasure is far better than the attainment of them.

96. Those (organs) which are strongly attached to sensual pleasures, cannot so effectually be restrained by abstinence (from enjoyments) as by a constant (pursuit of true) knowledge.

97. Neither (the study of) the Vedas, nor libera-

92. 'By its quality,' i.e. by the quality called *samkalpa*, the power of determining or shaping the impressions of the senses.

93. *Dosham*, 'guilt' (*Nâr.*), is taken by *Medh.*, *Gov.*, and *Kull.* in the sense of *drishṭvâdrishṭam* *dosham*, 'misery and guilt;' by *Râgh.* as *samsârâkhyam*, 'the misery of repeated births.' 'Success (in gaining all his aims),' i.e. 'the rewards of all good works and rites' (*Medh.*), or 'final liberation' (*Nâr.*, *Râgh.*), or 'all the aims of men, final liberation and the rest' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*).

96. *Asevayâ*, 'by abstinence from enjoyments' (*Gov.*, *Nâr.*, *Nand.*), means according to *Medh.* and *Kull.* 'by avoiding places where enjoyments are to be obtained,' i.e. 'by dwelling in the forest' (*Medh.*).

lity, nor sacrifices, nor any (self-imposed) restraint, nor austerities, ever procure the attainment (of rewards) to a man whose heart is contaminated (by sensuality).

98. That man may be considered to have (really) subdued his organs, who on hearing and touching and seeing, on tasting and smelling (anything) neither rejoices nor repines.

99. But when one among all the organs slips away (from control), thereby (man's) wisdom slips away from him, even as the water (flows) through the one (open) foot of a (water-carrier's) skin.

100. If he keeps all the (ten) organs as well as the mind in subjection, he may gain all his aims, without reducing his body by (the practice) of Yoga.

101. Let him stand during the morning twilight, muttering the *Sâvitri* until the sun appears, but (let him recite it), seated, in the evening until the constellations can be seen distinctly.

102. He who stands during the morning twilight muttering (the *Sâvitri*), removes the guilt contracted during the (previous) night; but he who (recites it),

99. 'Wisdom,' i.e. 'power of control over the senses' (Medh., Gov., Râgh.), or 'knowledge of the truth' (Kull.). I read with Medh., Gov., Nâr., Nand., Râgh., K., and the Bombay edition *pâdât*, instead of *pâtrât*. The explanation of the simile has been given correctly by Haughton in his note on Sir W. Jones' translation.

100. Nâr. and Nand. take *yogatah*, 'by the practice of Yoga,' with the chief clause, and Medh. mentions this construction too.

101. Âp. I, 30, 8; Gaut. II, 10-11; Vas. VII, 16; Baudh. II, 7, Vi. XXVIII, 2-3; *Yâgyñ.* I, 24-25.

102. Vas. XXVI, 2-3; Baudh. II, 7, 18, 20. Medh. and Gov. point out that only trifling faults can be expiated in this manner, otherwise the chapter on penances would be useless.

seated, in the evening, destroys the sin he committed during the day.

103. But he who does not (worship) standing in the morning, nor sitting in the evening, shall be excluded, just like a *Sûdra*, from all the duties and rights of an *Āryan*.

104. He who (desires to) perform the ceremony (of the) daily (recitation), may even recite the *Sāvitrī* near water, retiring into the forest, controlling his organs and concentrating his mind.

105. Both when (one studies) the supplementary treatises of the *Veda*, and when (one recites) the daily portion of the *Veda*, no regard need be paid to forbidden days, likewise when (one repeats) the sacred texts required for a burnt oblation.

106. There are no forbidden days for the daily recitation, since that is declared to be a *Brahmasattra* (an everlasting sacrifice offered to Brahman); at that the *Veda* takes the place of the burnt oblations, and it is meritorious (even), when (natural phenomena, requiring) a cessation of the *Veda*-study, take the place of the exclamation *Vasha!*

107. For him who, being pure and controlling his organs, during a year daily recites the *Veda* according to the rule, that (daily recitation) will ever cause sweet and sour milk, clarified butter and honey to flow.

103. Baudh. II, 17, 15.

104. Baudh. II, 11, 6. 'Even,' i.e. 'if he is unable to recite other Vedic texts.'

105-106. *Āp.* I, 12, 1-9; *Vas.* XIII, 7. The last clause of verse 106 finds its explanation by the passage from the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*, quoted by *Āp.* I, 12, 3. *Anadhyāyaḥ* ('not studying') means 'a cause for the interruption of the study, such as thunder or a violent wind, which takes the place of the exclamation *Vasha!*'

107. *Vi.* XXX, 34-38; *Yāgñ.* I, 41-46. *Nār.* and *Nand.* explain the four terms 'sweet and sour milk, clarified butter and

108. Let an Âryan who has been initiated, (daily) offer fuel in the sacred fire, beg food, sleep on the ground and do what is beneficial to his teacher, until (he performs the ceremony of) Samâvartana (on returning home).

109. According to the sacred law the (following) ten (persons, viz.) the teacher's son, one who desires to do service, one who imparts knowledge, one who is intent on fulfilling the law, one who is pure, a person connected by marriage or friendship, one who possesses (mental) ability, one who makes presents of money, one who is honest, and a relative, may be instructed (in the Veda).

110. Unless one be asked, one must not explain (anything) to anybody, nor (must one answer) a person who asks improperly; let a wise man, though he knows (the answer), behave among men as (if he were) an idiot.

111. Of the two persons, him who illegally explains (anything), and him who illegally asks (a question), one (or both) will die or incur (the other's) enmity.

honey,' as symbolical of the four objects of human existence, merit, wealth, pleasure, and liberation. Medh. quotes this interpretation as the opinion of 'others.'

108. Âp. I, 4, 16, 23, 25, 28, 32; Gaut. II, 8, 30, 35; Vas. VII, 9, 15; Vi. XXVIII, 4, 7, 9, 12; Baudh. I, 3, 16, 4, 4-8; Yâgñ. I, 25. Regarding the Samâvartana, see below, III, 3-4.

109. Yâgñ. I, 28. Dharmatah, 'according to the sacred law' (Kull., Nand.), means according to Medh., Gov., and Nâr. 'for the sake of spiritual merit.'

110. Âp. I, 32, 22-24; Vas. II, 12; Baudh. I, 4, 2; Vi. XXIX, 7. *Gadah*, 'an idiot,' means according to Medh. and Kull. 'dumb.'

111. Vi. XXIX, 7. The person who will die is in either case the offender. If both offend, both will die. *Vidvesham vâdhigakkhati*, 'will incur (the other's) enmity,' means according to Medh. and Gov. 'will incur odium among men;' according to Râgh. 'will lose the reward.'

112. Where merit and wealth are not (obtained by teaching) nor (at least) due obedience, in such (soil) sacred knowledge must not be sown, just as good seed (must) not (be thrown) on barren land.

113. Even in times of dire distress a teacher of the Veda should rather die with his knowledge than sow it in barren soil.

114. Sacred Learning approached a Brâhmaṇa and said to him: 'I am thy treasure, preserve me, deliver me not to a scorner; so (preserved) I shall become supremely strong.'

115. 'But deliver me, as to the keeper of thy treasure, to a Brâhmaṇa whom thou shalt know to be pure, of subdued senses, chaste and attentive.'

116. But he who acquires without permission the Veda from one who recites it, incurs the guilt of stealing the Veda, and shall sink into hell.

117. (A student) shall first reverentially salute that (teacher) from whom he receives (knowledge), referring to worldly affairs, to the Veda, or to the Brahman.

118. A Brâhmaṇa who completely governs himself, though he know the Sâvitṛī only, is better than he who knows the three Vedas, (but) does not control himself, eats all (sorts of) food, and sells all (sorts of goods).

119. One must not sit down on a couch or seat

112. Baudh. I, 4, 1; Vi. XXIX, 8.

113. This verse shows, as Medh. and Gov. point out, that under ordinary circumstances a learned man must teach what he knows.

114-115. Vas. II, 8-10; Vi. XXIX, 9-10; Nirukta II, 4.

116. Vi. XXX, 41-42.

117. Âp. I, 14, 7-9; Gaut. VI, 1-3, 5; Vas. XIII, 41-43; Baudh. I, 3, 25-28; Vi. XXXII, 1-4. This rule refers to any casual meeting.

119. Âp. I, 8, 11, 14, 17; Gaut. II, 21, 25.

which a superior occupies; and he who occupies a couch or seat shall rise to meet a (superior), and (afterwards) salute him.

120. For the vital airs of a young man mount upwards to leave his body when an elder approaches; but by rising to meet him and saluting he recovers them.

121. He who habitually salutes and constantly pays reverence to the aged obtains an increase of four (things), (viz.) length of life, knowledge, fame, (and) strength.

122. After the (word of) salutation, a Brâhmana who greets an elder must pronounce his name, saying, 'I am N. N.'

123. To those (persons) who, when a name is pronounced, do not understand (the meaning of) the salutation, a wise man should say, 'It is I;' and (he should address) in the same manner all women.

124. In saluting he should pronounce after his name the word *bhoḥ*; for the sages have declared that the nature of *bhoḥ* is the same as that of (all proper) names.

125. A Brâhmana should thus be saluted in return, 'May'st thou be long-lived, O gentle one!'

121. Âp. I, 5, 15; Baudh. I, 3, 26. Instead of *vidyâ* or *pragñâ*, 'knowledge,' Medh. reads *dharmaḥ*, 'spiritual merit,' and the same reading is given sec. man. in the text of Gov.

122. Âp. I, 5, 12; Gaut. VI, 5; Vas. XIII, 45; Baudh. I, 3, 27; Vi. XXVIII, 17; Yâgñ. I, 26. 'After the word of salutation,' i. e. after the word *abhivâdaye*, 'I salute' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Nand.).

123. Vas. XIII, 46. I. e. to those who either are unacquainted with grammar or with the *Dharmasâstra* (Medh.). Nand. places this verse after versé 126.

124. Vi. XXVIII, 17.

125. Âp. I, 5, 18; Vas. XIII, 46. The translation of the second half of the verse is based on the reading '*pûrvâksharaplutaḥ*,' which

and the vowel 'a' must be added at the end of the name (of the person addressed), the syllable preceding it being drawn out to the length of three moras.

126. A Brâhmaṇa who does not know the form of returning a salutation, must not be saluted by a learned man ; as a Sûdra, even so is he.

127. Let him ask a Brâhmaṇa, on meeting him, after (his health, with the word) kusala, a Kshatriya (with the word) anâmaya, a Vaisya (with the word) kshema, and a Sûdra (with the word) anârogya.

128. He who has been initiated (to perform a Srauta sacrifice) must not be addressed by his name, even though he be a younger man ; he who knows

Nand. gives, and Nâr. mentions as adopted by 'some.' It follows the interpretation of these two commentators which agrees in substance with the rule of Vasishṭha. The meaning is that Devadatta is to be pronounced 'Devadattâ3a,' Harabhûte, 'Harabhûtâ3ya,' &c.

Medh. and Kull. take the passage as follows : 'and the vowel (i.e.) "a" (and so forth) at the end of the name, (or in case the word ends in a consonant) that of the preceding syllable, must be drawn out the length of the three moras.' According to this interpretation, which requires the reading 'pûrvâksharaḥ plutaḥ,' Manu's rule agrees with Âp. and Pâṇini VIII, 2, 83. The obvious objection is that Medh. and Kull. are forced to take akâra, 'the vowel a,' in the sense of 'a vowel such as a,' and to understand with pûrvâksharaḥ the word svaraḥ, which does not occur in the verse. Gov. and Râgh. go far off the mark. Most commentators think that the word vipraḥ, 'a Brâhmaṇa,' is meant to include other Âryans also ; but see Âp. I, 14, 23.

126. It follows from this verse that Sûdras must never be greeted in the manner prescribed in the preceding rule.

127. Âp. I, 24, 26-29. The rule refers to friends or relatives meeting, not to every one who returns a salute (Gov.).

128. Gaut. VI, 19. The rule refers to the time between the performance of the Dikshazîyesh/i or initiatory ceremony and the final bath on completion of the sacrifice (Medh., Kull.). Besides bhoḥ and bhavat, the titles dikshita or yagamâna are to be used.

the sacred law must use in speaking to such (a man the particle) *bho* and (the pronoun) *bhavat* (your worship).

129. But to a female who is the wife of another man, and not a blood-relation, he must say, 'Lady' (*bhavati*) or 'Beloved sister!'

130. To his maternal and paternal uncles, fathers-in-law, officiating priests, (and other) venerable persons, he must say, 'I am N. N.,' and rise (to meet them), even though they be younger (than himself).

131. A maternal aunt, the wife of a maternal uncle, a mother-in-law, and a paternal aunt must be honoured like the wife of one's teacher; they are equal to the wife of one's teacher.

132. (The feet of the) wife of one's brother, if she be of the same caste (*varṇa*), must be clasped every day; but (the feet of) wives of (other) paternal and maternal relatives need only be embraced on one's return from a journey.

133. Towards a sister of one's father and of one's mother, and towards one's own elder sister, one must behave as towards one's mother; (but) the mother is more venerable than they.

134. Fellow-citizens are called friends (and equals though one be) ten years (older than the other), men

129. Vi. XXXII, 7.

130. Âp. I, 14, 11; Gaut. VI, 9; Vas. XIII, 41; Baudh. I, 4, 45; Vi. XXXII, 4. Gurūn, '(other) venerable persons, i.e. those venerable on account of their learning and austerities' (Kull., Râgh.), or 'his betters, because they are richer and so forth, e.g. the son of a sister' (Medh.), or 'the husband of a maternal aunt and so forth, but not those more learned than himself' (Gov.), or 'the teacher and the rest' (Nand.), or the 'sub-teachers' (*upādhyāya*, Nâr.).

131-132. Gaut. VI, 9; Âp. I, 14; Vi. XXXII, 2-3.

134. Âp. I, 14, 13; Gaut. VI, 14-17. Those who are 'friends'

practising (the same) fine art (though one be) five years (older than the other), Srottriyas (though) three years (intervene between their ages), but blood-relations only (if the) difference of age be very small.

135. Know that a Brâhmana of ten years and Kshatriya of a hundred years stand to each other in the relation of father and son ; but between those two the Brâhmana is the father.

136. Wealth, kindred, age, (the due performance of) rites, and, fifthly, sacred learning are titles to respect ; but each later-named (cause) is more weighty (than the preceding ones).

137. Whatever man of the three (highest) castes possesses most of those five, both in number and degree, that man is worthy of honour among them ; and (so is) also a Sûdra who has entered the tenth (decade of his life).

138. Way must be made for a man in a carriage, for one who is above ninety years old, for one diseased, for the carrier of a burden, for a woman, for a Snâtaka, for the king, and for a bridegroom.

139. Among all those, if they meet (at one time), a Snâtaka and the king must be (most) honoured ;

and equals may address each other with the words *bho*, *bhavat*, or *vayasya*, 'friend.' The explanation of the verse, which is substantially the same in all the commentaries, is based on Gaut.'s passage, while Haradatta's interpretation of Âp. somewhat differs.

135. Âp. I, 14, 25 ; Vi. XXXII, 17.

136. Gaut. VI, 20 ; Vas. XIII, 56-57 ; Vi. XXXII, 16 ; Yâgñ. I, 116.

137. Gaut. VI, 10 ; Yâgñ. I, 116.

138-139. Âp. II, 11, 5-7 ; Gaut. VI, 24-25 ; Vas. XIII, 58-60 ; Baudh. II, 6, 30 ; Vi. LXIII, 51 ; Yâgñ. I, 117. For the explanation of the term Snâtaka, see below, IV, 31.

and if the king and a Snâtaka (meet), the latter receives respect from the king.

✓ 140. They call that Brâhmana who initiates a pupil and teaches him the Veda together with the Kalpa and the Rahasyas, the teacher (âkârya, of the latter).

141. But he who for his livelihood teaches a portion only of the Veda, or also the Ângas of the Veda, is called the sub-teacher (upâdhyâya).

142. That Brâhmana, who performs in accordance with the rules (of the Veda) the rites, the Garbhâdhâna (conception-rite), and so forth, and gives food (to the child), is called the Guru (the venerable one).

143. He who, being (duly) chosen (for the purpose), performs the Agnyâdheya, the Pâkayagñas, (and) the (Srauta) sacrifices, such as the Agnish-toma (for another man), is called (his) officiating priest.

144. That (man) who truthfully fills both his ears with the Veda, (the pupil) shall consider as his father and mother; he must never offend him.

✓ 145. The teacher (âkârya) is ten times more

140-141. Âp. I, 1, 13; Gaut. I, 9-10; Vas. III, 21-23; Vi. XXIX, 1-2; Yâgñ. I, 34-35. Kalpa, i. e. the Sûtras referring to sacrifices. Rahasyas, lit. 'the secret portions,' i. e. the Upanishads and their explanation (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand., Râgh.), or 'the extremely secret explanation of the Veda and Ângas, not the Upanishads, because they are included in the term Veda' (Nâr).

142. Yâgñ. I, 34. The person meant is the natural father.

143. Vi. XXIX, 3; Yâgñ. I, 35.

144. Âp. I, 1, 14; Vas. II, 10; Vi. XXX, 47. 'Truthfully,' i. e. in such a manner that there is no mistake in the pronunciation or in the text of the Veda.

145. Vas. XIII, 48; Yâgñ. I, 35. The commentators try to reconcile the meaning of this verse and the next following one by

venerable than a sub-teacher (upâdhyâya), the father a hundred times more than the teacher, but the mother a thousand times more than the father.

146. Of him who gives natural birth and him who gives (the knowledge of) the Veda, the giver of the Veda is the more venerable father; for the birth for the sake of the Veda (ensures) eternal (rewards) both in this (life) and after death.

147. Let him consider that (he received) a (mere animal) existence, when his parents begat him through mutual affection, and when he was born from the womb (of his mother).

148. But that birth which a teacher acquainted with the whole Veda, in accordance with the law, procures for him through the Sâvitṛī, is real, exempt from age and death.

149. (The pupil) must know that that man also who benefits him by (instruction in) the Veda, be it little or much, is called in these (Institutes) his Guru, in consequence of that benefit (conferred by instruction in) the Veda.

150. That Brâhmaṇa who is the giver of the birth

assuming, either that the term âtârya refers in this case to one who merely performs the rite of initiation and teaches the Gâyatrī only (Medh., Kull.), or that the word 'father' denotes a father who initiates his own child and teaches it the Veda (Gov., Nâr.). But it is more probable that two conflicting opinions are here placed side by side, because both are based on an ancient tradition; see Gaut. II, 50-51.

146-148. Âp. I, 1, 15-17; Gaut. I, 8; Vas. II, 3-5; Vi. XXX, 44-45. Nâr. and Nand. read utpâdakabrahmapitroh, 'of the two fathers, i.e. him who procreates the body and him who (gives the birth) for the Veda.'

149. Iha, lit. 'here,' i.e. in these Institutes (Kull.), or 'in the chapter on saluting' (Gov.). But it may also mean 'in this world.'

for the sake of the Veda and the teacher of the prescribed duties becomes by law the father of an aged man, even though he himself be a child.

151. Young Kavi, the son of Āṅgiras, taught his (relatives who were old enough to be) fathers, and, as he excelled them in (sacred) knowledge, he called them 'Little sons.'

152. They, moved with resentment, asked the gods concerning that matter, and the gods, having assembled, answered, 'The child has addressed you properly.'

153. 'For (a man) destitute of (sacred) knowledge is indeed a child, and he who teaches him the Veda is his father; for (the sages) have always said "child" to an ignorant man, and "father" to a teacher of the Veda.'

154. Neither through years, nor through white (hairs), nor through wealth, nor through (powerful) kinsmen (comes greatness). The sages have made this law, 'He who has learnt the Veda together with the Āṅgas (Anûkâṇa) is (considered) great by us.'

155. The seniority of Brāhmaṇas is from (sacred) knowledge, that of Kshatriyas from valour, that of Vaisyas from wealth in grain (and other goods), but that of Sūdras alone from age.

151. Baudh. I, 3, 42. *Sisu*, 'young,' seems to be a name or nickname in Baudh.'s passage. *Parigr̥hya*, 'as he excelled them' (Nand.), means according to Medh., Gov., Kull., Nār., and Rāgh. 'as on account of his learning he had received them (as his) pupils.' *Pitr̥n*, lit. 'fathers,' means according to Nār. 'the manes, i.e. the Agnishvāttas and the rest.'

154. *Anûkâṇaḥ*, 'who has learnt the Veda and the Āṅgas' (Kull., Nār., Nand., Rāgh.), means according to Medh. and Gov. 'who teaches the Veda and the Āṅgas.'

155. Vi. XXXII, 18.

156. A man is not therefore (considered) venerable because his head is gray; him who, though young, has learned the Veda, the gods consider to be venerable.

157. As an elephant made of wood, as an antelope made of leather, such is an unlearned Brâhmana; those three have nothing but the names (of their kind).

158. As a eunuch is unproductive with women, as a cow with a cow is unprolific, and as a gift made to an ignorant man yields no reward, even so is a Brâhmana useless, who (does) not (know) the *Rik̐as*.

159. Created beings must be instructed in (what concerns) their welfare without giving them pain, and sweet and gentle speech must be used by (a teacher) who desires (to abide by) the sacred law.

160. He, forsooth, whose speech and thoughts are pure and ever perfectly guarded, gains the whole reward which is conferred by the Vedânta.

161. Let him not, even though in pain, (speak words) cutting (others) to the quick; let him not injure others in thought or deed; let him not utter speeches which make (others) afraid of him, since that will prevent him from gaining heaven.

156. Nâr. and Nand. read sthaviro bhavati, K. sthaviro *gñeyo* for *vṛiddho*, 'venerable.'

157. Vas. III, 11; Baudh. I, 1, 10.

158. *Rik̐as*, i.e. the Veda (Gov., Nâr.).

159. Âp. I, 8, 25-30; Gaut. II, 42. This and the following verses refer in the first instance to the behaviour of the teacher towards his pupils; see also below, VIII, 299-300.

160. The Vedânta are the Upanishads, and the reward meant is 'final liberation' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Nand., Râgh.). Medh., however, prefers to take Vedânta in the sense of 'the maxims or teaching of the Veda,' and thinks that the reward includes all rewards for Vedic rites.

162. A Brâhmaṇa should always fear homage as if it were poison ; and constantly desire (to suffer) scorn as (he would long for) nectar.

163. For he who is scorned (nevertheless may) sleep with an easy mind, awake with an easy mind, and with an easy mind walk here among men ; but the scorner utterly perishes.

164. A twice-born man who has been sanctified by the (employment of) the means, (described above) in due order, shall gradually and cumulatively perform the various austerities prescribed for (those who) study the Veda.

165. An Âryan must study the whole Veda together with the Rahasyas, performing at the same time various kinds of austerities and the vows prescribed by the rules (of the Veda).

166. Let a Brâhmaṇa who desires to perform austerities, constantly repeat the Veda ; for the study

162. This verse contains an advice to the pupil who must go begging (Medh.).

164. 'The means (described above),' i.e. 'the various sacraments.' Vedâdhigamikaṁ tapaḥ, 'the (various) austerities (prescribed) for (those who study) the Veda,' means according to Nâr. and Nand. 'the austerities, consisting in the study of the Veda ;' see also Âp. I, 12, 1-2.

165. 'The whole Veda,' i.e. 'the Veda with the Aṅgas' (Medh., 'others,' Nâr.), or 'one entire Sâkhâ consisting of the Mantras and the Brâhmaṇa' (Medh., Gov., Kull.). 'Rahasyas,' i.e. 'the Upa-nishads' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand.), or 'the secret explanation of the Veda' (Nâr.). 'Various kinds of austerities,' i.e. 'fasting, Krikkhras, &c.' (Medh., Nâr., Nand.), or 'the restrictive rules applicable to students' (Medh., 'others,' Gov., Kull.), or 'particular observances, such as feeding a horse while one reads the Arvamedha texts' (Râgh.). 'The vows,' i.e. the Mahânâmnivrata, &c. ; see Sâṅkhâyana Grîhya-sûtra II, 11-13.

166. Âp. I, 12, 1-2 ; Yâgñ. I, 40.

of the Veda is declared (to be) in this world the highest austerity for a Brâhmaṇa.

167. Verily, that twice-born man performs the highest austerity up to the extremities of his nails, who, though wearing a garland, daily recites the Veda in private to the utmost of his ability.

168. A twice-born man who, not having studied the Veda, applies himself to other (and worldly study), soon falls, even while living, to the condition of a Sûdra and his descendants (after him).

169. According to the injunction of the revealed texts the first birth of an Āryan is from (his natural) mother, the second (happens) on the tying of the girdle of Muñga grass, and the third on the initiation to (the performance of) a (Srauta) sacrifice.

170. Among those (three) the birth which is symbolised by the investiture with the girdle of Muñga grass, is his birth for the sake of the Veda; they declare that in that (birth) the Sâvitṛī (verse) is his mother and the teacher his father.

171. They call the teacher (the pupil's) father because he gives the Veda; for nobody can perform a (sacred) rite before the investiture with the girdle of Muñga grass.

172. (He who has not been initiated) should not pronounce (any) Vedic text excepting (those required for) the performance of funeral rites, since he is on a level with a Sûdra before his birth from the Veda.

167. Satapatha-brâhmaṇa XI, 5, 7, 4.

168. Vas. III, 2; Vi. XXVIII, 36.

169-170. Vi. XXVIII, 37-38; Vas. II, 3; Yâgy. I, 39; Aitareya-brâhmaṇa I, 1; Max Müller, Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 390 seq.

171-172. Âp. II, 15, 19; Gaut. I, 10; II, 4-5; Vas. II, 4, 6-7; Baudh. I, 3, 6; Vi. XXVIII, 40.

173. The (student) who has been initiated must be instructed in the performance of the vows, and gradually learn the Veda, observing the prescribed rules.

174. Whatever dress of skin, sacred thread, girdle, staff, and lower garment are prescribed for a (student at the initiation), the like (must again be used) at the (performance of the) vows.

175. But a student who resides with his teacher must observe the following restrictive rules, duly controlling all his organs, in order to increase his spiritual merit.

176. Every day, having bathed, and being purified, he must offer libations of water to the gods, sages and manes, worship (the images of) the gods, and place fuel on (the sacred fire).

177. Let him abstain from honey, meat, perfumes, garlands, substances (used for) flavouring (food), women, all substances turned acid, and from doing injury to living creatures,

178. From anointing (his body), applying colly-

173-174. Vi. XXVII, 28. 'The vows,' i.e. 'the observances and the restrictive rules, such as offering fuel, the prohibition of sleeping in the day-time' (Kull., Nâr.), or 'the Veda-vows, the Godâna, &c.' (Medh., Gov., Râgh.), or 'penances, such as the Prâgâpatya' (Nand. and Nâr.). In the second verse Kull. also adopts the explanation of Medh. and Gov.

176-182. Âp. I, 2, 17, 23-30; 3, 11-25; 4, 13-23; Gaut. II, 8-9, 12-17; Vas. VII, 15, 17; Baudh. I, 3, 19-20, 23-24; Vi. XXVIII, 4-5, 11, 48-51; Yâgyñ. I, 25, 33.

177. Rasân, 'substances (used for) flavouring,' i.e. 'molasses and the like' (Gov., Kull., Nâr.), 'clarified butter, oil, and the like' (Nand.). Nâr. adds that others interpret rasân to mean the poetical rasas or sentiments. Medh. mentions the same explanation and two more: (1) spices; (2) juicy fruits and canes like sugar-cane.

rium to his eyes, from the use of shoes and of an umbrella (or parasol), from (sensual) desire, anger, covetousness, dancing, singing, and playing (musical instruments),

179. From gambling, idle disputes, backbiting, and lying, from looking at and touching women, and from hurting others.

180. Let him always sleep alone, let him never waste his manhood; for he who voluntarily wastes his manhood, breaks his vow.

181. A twice-born student, who has involuntarily wasted his manly strength during sleep, must bathe, worship the sun, and afterwards thrice mutter the *Rîk*-verse (which begins), 'Again let my strength return to me.'

182. Let him fetch a pot full of water, flowers, cowdung, earth, and *Kusa* grass, as much as may be required (by his teacher), and daily go to beg food.

183. A student, being pure, shall daily bring food from the houses of men who are not deficient in (the knowledge of) the *Veda* and in (performing) sacrifices, and who are famous for (following their lawful) occupations.

184. Let him not beg from the relatives of his teacher, nor from his own or his mother's blood-relations; but if there are no houses belonging to

179. *Ganavâda*, 'idle disputes' (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*), or 'gossiping' (*Medh.*, *Nâr.*).

180. *Vi.* XXVIII, 48. Regarding the consequences of committing such an offence, see below, XI, 119-124.

181. *Vi.* XXVIII, 51. The verse occurs *Taitt. Âr.* I, 30.

182. *Nand.* reads *udakumbhân*, 'pots filled with water.'

183. *Baudh.* I, 3, 18; *Vi.* XXVIII, 9; *Âp.* I, 3, 25; *Gaut.* II, 35.

184. *Gaut.* II, 37-38.

strangers, let him go to one of those named above, taking the last-named first ;

185. Or, if there are no (virtuous men of the kind) mentioned above, he may go to each (house in the) village, being pure and remaining silent ; but let him avoid Abhisastas (those accused of mortal sin).

186. Having brought sacred fuel from a distance, let him place it anywhere but on the ground, and let him, unwearied, make with it burnt oblations to the sacred fire, both evening and morning.

187. He who, without being sick, neglects during seven (successive) days to go out begging, and to offer fuel in the sacred fire, shall perform the penance of an Avakīrṇin (one who has broken his vow).

188. He who performs the vow (of studentship) shall constantly subsist on alms, (but) not eat the food of one (person only); the subsistence of a student on begged food is declared to be equal (in merit) to fasting.

189. At his pleasure he may eat, when invited, the food of one man at (a rite) in honour of the

186. 'From a distance,' i.e. 'from a lonely place in the forest not defiled by any impurities.' Vihāyasi, 'anywhere but on the ground,' means lit. 'in the air,' and is explained variously by 'on the roof of the house' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), 'on a platform and the like' (Nār.), 'in the open air' (Nand.), 'in any pure place except on the ground' (Rāgh.). The purpose is, as most commentators think, to preserve the wood from defilement. But, according to 'others,' quoted by Medh., with whom Nand. seems to agree, the object is to let it become dry in the open air.

187. Vi. XXVIII, 52; Yâgñ. III, 281. The penance for an Avakīrṇin is mentioned below, XI, 119-120.

188. Yâgñ. I, 32.

189. Yâgñ. I, 32. 'Observing the conditions of his vow,' i.e. 'avoiding honey, meat, and the like.' *Rishivat*, 'like a hermit' (Medh., Gov., Nār., Nand.), or 'like an ascetic' (*yati*, Kull.).

gods, observing (however the conditions of) his vow, or at a (funeral meal) in honour of the manes, behaving (however) like a hermit.

190. This duty is prescribed by the wise for a Brâhmaṇa only; but no such duty is ordained for a Kshatriya and a Vaisya.

191. Both when ordered by his teacher, and without a (special) command, (a student) shall always exert himself in studying (the Veda), and in doing what is serviceable to his teacher.

192. Controlling his body, his speech, his organs (of sense), and his mind, let him stand with joined hands, looking at the face of his teacher.

193. Let him always keep his right arm uncovered, behave decently and keep his body well covered, and when he is addressed (with the words), 'Be seated,' he shall sit down, facing his teacher.

194. In the presence of his teacher let him always eat less, wear a less valuable dress and ornaments

According to Gov., Nâr., and Nand., the last phrase means that the student is to eat at a funeral dinner a little wild-growing rice and other food fit for a hermit (munyanna), while Medh. and Kull. think that the two phrases prohibit the eating of forbidden food only.

190. 'This duty' refers to the permission given in verse 189. According to Nâr. 'others,' however, thought that this verse annulled the rule given in verse 188.

191. Âp. I, 5, 27, 4, 23; Gaut. I, 54; II, 29-30; Vi. XXVIII, 6-7; Yâgy. I, 27.

193. Âp. I, 6, 18-20. I read, with Medh., Kull., and Râgh., *susamvriṭaḥ*, and translate it according to the latter two, 'keep his body well covered.' Medh. explains it, 'well guarding himself (in his speech).' Nâr. and K. read like the editions, *susamyataḥ*, and Nand. *samâhitaḥ*, 'concentrating his mind.' Gov. seems to have had the same reading as Nâr.

194. Âp. I, 4, 22, 28; Gaut. II, 21; Baudh. I, 3, 21; Vi. XXVIII, 13.

(than the former), and let him rise earlier (from his bed), and go to rest later.

195. Let him not answer or converse with (his teacher), reclining on a bed, nor sitting, nor eating, nor standing, nor with an averted face.

196. Let him do (that), standing up, if (his teacher) is seated, advancing towards him when he stands, going to meet him if he advances, and running after him when he runs;

197. Going (round) to face (the teacher), if his face is averted, approaching him if he stands at a distance, but bending towards him if he lies on a bed, and if he stands in a lower place.

198. When his teacher is nigh, let his bed or seat be low; but within sight of his teacher he shall not sit carelessly at ease.

199. Let him not pronounce the mere name of his teacher (without adding an honorific title) behind his back even, and let him not mimic his gait, speech, and deportment.

200. Wherever (people) justly censure or falsely defame his teacher, there he must cover his ears or depart thence to another place.

201. By censuring (his teacher), though justly, he

195-197. Âp. I, 6, 5-9; Gaut. II, 25-28; Vas. VII, 12; Baudh. I, 3, 38; Vi. XXVIII, 18-22.

197. Nidese tish/*hatah*, 'if he stands in a lower place' (Nâr., Nand.), means according to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh. 'if he stands close.'

198. Âp. I, 2, 21, 6, 13-17; Gaut. II, 14-15, 21; Vi. XXVIII, 12, 23.

199. Gaut. II, 23; Vi. XXVIII, 24-25. The epithets to be added to the teacher's name are upâdhyâya, bha/*ta* (Medh.), âtârya (Kull.), or *karana* and the like (Nâr.).

200. Vi. XXVIII, 26.

201. Paribhoktâ, 'he who lives on his teacher's substance,' means

will become (in his next birth) an ass, by falsely defaming him, a dog; he who lives on his teacher's substance, will become a worm, and he who is envious (of his merit), a (larger) insect.

202. He must not serve the (teacher by the intervention of another) while he himself stands aloof, nor when he (himself) is angry, nor when a woman is near; if he is seated in a carriage or on a (raised) seat, he must descend and afterwards salute his (teacher).

203. Let him not sit with his teacher, to the leeward or to the windward (of him); nor let him say anything which his teacher cannot hear.

204. He may sit with his teacher in a carriage drawn by oxen, horses, or camels, on a terrace, on a bed of grass or leaves, on a mat, on a rock, on a wooden bench, or in a boat.

205. If his teacher's teacher is near, let him behave (towards him) as towards his own teacher; but let him, unless he has received permission from his teacher, not salute venerable persons of his own (family).

206. This is likewise (ordained as) his constant behaviour towards (other) instructors in science, towards his relatives (to whom honour is due),

according to Nâr. and Nand. 'he who eats without the teacher's permission the best food, obtained by begging.' The latter explanation is supported by the meaning of the preposition 'pari' in parivettâ and paryâdhâtâ.

202. 'Nor when a woman is near,' i.e. 'if the teacher is in the company of his wife.'

203. Âp. I, 6, 15.

204. Âp. I, 7, 7, 12-13; Vi. XXVIII, 27-28.

205. Âp. I, 7, 29-30, 8, 19-20; Vi. XXVIII, 29-30.

206. Âp. I, 8, 28.

the teacher; but those who belong to a different caste, must be honoured by rising and salutation.

211. Let him not perform for a wife of his teacher (the offices of) anointing her, assisting her in the bath, shampooing her limbs, or arranging her hair.

212. (A pupil) who is full twenty years old, and knows what is becoming and unbecoming, shall not salute a young wife of his teacher (by clasping) her feet.

213. It is the nature of women to seduce men in this (world); for that reason the wise are never unguarded in (the company of) females.

214. For women are able to lead astray in (this) world not only a fool, but even a learned man, and (to make) him a slave of desire and anger.

215. One should not sit in a lonely place with one's mother, sister, or daughter; for the senses are powerful, and master even a learned man.

216. But at his pleasure a young student may prostrate himself on the ground before the young wife of a teacher, in accordance with the rule, and say, 'I, N. N., (worship thee, O lady).'

217. On returning from a journey he must clasp the feet of his teacher's wife and daily salute her (in the manner just mentioned), remembering the duty of the virtuous.

218. As the man who digs with a spade (into the ground) obtains water, even so an obedient (pupil) obtains the knowledge which lies (hidden) in his teacher.

219. A (student) may either shave his head, or

216-217. Vi. XXXII, 13-15.

219. Gaut. I, 27; Vas. VII, 11; Vi. XXVIII, 41; Âp. I, 30, 8; Gaut. II, 10. Instead of 'while (he sleeps) in the village' (Medh.

wear his hair in braids, or braid one lock on the crown of his head; the sun must never set or rise while he (lies asleep) in the village.

220. If the sun should rise or set while he is sleeping, be it (that he offended) intentionally or unintentionally, he shall fast during the (next) day, muttering (the Sâvitri).

221. For he who lies (sleeping), while the sun sets or rises, and does not perform (that) penance, is tainted by great guilt.

222. Purified by sipping water, he shall daily worship during both twilights with a concentrated mind in a pure place, muttering the prescribed text according to the rule.

223. If a woman or a man of low caste perform anything (leading to) happiness, let him diligently practise it, as well as (any other permitted act) in which his heart finds pleasure.

224. (Some declare that) the chief good consists in (the acquisition of) spiritual merit and wealth, (others place it) in (the gratification of) desire and (the acquisition of) wealth, (others) in (the acqui-

'others,' Kull., Râgh.). Medh., Gov., Nâr., and Nand. give 'while (he stays) in the village.' The former explanation is, however, more probable on account of the following verse.

220. Âp. II, 12, 13-14; Gaut. XXIII, 21; Vas. XX, 4; Baudh. II, 7, 16; Vi. XXVIII, 53. The translation of the last words follows Gov. and Kull., while Medh., Nâr., and Râgh. state that the penance shall be performed during 'the (next) day (or night),' and that he who neglects the evening prayer, shall fast in the evening and repeat the Gâyatri during the night. The parallel passages show that a difference of opinion existed with respect to the performance of this penance.

221. Vas. I, 18; Âp. II, 12, 22.

222. Âp. I, 30, 8; Gaut. II, 11; Baudh. II, 7; Vi. XXVIII, 2.

223. Âp. II, 29, 11.

sition of) spiritual merit alone, and (others say that the acquisition of) wealth alone is the chief good here (below); but the (correct) decision is that it consists of the aggregate of (those) three.

225. The teacher, the father, the mother, and an elder brother must not be treated with disrespect, especially by a Brâhmaṇa, though one be grievously offended (by them).

226. The teacher is the image of Brahman, the father the image of Praṇapati (the lord of created beings), the mother the image of the earth, and an (elder) full brother the image of oneself.

227. That trouble (and pain) which the parents undergo on the birth of (their) children, cannot be compensated even in a hundred years.

228. Let him always do what is agreeable to those (two) and always (what may please) his teacher; when those three are pleased, he obtains all (those rewards which) austerities (yield).

229. Obedience towards those three is declared to be the best (form of) austerity; let him not perform other meritorious acts without their permission.

230. For they are declared to be the three worlds, they the three (principal) orders, they the three Vedas, and they the three sacred fires.

231. The father, forsooth, is stated to be the Gârhapatya fire, the mother the Dakshinâgni, but

225. Âp. I, 14, 6; Vi. XXXI, 1-3. This verse is placed by Kull. alone after the following one, while all the other commentators as well as K. observe the order followed above.

229. Vi. XXXI, 6.

230. Vi. XXXI, 7. 'The three worlds,' i.e. 'the earth, the middle sphere, and the sky;' 'the three orders,' i.e. 'the first three orders' (Kull., Nâr., Nand.), 'the last three orders' (Medh., Gov.).

231. Âp. I, 3, 44; Vi. XXXI, 8.

the teacher the Âhavanîya fire ; this triad of fires is most venerable.

232. He who neglects not those three, (even after he has become) a householder, will conquer the three worlds and, radiant in body like a god, he will enjoy bliss in heaven.

✓ 233. By honouring his mother he gains this (nether) world, by honouring his father the middle sphere, but by obedience to his teacher the world of Brahman.

234. All duties have been fulfilled by him who honours those three ; but to him who honours them not, all rites remain fruitless.

235. As long as those three live, so long let him not (independently) perform any other (meritorious acts) ; let him always serve them, rejoicing (to do what is) agreeable and beneficial (to them).

236. He shall inform them of everything that with their consent he may perform in thought, word, or deed for the sake of the next world.

237. By (honouring) these three all that ought to be done by man, is accomplished ; that is clearly the highest duty, every other (act) is a subordinate duty.

✓ 238. He who possesses faith may receive pure learning even from a man of lower caste, the highest

232. Vi. XXXI, 9.

233. Vi. XXXI, 10.

238. Âp. II, 29, 11. 'The highest law,' i.e. 'the means of obtaining final liberation' (Kull.) ; but Medh., Gov., and Râgh. refer the expression to advice in worldly matters. 'From a base family,' i.e. 'from a family where the sacred rites are neglected' (Medh.), 'from one that is lower than oneself' (Kull.), 'from the family of a potter or a similar (low caste),' (Gov.) But probably the rule refers to the practice to take particularly desirable brides even from the families of outcasts ; see Vas. XIII, 51-53.

law even from the lowest, and an excellent wife even from a base family.

239. Even from poison nectar may be taken, even from a child good advice, even from a foe (a lesson in) good conduct, and even from an impure (substance) gold.

240. Excellent wives, learning, (the knowledge of) the law, (the rules of) purity, good advice, and various arts may be acquired from anybody.

241. It is prescribed that in times of distress (a student) may learn (the Veda) from one who is not a Brâhmana; and that he shall walk behind and serve (such a) teacher, as long as the instruction lasts. ✓

242. He who desires incomparable bliss (in heaven) shall not dwell during his whole life in (the house of) a non-Brâhmanical teacher, nor with a Brâhmana who does not know the whole Veda and the Ângas.

243. But if (a student) desires to pass his whole life in the teacher's house, he must diligently serve him, until he is freed from this body.

244. A Brâhmana who serves his teacher till the dissolution of his body, reaches forthwith the eternal mansion of Brahman.

245. He who knows the sacred law must not present any gift to his teacher before (the Samâvar-tana); but when, with the permission of his teacher, he is about to take the (final) bath, let him procure

240. Striyo ratnâni, 'excellent wives' (Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. and Gov. 'wives and gems.'

241. Âp. II, 4, 25; Gaut. VII, 1-3; Baudh. I, 3, 41-43.

243. Âp. II, 21, 6; Gaut. III. 5-6; Vas. VII, 4; Baudh. II, 11, 13; Vi. XXVIII, 43; Yâgñ. I, 49.

245. Âp. I, 7, 19; Gaut. II, 48-49; Vi. XXVIII, 42; Yâgñ. I, 51.

(a present) for the venerable man according to his ability,

246. (Viz.) a field, gold, a cow, a horse, a parasol and shoes, a seat, grain, (even) vegetables, (and thus) give pleasure to his teacher.

247. (A perpetual student) must, if his teacher dies, serve his son (provided he be) endowed with good qualities, or his widow, or his *Sapinda*, in the same manner as the teacher.

248. Should none of these be alive, he must serve the sacred fire, standing (by day) and sitting (during the night), and thus finish his life.

249. A *Brāhmaṇa* who thus passes his life as a student without breaking his vow, reaches (after death) the highest abode and will not be born again in this world.

CHAPTER III.

1. The vow (of studying) the three Vedas under a teacher must be kept for thirty-six years, or for

246. Most commentators read *pritimāharet* for *āvahet*, and with this reading the translation must be, 'A field, gold . . . he should give to the teacher in order to please him.'

247. Gaut. III, 7; Vi. XXVIII, 44-45; *Yâgñ.* I, 49. Regarding the term *Sapinda*, see below, V, 60.

248. Gaut. III, 8; Vas. VII, 5-6; Vi. XXVIII, 46; *Yâgñ.* I, 49. *Sarīram sādhayet*, 'shall finish his life' (Medh., Gov.), means according to Kull. 'shall make the soul connected with his body perfect, i.e. fit for the union with Brahman.' *Nâr.* and *Râgh.* take the word similarly.

249. Vi. XXVIII, 49; *Yâgñ.* I, 50.

III. 1. *Âp.* I, 2, 12-16; Gaut. II, 45-47; Vas. VIII, 1; Baudh. I, 3, 1-4; Vi. XXVIII, 42; *Yâgñ.* I, 36.

The three Vedas meant are the *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, and *Sâma-veda*. The *Atharva-veda* is here, as in most of the ancient *Dharma-sûtras*, left out altogether. *Baudhâyana*, alone, states that

half that time, or for a quarter, or until the (student) has perfectly learnt them.

2. (A student) who has studied in due order the three Vedas, or two, or even one only, without breaking the (rules of) studentship, shall enter the order of householders.

3. He who is famous for (the strict performance of) his duties and has received his heritage, the Veda, from his father, shall be honoured, sitting on a couch and adorned with a garland, with (the present of) a cow (and the honey-mixture).

4. Having bathed, with the permission of his teacher, and performed according to the rule the Samâvartana (the rite on returning home), a twice-born man shall marry a wife of equal caste who is endowed with auspicious (bodily) marks.

5. A (damsel) who is neither a Sapindâ on the mother's side, nor belongs to the same family on

the term of studentship extends over forty-eight years, and that rule includes the Atharva-veda.

2. Yâgñ. I, 52.

3. The meaning is, that the student who, after completing his term, has become a Snâtaka, shall receive first, i.e. before his marriage, the honour of the Madhuparka (Âp. II, 8, 5-9) from the person who instructed him. The phrase 'who has received his heritage, the Veda, from his father,' indicates, according to the commentators, that, as a rule, the father is to teach his son. As, however, the teacher is considered the spiritual father of his pupil, *pituḥ* might also be translated 'from his (spiritual) father.'

4. Gaut. IV, 1; Vas. VIII, 1; Yâgñ. I, 52. Regarding the 'auspicious bodily marks,' see Sâṅkhâya, *Gṛhya-sûtra* I, 5, 10. See also below, vers. 7-10.

5. Âp. II, 11, 15-16; Gaut. IV, 2-5; Vas. VIII, 1-2; Baudh. II, 1, 32-38; Vi. XXIV, 9-10; Yâgñ. I, 53.

Asagotrâ *ka yâ pituḥ*, 'who does not belong to the same family on the father's side,' means according to Medh. and Kull. 'between whose father's and the bridegroom's family no blood-relationship is

the father's side, is recommended to twice-born men for wedlock and conjugal union.

6. In connecting himself with a wife, let him carefully avoid the ten following families, be they ever so great, or rich in kine, horses, sheep, grain, or (other) property,

7. (Viz.) one which neglects the sacred rites, one in which no male children (are born), one in which the Veda is not studied, one (the members of) which have thick hair on the body, those which are subject to hemorrhoids, phthisis, weakness of digestion, epilepsy, or white and black leprosy.

8. Let him not marry a maiden (with) reddish (hair), nor one who has a redundant member, nor one who is sickly, nor one either with no hair (on the body) or too much, nor one who is garrulous or has red (eyes),

9. Nor one named after a constellation, a tree, or a river, nor one bearing the name of a low caste, or of a mountain, nor one named after a bird, a

traceable.' It is, however, very probable that gotra has a double meaning, *vaidika* and *laukika* gotra, and that, in the case of *Brâhmanas*, intermarriages between families descended from the same *Rîshi*, and, in the case of other *Âryans*, between families bearing the same name or known to be connected, are forbidden. Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. hold that the first *ka*, 'and,' indicates that *asagotrâ* refers to the mother's side also, and Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. think that on account of the second *ka*, the word *asapindâ* must be taken to refer to the father's side also, and that thus intermarriages with the daughter of a paternal aunt or with the paternal grandfather's sister's descendants are forbidden. Maithune, 'for conjugal union' (Medh., Gov., Nâr.), means according to Kull. and Râgh. 'for the holy rites to be performed by the husband and wife together.' Nand. reads *amaithuni*, 'one who is a virgin.' Regarding the term *Sapinda*, see below, V, 60.

7. Vi. XXIV, 11; Yâgñ. I, 54.

8. Yâgñ. I, 53; Vi. XXIV, 12-16.

snake, or a slave, nor one whose name inspires terror.

10. Let him wed a female free from bodily defects, who has an agreeable name, the (graceful) gait of a *Hamsa* or of an elephant, a moderate (quantity of) hair on the body and on the head, small teeth, and soft limbs.

11. But a prudent man should not marry (a maiden) who has no brother, nor one whose father is not known, through fear lest (in the former case she be made) an appointed daughter (and in the latter) lest (he should commit) sin.

12. For the first marriage of twice-born men (wives) of equal caste are recommended; but for those who through desire proceed (to marry again) the following females, (chosen) according to the (direct) order (of the castes), are most approved.

13. It is declared that a *Sûdra* woman alone (can be) the wife of a *Sûdra*, she and one of his own caste (the wives) of a *Vaisya*, those two and one of his own caste (the wives) of a *Kshatriya*, those three and one of his own caste (the wives) of a *Brâhmaṇa*.

11. *Yâgñ.* I, 53. 'Lest he should commit sin,' i.e. marry a *Sagotrâ* or one sprung from an illicit union. The translation follows Kull., *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*, and 'others' mentioned by Medh. But Medh. himself takes the verse differently, 'A prudent man should not marry a (maiden) who has no brother, if her father is not known (i.e. is dead or absent), through fear lest she be made an appointed daughter;' while Gov. explains it as follows, 'A prudent man should not marry a (maiden) who has no brother or whose father is not known, through fear lest she be made an appointed daughter.' According to the latter it would be possible, in case the father is not known, that she might be only the half-sister of her brother, and her real father, having no children, might make her an appointed daughter.

12. *Vi.* XXIV, 1-4; *Baudh.* I, 16, 2-5.

13. *Yâgñ.* I, 56; *Vas.* I, 25-26.

14. A *Sûdra* woman is not mentioned even in any (ancient) story as the (first) wife of a *Brâhmaṇa* or of a *Kṣatriya*, though they lived in the (greatest) distress.

15. Twice-born men who, in their folly, wed wives of the low (*Sûdra*) caste, soon degrade their families and their children to the state of *Sûdras*.

16. According to Atri and to (Gautama) the son of Utathya, he who weds a *Sûdra* woman becomes an outcast, according to Saunaka on the birth of a son, and according to *Bhrigu* he who has (male) offspring from a (*Sûdra* female, alone).

17. A *Brâhmaṇa* who takes a *Sûdra* wife to his bed, will (after death) sink into hell; if he begets a child by her, he will lose the rank of a *Brâhmaṇa*.

18. The manes and the gods will not eat the (offerings) of that man who performs the rites in

14. Vas. I, 27; Gaut. XV, 18; Âp. I, 18, 33.

15. Vi. XXV, 6.

16. Baudh. II, 2-7. The above translation follows Medh., Gov., Nand., and Râgh. But Kull. takes the last clause differently, 'according to *Bhrigu* on the birth of a son's son.' This version is supported, as a quotation given by Nâr. shows, by the *Bhaviṣya-purâṇa*, which, as usual, paraphrases Manu's text, *putrasya putram âsâdya Saunakaḥ sûdratâm gataḥ | bhrigvâdayo 'py evam eva patitatvam avâpnuyuḥ ||* There was, moreover, as this passage shows, an ancient explanation of our verse, according to which the various names of *Rîshis* do not refer to authors of law-books, but to founders of *Gotras*. This view is adopted by Nâr., and, according to him, the translation should run as follows: '(A man of the family) of Atri who weds a *Sûdra* female, becomes an outcast, (one of the race) of Utathya's son, on the birth of a son, and (one of) Saunaka's or *Bhrigu*'s (*Gotras*) by having no other but *Sûdra* offspring.' It ought to be noted that, according to Kull. alone, the three clauses refer to *Brâhmaṇas*, *Kṣatriyas*, and *Vaiśyas* respectively. Râgh. particularly objects to this opinion, which, according to him, 'some' hold.

18. Vas. XIV, 11; Vi. XXV, 7.

honour of the gods, of the manes, and of guests chiefly with a (*Sûdra* wife's) assistance, and such (a man) will not go to heaven.

19. For him who drinks the moisture of a *Sûdra*'s lips, who is tainted by her breath, and who begets a son on her, no expiation is prescribed.

20. Now listen to (the) brief (description of) the following eight marriage-rites used by the four castes (*varṇa*) which partly secure benefits and partly produce evil both in this life and after death.

21. (They are) the rite of Brahman (*Brâhma*), that of the gods (*Daiva*), that of the *Rishis* (*Ârsha*), that of *Pragâpati* (*Prâgâpatya*), that of the *Asuras* (*Âsura*), that of the *Gandharvas* (*Gândharva*), that of the *Râkshasas* (*Râkshasa*), and that of the *Pisâkas* (*Paisâka*).

22. Which is lawful for each caste (*varṇa*) and which are the virtues or faults of each (rite), all this I will declare to you, as well as their good and evil results with respect to the offspring.

23. One may know that the first six according to the order (followed above) are lawful for a *Brâhmaṇa*, the four last for a *Kshatriya*, and the same four, excepting the *Râkshasa* rite, for a *Vaisya* and a *Sûdra*.

24. The sages state that the first four are approved (in the case) of a *Brâhmaṇa*, one, the *Râkshasa* (rite

21-34. *Âp.* II, 11, 17-21; *Gaut.* IV, 6-15; *Vas.* I, 17-35; *Baudh.* I, 20, 1-21, 23; *Vi.* XXIV, 18-28; *Yâgñ.* I, 58-61.

23. It seems extremely probable that this and the next three verses contain, as Sir W. Jones thinks, several conflicting opinions on the permissibility of the different marriage rites. The commentators, however, try to reconcile them by various tricks of interpretation.

in the case) of a Kshatriya, and the Âsura (marriage in that) of a Vaisya and of a Sûdra.

25. But in these (Institutes of the sacred law) three of the five (last) are declared to be lawful and two unlawful; the Paisâka and the Âsura (rites) must never be used.

26. For Kshatriyas those before-mentioned two rites, the Gândharva and the Râkshasa, whether separate or mixed, are permitted by the sacred tradition.

27. The gift of a daughter, after decking her (with costly garments) and honouring (her by presents of jewels), to a man learned in the Veda and of good conduct, whom (the father) himself invites, is called the Brâhma rite.

28. The gift of a daughter who has been decked with ornaments, to a priest who duly officiates at a sacrifice, during the course of its performance, they call the Daiva rite.

29. When (the father) gives away his daughter according to the rule, after receiving from the bridegroom, for (the fulfilment of) the sacred law, a cow and a bull or two pairs, that is named the Ârsha rite.

30. The gift of a daughter (by her father) after

26. 'Mixed,' i. e. when a girl is forcibly abducted from her father's house after a previous understanding with her lover.

27. Nâr. and Râgh. refer *arṇayitvâ*, 'after honouring,' to the bridegroom, and take it in the sense of 'after honouring (the bridegroom with the honey-mixture).'

29. 'For the (fulfilment of) the sacred law,' i. e. 'not with the intention of selling his child' (Medh.); see also below, vers. 51-54. 'According to the rule,' i. e. 'pronouncing the words prescribed for making a gift' (Nâr.).

30. 'Has shown honour,' i. e. 'to the bridegroom by the honey-mixture' (Nâr., Nand.).

he has addressed (the couple) with the text, 'May both of you perform together your duties,' and has shown honour (to the bridegroom), is called in the *Smṛiti* the *Prāgāpatya* rite.

31. When (the bridegroom) receives a maiden, after having given as much wealth as he can afford, to the kinsmen and to the bride herself, according to his own will, that is called the *Āsura* rite.

32. The voluntary union of a maiden and her lover one must know (to be) the *Gāndharva* rite, which springs from desire and has sexual intercourse for its purpose.

33. The forcible abduction of a maiden from her home, while she cries out and weeps, after (her kinsmen) have been slain or wounded and (their houses) broken open, is called the *Rākshasa* rite.

34. When (a man) by stealth seduces a girl who is sleeping, intoxicated, or disordered in intellect, that is the eighth, the most base and sinful rite of the *Pisākas*.

31. 'According to his own will,' i. e. 'not in accordance with the injunction of the sacred law, as in the case of the *Ārsha* rite' (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Nâr.*, *Nand.*).

32. *Gov.* and *Nâr.* here enter on a discussion of the question whether the prescribed offerings and wedding ceremonies are to be performed in the case of the *Gāndharva*, *Rākshasa*, and *Paisāka* rites. Relying on a passage of *Devala* and of the *Bahvṛika Gr̥hya-pariśiṣṭa* (*Saunaka*) they are of opinion that the homas must be performed, at least in the case of *Āryan* couples. But they hold on the strength of *Manu's* dictum, VIII, 226, which restricts the use of the *Mantras* to women, married as virgins, that the Vedic nuptial texts must not be recited. From the comment of *Medh.* on verse 34 it would appear that the opinions on the subject were divided, and that some held weddings with the recitation of *Mantras* to be permissible, while others denied the necessity of any wedding.

35. The gift of daughters among Brāhmaṇas is most approved, (if it is preceded) by (a libation of) water; but in the case of other castes (it may be performed) by (the expression of) mutual consent.

36. Listen now to me, ye Brāhmaṇas, while I fully declare what quality has been ascribed by Manu to each of these marriage-rites.

37. The son of a wife wedded according to the Brāhma rite, if he performs meritorious acts, liberates from sin ten ancestors, ten descendants and himself as the twenty-first.

38. The son born of a wife, wedded according to the Daiva rite, likewise (saves) seven ancestors and seven descendants, the son of a wife married by the Ârsha rite three (in the ascending and descending lines), and the son of a wife married by the rite of Ka (Pragâpati) six (in either line).

39. From the four marriages, (enumerated) successively, which begin with the Brāhma rite spring sons, radiant with knowledge of the Veda and honoured by the Śiṣṭas (good men).

40. Endowed with the qualities of beauty and goodness, possessing wealth and fame, obtaining as

35. Itaretarakāmyayâ, 'by (the expression of) mutual consent,' i.e. by the parents, means according to Medh. 'in consequence of the mutual desire of the bride and the bridegroom.' He mentions, however, the other explanation too. The text refers probably to customs like the sending of a cocoa-nut, which is usually adopted by Kshatriyas.

37-42. Vi. XXIV, 29-32; Gaut. IV, 29-33; Baudh. I, 21, 1; Âp. II, 12, 4; Yâgñ. I, 58-60, 90.

39. Regarding the explanation of the term Śiṣṭas, see below, XII, 109.

40. Gov. and Kull. take the first adjective differently, 'endowed with beauty, goodness, and other excellent qualities.' Regarding the term 'goodness' (sattva), see below, XII, 31.

many enjoyments as they desire and being most righteous, they will live a hundred years.

41. But from the remaining (four) blamable marriages spring sons who are cruel and speakers of untruth, who hate the Veda and the sacred law.

42. In the blameless marriages blameless children are born to men, in blamable (marriages) blamable (offspring); one should therefore avoid the blamable (forms of marriage).

43. The ceremony of joining the hands is prescribed for (marriages with) women of equal caste (*varṇa*); know that the following rule (applies) to weddings with females of a different caste (*varṇa*).

44. On marrying a man of a higher caste a Kshatriya bride must take hold of an arrow, a Vaisya bride of a goad, and a Sūdra female of the hem of the (bridegroom's) garment.

45. Let (the husband) approach his wife in due season, being constantly satisfied with her (alone); he may also, being intent on pleasing her, approach her with a desire for conjugal union (on any day) excepting the Parvans.

46. Sixteen (days and) nights (in each month),

43. Vi. XXIV, 5-8; Yâgñ. I, 62.

44. The bridegroom takes hold of the other end of the arrow or of the goad, pronouncing the same texts which are recited on taking the hand of a bride of equal caste (Nâr.).

45. Yâgñ. I, 80-81; Âp. II, 1, 17-18; Gaut. V, 1-2; Vas. XII, 21-24; Vi. LXIX, 1; Baudh. IV, 17-19. Tadvratah, 'being intent on pleasing her' (Medh., Kull.), means according to Nâr. 'being careful to keep that rule (regarding the Parvans).' With respect to the Parvans, see below, IV, 128.

46. Yâgñ. I, 79. The days which the virtuous declared to be unfit for conjugal intercourse are the first four after the appearance of the menses.

including four days which differ from the rest and are censured by the virtuous, (are called) the natural season of women.

47. But among these the first four, the eleventh and the thirteenth are (declared to be) forbidden; the remaining nights are recommended.

48. On the even nights sons are conceived and daughters on the uneven ones; hence a man who desires to have sons should approach his wife in due season on the even (nights).

49. A male child is produced by a greater quantity of male seed, a female child by the prevalence of the female; if (both are) equal, a hermaphrodite or a boy and a girl; if (both are) weak or deficient in quantity, a failure of conception (results).

50. He who avoids women on the six forbidden nights and on eight others, is (equal in chastity to) a student, in whichever order he may live.

51. No father who knows (the law) must take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter; for a man who, through avarice, takes a gratuity, is a seller of his offspring.

52. But those (male) relations who, in their folly, live on the separate property of women, (e. g. appropriate) the beasts of burden, carriages, and clothes of women, commit sin and will sink into hell.

48. Yâgñ. I, 79.

50. 'In whichever order he may live,' i.e. 'whether he be a householder or a hermit in the woods' (Kull., Nâr.). Medh. thinks that it is merely an arthavâda, and refers to no other order but that of householders, while Govinda thinks that the verse permits even to an ascetic who has lost all his children, to approach his wife during two nights in each month. Kull. justly ridicules the last opinion.

51. Âp. II, 13, 11; Vas. I, 37-38; Baudh. I, 21, 2-3.

52. Medh. gives in the first place another explanation of this

53. Some call the cow and the bull (given) at an Ârsha wedding 'a gratuity;' (but) that is wrong, since (the acceptance of) a fee, be it small or great, is a sale (of the daughter).

54. When the relatives do not appropriate (for their use) the gratuity (given), it is not a sale; (in that case) the (gift) is only a token of respect and of kindness towards the maidens.

55. Women must be honoured and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and brothers-in-law, who desire (their own) welfare.

56. Where women are honoured, there the gods are pleased; but where they are not honoured, no sacred rite yields rewards.

57. Where the female relations live in grief, the family soon wholly perishes; but that family where they are not unhappy ever prospers.

58. The houses on which female relations, not being duly honoured, pronounce a curse, perish completely, as if destroyed by magic.

59. Hence men who seek (their own) welfare, should always honour women on holidays and festivals with (gifts of) ornaments, clothes, and (dainty) food.

verse, which Nâr. and Nand. consider the only admissible one: 'But those (male) relations who, in their folly, live on property obtained by (the sale of) women, (e. g.) carriages or beasts of burden and clothes (received for) females, commit sin, &c.' Nand. and K. read nârîr yânâni, 'female slaves, carriages, &c.' The objection to Nâr.'s explanation is that nârîyânâni can hardly mean 'carriages received for females.' The reading 'nârîh' is obviously a conjectural emendation.

53. Âp. II, 13, 12; Vas. I, 36.

55-60. Yâgñ. I, 82.

58. Some copies of Medh. omit verses 58-66.

59. Instead of satkāreshu (saṃkāreshu, Gov.), 'on holidays,' like the Kaumudî, the Mahânâmni, and so forth (Gov., Kull., Râgh.),

60. In that family, where the husband is pleased with his wife and the wife with her husband, happiness will assuredly be lasting.

61. For if the wife is not radiant with beauty, she will not attract her husband; but if she has no attractions for him, no children will be born.

62. If the wife is radiant with beauty, the whole house is bright; but if she is destitute of beauty, all will appear dismal.

63. By low marriages, by omitting (the performance of) sacred rites, by neglecting the study of the Veda, and by irreverence towards Brâhmanas, (great) families sink low.

64. By (practising) handicrafts, by pecuniary transactions, by (begetting) children on Sûdra females only, by (trading in) cows, horses, and carriages, by (the pursuit of) agriculture and by taking service under a king,

65. By sacrificing for men unworthy to offer sacrifices and by denying (the future rewards for good) works, families, deficient in the (knowledge of the) Veda, quickly perish.

66. But families that are rich in the knowledge of the Veda, though possessing little wealth, are numbered among the great, and acquire great fame.

Nâr. and Nand. read *satkâreṇa*, which, according to the former, means 'by kind speech.'

64. Baudh. I, 10, 28. Nâr. says, 'by (keeping) beasts of burden, such as bullocks and horses.'

65. Baudh. I, 10, 26. Instead of *kuḷâny âsu vinyasyanti*, 'families . . . perish quickly' (Gov., Kull.), Nâr., Nand., and Râgh. read *kuḷâny akulatâṃ yânti*, '(great) families lose their rank.'

66. Baudh. I, 10, 29.

67. With the sacred fire, kindled at the wedding, a householder shall perform according to the law the domestic ceremonies and the five (great) sacrifices, and (with that) he shall daily cook his food.

68. A householder has five slaughter-houses (as it were, viz.) the hearth, the grinding-stone, the broom, the pestle and mortar, the water-vessel, by using which he is bound (with the fetters of sin).

69. In order to successively expiate (the offences committed by means) of all these (five) the great sages have prescribed for householders the daily (performance of the five) great sacrifices.

70. Teaching (and studying) is the sacrifice (offered) to Brahman, the (offerings of water and food called) *Tarpaṇa* the sacrifice to the manes, the burnt oblation the sacrifice offered to the gods, the

67. Yâgñ. I, 97; Gaut. V, 7; Vi. LIX, 1; Baudh. II, 4, 22. 'The domestic ceremonies,' i.e. 'all the rites prescribed in the *Gṛihya-sūtras*.'

68. Vi. LIX, 19. The translation of *upaskaraḥ*, 'the broom,' rests on the authority of Nâr., who says, *peshanena upakiraty asuddhânity upaskaro 'vaskarahetuḥ ; sammârganî bhūyish/hapipīlikâdihimsâhetuḥ* || The other commentators seem to take *upaskaraḥ* in its usual sense, 'a household implement,' as they explain it by *kundaka/âhâdi*, 'a pot, a kettle, and the like' (Medh.), *kundasammârganyâdi*, 'a pot, a broom, and the like' (Kull.), *sammârganyâdi*, 'a broom and the like' (Râgh.), *ulûkhalamusalâdi*, 'a mortar and pestle and the like' (K.). But it is clear from the context that one implement only is meant.

69. Vi. LIX, 20.

70. Âp. I, 12, 15-13, 1; Gaut. V, 3, 9; Baudh. II, 5, 11; II, 11, 1-6; Vi. LIX, 21-25; Yâgñ. I, 102. By Bhûtas either 'the goblins' or 'the living creatures' may be understood. Medh. takes it in the former sense. Nand. reads *adhyâyanam* for *adhyâpanam*, and adds *adhyâyanam evâ 'dhyayanam*, 'adhyâyana is the same as *adhyayana*, studying.'

Bali offering that offered to the Bhûtas, and the hospitable reception of guests the offering to men.

71. He who neglects not these five great sacrifices, while he is able (to perform them), is not tainted by the sins (committed) in the five places of slaughter, though he constantly lives in the (order of) house(-holders).

72. But he who does not feed these five, the gods, his guests, those whom he is bound to maintain, the manes, and himself, lives not, though he breathes.

73. They call (these) five sacrifices also, Ahuta, Huta, Prahuta, Brâhmya-huta, and Prâsita.

74. Ahuta (not offered in the fire) is the muttering (of Vedic texts), Huta the burnt oblation (offered to the gods), Prahuta (offered by scattering it on the ground) the Bali offering given to the Bhûtas, Brâhmya-huta (offered in the digestive fire of Brâhmaṇas), the respectful reception of Brâhmaṇa (guests), and Prâsita (eaten) the (daily oblation to the manes, called) Tarpṇa.

75. Let (every man) in this (second order, at least) daily apply himself to the private recitation of the Veda, and also to the performance of the offering to the gods; for he who is diligent in the performance

72. 'Those whom he is bound to maintain,' i. e. 'aged parents and so forth' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or 'animals unfit for work' (Medh.), or 'the Bhûtas, goblins or living beings' (Nâr., Râgh.). Nand. reads bhûtânâm for bhrityânâm, as Nâr. and Râgh. seem to have done.

73. Medh. remarks that these technical terms must belong to some particular Sâkhâ of the Veda. Two of them occur in the beginning of Baudhâyana's *Grihya-sûtra*, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. xxxi, and four in Pâraskara's *Grihya-sûtra* I, 4, 1, as well as in Sâṅkhâyana's, I, 5, 1. Nâr., Nand., and K. read Brâhmahuta in this and the next verses.

of sacrifices, supports both the movable and the immovable creation.

76. An oblation duly thrown into the fire, reaches the sun ; from the sun comes rain, from rain food, therefrom the living creatures (derive their subsistence).

77. As all living creatures subsist by receiving support from air, even so (the members of) all orders subsist by receiving support from the householder.

78. Because men of the three (other) orders are daily supported by the householder with (gifts of) sacred knowledge and food, therefore (the order of) householders is the most excellent order.

79. (The duties of) this order, which cannot be practised by men with weak organs, must be carefully observed by him who desires imperishable (bliss in) heaven, and constant happiness in this (life).

80. The sages, the manes, the gods, the Bhûtas, and guests ask the householders (for offerings and gifts); hence he who knows (the law), must give to them (what is due to each).

81. Let him worship, according to the rule, the sages by the private recitation of the Veda, the gods by burnt oblations, the manes by funeral offerings

76. Vas. XI, 13.

77-78. Vas. VIII, 14-16 ; Vi. LIX, 27-28.

78. Medh. points out that this verse indicates that householders alone are, as a rule, to be the teachers of the Veda, not hermits or ascetics. He adds, however, that the Institutes of the Bhikshus prescribe that men of the latter two orders, too, shall teach. Similarly Nâr. and Nand. point out that householders alone shall be teachers, 'except in times of distress' (Nand.).

79. 'Of weak organs,' i.e. 'of uncontrolled organs' (Medh., Gov., Kull.). Some MSS. of Medh. and Nand. read *atyantam*, 'excessive,' for *nityam*, 'constant.'

80. Vi. LIX, 29.

81. Yâgñ. I, 104.

(*Srâddha*), men by (gifts of) food, and the *Bhûtas* by the *Bali* offering.

82. Let him daily perform a funeral sacrifice with food, or with water, or also with milk, roots, and fruits, and (thus) please the manes.

83. Let him feed even one *Brâhmaṇa* in honour of the manes at (the *Srâddha*), which belongs to the five great sacrifices; but let him not feed on that (occasion) any *Brâhmaṇa* on account of the *Vaisvadeva* offering.

84. A *Brâhmaṇa* shall offer according to the rule (of his *Gṛhya-sûtra* a portion) of the cooked food destined for the *Vaisvadeva* in the sacred domestic fire to the following deities :

85. First to *Agni*, and (next) to *Soma*, then to both these gods conjointly, further to all the gods (*Visve Devâḥ*), and (then) to *Dhanvantari*,

86. Further to *Kuhû* (the goddess of the new-moon day), to *Anumati* (the goddess of the full-moon day), to *Pragâpati* (the lord of creatures), to heaven and earth conjointly, and finally to *Agni Svishtakṛit* (the fire which performs the sacrifice well).

82. Vi. LXVII, 23-25.

83. The object of the second part of the verse is to forbid that two sets of *Brâhmaṇas* are to be fed at the daily *Srâddha*, as is done at the *Pârvana Srâddha*, see below, verse 125 seq. *Nâr.* adds, *visveshâm devânâm nityasrâddhe prīṇanam nâstīti darsitam* || 'It is indicated (hereby) that the *Visvedevas* are not gladdened at the daily *Srâddha*.' *Medh.*, *Nand.*, and *Râgh.* read *kimṛit*, 'any (food),' for *kaṁṛit*, 'any (*Brâhmaṇa*).'

84. *Âp.* II, 3, 16; *Gaut.* V, 10; Vi. LXVII, 3 (see also the *Gṛhya-sûtras*, quoted by Professor Jolly on the last passage). The term 'a *Brâhmaṇa*' is not intended to exclude other *Âryans* (*Medh.*, *Nand.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*).

85. Each offering must be presented with a mantra, consisting of the name of the deity in the dative case and the word 'svâhâ.'

87. After having thus duly offered the sacrificial food, let him throw Bali offerings in all directions of the compass, proceeding (from the east) to the south, to Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, and Soma, as well as to the servants (of these deities).

88. Saying, '(Adoration) to the Maruts,' he shall scatter (some food) near the door, and (some) in water, saying, '(Adoration to the waters;' he shall throw (some) on the pestle and the mortar, speaking thus, '(Adoration) to the trees.'

89. Near the head (of the bed) he shall make an offering to Śrī (fortune), and near the foot (of his bed) to Bhadrakālī; in the centre of the house let him place a Bali for Brahman and for Vāstoshpati (the lord of the dwelling) conjointly.

90. Let him throw up into the air a Bali for all the gods, and (in the day-time one) for the goblins roaming about by day, (and in the evening one) for the goblins that walk at night.

91. In the upper story let him offer a Bali to Sarvātmabhūti; but let him throw what remains (from these offerings) in a southerly direction for the manes.

87-92. Âp. II, 3, 12-15, 18-4, 9; Gaut. V, 11-17; Vi. LXVII, 4-22, 26.

89. Uḁkīrshake, 'near the head of the bed' (Medh., 'others,' Nār., Nand.), means according to Gov., Kull., and Rāgh. 'in the north-eastern portion of the house, where the head of the Vāstupurusha, "the Lar," is situated.' Medh. says that the spot is known as the *devasarāṇa*. The same authorities refer *pādātāḥ*, 'at the foot,' to a spot in the south-west part of the building where the Lar keeps his feet.

91. *Prishṭhāvāstuni*, 'in the upper story,' or (if the house has only one) 'on the top of the house' (Medh.), may also mean according to Gov. and Nār. 'behind the house,' or according to Nand. 'outside the house.' Instead of 'Sarvātmabhūti' (Kull.,

92. Let him gently place on the ground (some food) for dogs, outcasts, *Kandâlas* (*Svapak*), those afflicted with diseases that are punishments of former sins, crows, and insects.

93. That *Brâhmaṇa* who thus daily honours all beings, goes, endowed with a resplendent body, by a straight road to the highest dwelling-place (i. e. *Brahman*).

94. Having performed this *Bali* offering, he shall first feed his guest and, according to the rule, give alms to an ascetic (and) to a student.

95. A twice-born householder gains, by giving alms, the same reward for his meritorious act which (a student) obtains for presenting, in accordance with the rule, a cow to his teacher.

Râgh.), *Nâr.* and *Nand.* have '*Sarvânubhûti*,' *Gov.* '*Sarvânnabhûti*.' *Nâr.* mentions a various reading '*Sarvânnabhûta*,' which seems to have been also *Medh.*'s version. The same deity occurs *Sâṅkhâyaṇa Grîhya-sûtra* II, 14, where Professor Oldenberg has *Sarvânnabhûti*, while the *Petersburg Dict.* gives *Sarvânubhûti*. Probably one of the last two readings is the original one, but without further parallel passages it is difficult to say which has to be chosen.

93. Instead of *tegomûrtiḥ*, 'endowed with a resplendent body,' *Kull.* and *Râgh.* read *tegomûrti*, '(to the highest) resplendent (dwelling-place, i. e. *Brahman*).'

94. *Vi.* LIX, 14; LXVII, 27; *Vas.* XI, 5; *Baudh.* II, 5, 15; *Yâgñ.* I, 107. *Bhikshave brahmaṣârize*, 'to an ascetic and to a student' (*Kull.*, *Râgh.*), may mean according to *Medh.* (who gives *Kull.*'s view also), either 'to a begging student' or 'to an ascetic who is chaste.' *Gov.* adopts the former explanation. 'According to the rule,' i. e. 'making him wish welfare' (*Medh.*, *Nand.*); see also *Gaut.* V, 18.

95. For *vidhivad gurau* or *guroḥ*, 'according to the rule, to his teacher,' *Nand.* reads *agor yathâvidhi*, 'according to the rule to one who has no cow.' The var. lect. is mentioned by *Medh.* also. The 'rule' referred to is, according to *Gov.* and *Kull.*, that given *Yâgñ.* I, 204.

96. Let him give, in accordance with the rule, to a Brâhmana who knows the true meaning of the Veda, even (a small portion of food as) alms, or a pot full of water, having garnished (the food with seasoning, or the pot with flowers and fruit).

97. The oblations to gods and manes, made by men ignorant (of the law of gifts), are lost, if the givers in their folly present (shares of them) to Brâhmanas who are mere ashes.

98. An offering made in the mouth-fire of Brâhmanas rich in sacred learning and austerities, saves from misfortune and from great guilt.

99. But let him offer, in accordance with the rule, to a guest who has come (of his own accord) a seat and water, as well as food, garnished (with seasoning), according to his ability.

100. A Brâhmana who stays unhonoured (in the house), takes away (with him) all the spiritual merit even of a man who subsists by gleaning ears of corn, or offers oblations in five fires.

101. Grass, room (for resting), water, and fourthly a kind word ; these (things) never fail in the houses of good men.

102. But a Brâhmana who stays one night only is declared to be a guest (atithi) ; for because he stays (sthita) not long (anityam), he is called atithi (a guest).

96. Satkrîtya, 'having garnished, &c.' (Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. and Gov. 'having honoured the recipient' (with fruits and flowers, Gov.).

97. Vas. III, 8.

99-118. Âp. II, 4, 11, 13-20 ; 6, 5-9 ; Gaut. V, 25-45 ; Vas. VIII, 4-5, 11-15 ; Baudh. II, 5, 11-18 ; 6, 36-37 ; Vi. LXVII, 28-46 ; Yâgñ. I, 104-109, 112-113.

103. One must not consider as a guest a Brâhmana who dwells in the same village, nor one who seeks his livelihood by social intercourse, even though he has come to a house where (there is) a wife, and where sacred fires (are kept).

104. Those foolish householders who constantly seek (to live on) the food of others, become, in consequence of that (baseness), after death the cattle of those who give them food.

105. A guest who is sent by the (setting) sun in the evening, must not be driven away by a householder; whether he have come at (supper-)time or at an inopportune moment, he must not stay in the house without entertainment.

106. Let him not eat any (dainty) food which he does not offer to his guest; the hospitable reception of guests procures wealth, fame, long life, and heavenly bliss.

107. Let him offer (to his guests) seats, rooms,

103. *Sâmgatika*h, 'one who seeks his livelihood by social intercourse,' is, according to Gov., Kull., and Râgh., 'one who makes his living by telling wonderful or laughable stories and the like.' Medh. explains the word first by 'he who stays being a fellow-student (*sahâdhyâyî*),' and afterwards by 'a Vaisya, or Sûdra, or a friend who makes friends with everybody, possessing wonderful or laughable stories and the like, which are indicated by the word *samgati*.' Nâr. says that *samgati* means *sambandha*, 'connexion,' that *sâmgatika* is 'one who comes for such a reason.' Perhaps the term might be rendered 'a visitor on business or pleasure.' According to Kull. and Râgh., the last clause, 'where (there is) a wife and sacred fires (are kept),' indicates, that a householder who has neither, need not entertain guests. But the words are taken differently by Gov. and Nâr., 'nor him who travels with his wife or his fires' (*tathâ yatra yasya pravâsino 'pi bhâryâgnayo vâ saha gakkhanti | etadanyatamam svagrîha upasthitam âgatam apyathi atithim na vidyât | nâtitidharmenârîkayet ||* Nâr.).

107. Gaut. V, 38. 'The rule refers to the case when many guests

beds, attendance on departure and honour (while they stay), to the most distinguished in the best form, to the lower ones in a lower form, to equals in an equal manner.

108. But if another guest comes after the Vaisvadeva offering has been finished, (the householder) must give him food according to his ability, (but) not repeat the Bali offering.

109. A Brâhmaṇa shall not name his family and (Vedic) gotra in order to obtain a meal; for he who boasts of them for the sake of a meal, is called by the wise a foul feeder (vântâsin).

110. But a Kshatriya (who comes) to the house of a Brâhmaṇa is not called a guest (atithi), nor a Vaisya, nor a Sûdra, nor a personal friend, nor a relative, nor the teacher.

111. But if a Kshatriya comes to the house of a Brâhmaṇa in the manner of a guest, (the householder) may feed him according to his desire, after the above-mentioned Brâhmaṇas have eaten.

112. Even a Vaisya and a Sûdra who have approached his house in the manner of guests, he may allow to eat with his servants, showing (thereby) his compassionate disposition.

113. Even to others, personal friends and so forth, who have come to his house out of affection, he may

come at the same time.' Upâsanam, 'honour (while they stay),' i. e. 'sitting with them and talking to them' (Medh.).

108. 'When the Vaisvadeva offering has been finished,' i. e. 'when the dinner of the guests is over.'

111. 'In the manner of a guest,' i. e. 'having consumed his provisions while on a journey, being an inhabitant of another village or arriving at meal-time' (Medh., Gov., Kull.).

112. Nâr. says, 'he may cause them to be fed by his servants in the same manner.'

give food, garnished (with seasoning) according to his ability, (at the same time) with his wife.

114. Without hesitation he may give food, even before his guests, to the following persons, (viz.) to newly-married women, to infants, to the sick, and to pregnant women.

115. But the foolish man who eats first without having given food to these (persons) does, while he crams, not know that (after death) he himself will be devoured by dogs and vultures.

116. After the Brâhmaṇas, the kinsmen, and the servants have dined, the householder and his wife may afterwards eat what remains.

117. Having honoured the gods, the sages, men, the manes, and the guardian deities of the house, the householder shall eat afterwards what remains.

118. He who prepares food for himself (alone), eats nothing but sin; for it is ordained that the food which remains after (the performance of) the sacrifices shall be the meal of virtuous men.

119. Let him honour with the honey-mixture a king, an officiating priest, a Snâtaka, the teacher, a son-in-law, a father-in-law, and a maternal uncle, (if they come) again after a full year (has elapsed since their last visit).

114. Suvâsinîḥ, 'to newly-married women,' i.e. 'daughters-in-law and daughters,' may also mean according to 'others,' quoted by Medh. and Gov., 'females whose fathers or fathers-in-law live.' Nand. reads svavâsinîḥ and explains it by 'sisters.'

119-120. Âp. II, 8, 5-9; Gaut.V, 27-30; Vas. XI, 1-2; Baudh. II, 6, 36-37; Yâgñ. I, 110.

119. Guruḥ, 'the teacher,' means according to Nâr. 'the teacher or the sub-teacher.' Priyaḥ, which according to Gov., Kull., and Râgh. means 'a son-in-law,' is taken by Nâr. and Nand. in its etymological sense, 'a friend.'

120. A king and a Srotriya, who come on the performance of a sacrifice, must be honoured with the honey-mixture, but not if no sacrifice is being performed; that is a settled rule.

121. But the wife shall offer in the evening (a portion) of the dressed food as a Bali-oblation, without (the recitation of) sacred formulas; for that (rite which is called the) Vaisvadeva is prescribed both for the morning and the evening.

122. After performing the *Pitriyagña*, a Brāhmaṇa who keeps a sacred fire shall offer, month by month, on the new-moon day, the funeral sacrifice (*Śrāddha*, called) *Pindānvâhâryaka*.

123. The wise call the monthly funeral offering to the manes *Anvâhârya* (to be offered after the

120. According to one opinion, given by Medh., and according to Gov., Kull., Nâr., this rule is a limitation of verse 119, and means that the two persons mentioned shall not receive the honey-mixture, except when they come during the performance of a sacrifice, however long a period may have elapsed since their last visit. According to another explanation, mentioned by Medh., and according to Nand. and Râgh., the verse means that a king and a Srotriya, who come before a year since their last visit elapsed, on the occasion of a sacrifice, shall receive the *madhuparka*. The term *Srotriya* refers according to Medh. to a *Snâtaka* or to an officiating priest, according to others quoted by him to all the persons mentioned in the preceding verse, according to Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. to a *Snâtaka*. The latter is probably the correct opinion, as a *Srotriya*, i. e. one who knows a whole recension of the Veda, must be a *Snâtaka*. Medh. approves of the reading *yagñakarmāny upasthite*.

121. Nand. omits this verse.

122. *Yâgñ.* I, 217; *Gaut.* XV, 2. The sacrifice intended by the term *Pitriyagña*, 'sacrifice offered to the fathers,' is the so-called *Pindapitriyagña*, a *Srauta* rite (*Āśvalâyana*, *Srauta-sūtra* II, 6-7), and *Pindānvâhâryaka* is another name for the monthly *Śrāddha*.

cakes), and that must be carefully performed with the approved (sorts of) flesh (mentioned below).

124. I will fully declare what and how many Brâhmaṇas must be fed on that (occasion), who must be avoided, and on what kinds of food (they shall dine).

125. One must feed two (Brâhmaṇas) at the offering to the gods, and three at the offering to the manes, or one only on either occasion; even a very wealthy man shall not be anxious (to entertain) a large company.

126. A large company destroys these five (advantages), the respectful treatment (of the invited, the propriety of) place and time, purity and (the selection of) virtuous Brâhmaṇa (guests); he therefore shall not seek (to entertain) a large company.

127. Famed is this rite for the dead, called (the sacrifice sacred to the manes (and performed) on the new-moon day; if a man is diligent in (performing) that, (the reward of) the rite for the dead, which is performed according to Smârta rules, reaches him constantly.

125. Vas. XI, 27; Baudh. II, 15, 10; Vi. LXXIII, 3-4; Gaut. XV, 8, 21; Yâgy. I, 228. The offering to the gods, mentioned in this verse, is an Aṅga or subsidiary rite preceding the offering to the manes. Medh. takes the first part of this verse in a peculiar manner, 'One must feed two (Brâhmaṇas) at the offering to the gods, and three (for each ancestor, or nine in all) at the offering to the manes, or one on either occasion (i.e. one at the offering to the gods and at the offering to the manes, one for each ancestor, or three in all).'

126. Vas. XI, 28; Baudh. II, 15, 11.

127. Gov. reads vidhiḥ kshaye for vidhukshaye, 'on the new-moon day,' and explains the first half of the verse as follows: 'The ceremony called the (sacrifice) to the manes (is) a rite for the benefit of the dead, (and) prescribed on the new-moon day

128. Oblations to the gods and manes must be presented by the givers to a Śrotriya alone; what is given to such a most worthy Brāhmaṇa yields great reward.

129. Let him feed even one learned man at (the sacrifice) to the gods, and one at (the sacrifice) to the manes; (thus) he will gain a rich reward, not (if he entertains) many who are unacquainted with the Veda.

130. Let him make inquiries even regarding the remote (ancestors of) a Brāhmaṇa who has studied an entire (recension of the) Veda; (if descended from a virtuous race) such a man is a worthy recipient of gifts (consisting) of food offered to the gods or to the manes, he is declared (to procure as great rewards as) a guest (atithi).

131. Though a million of men, unacquainted with the *Riṅas*, were to dine at a (funeral sacrifice), yet a single man, learned in the Veda, who is satisfied (with his entertainment), is worth them all as far as the (production of) spiritual merit (is concerned).

132. Food sacred to the manes or to the gods must be given to a man distinguished by sacred

or in the house, i.e. to be performed by householders, not by men of other orders.' Medh., too, mentions another reading, which he explains much in the same way as Gov., and which therefore may have been vidhiḥ kshaye, though the MSS. read tithikshaye.

128. Vas. III, 8; Gaut. XV, 9.

130. Vi. LXXXII, 2. The examination must extend, as in the case of officiating priests, to ten ancestors on the mother's and the father's side (Medh., Gov.).

131. 'The *Riṅas*,' i.e. 'the Veda.' Nār. reads instead of *prīṭaḥ*, 'who is satisfied,' *yuktaḥ*, and combines it with *dharmataḥ*, 'who is properly invited.' Nand. has *vipraḥ*, 'a Brāhmaṇa,' for *prīṭaḥ*. K. has *prima manu vipraḥ*, sec. *manu yuktaḥ*.

knowledge; for hands, smeared with blood, cannot be cleansed with blood.

133. As many mouthfuls as an ignorant man swallows at a sacrifice to the gods or to the manes, so many red-hot spikes, spears, and iron balls must (the giver of the repast) swallow after death.

134. Some Brâhmanas are devoted to (the pursuit of) knowledge, and others to (the performance of) austerities; some to austerities and to the recitation of the Veda, and others to (the performance of) sacred rites.

135. Oblations to the manes ought to be carefully presented to those devoted to knowledge, but offerings to the gods, in accordance with the reason (of the sacred law), to (men of) all the four (above-mentioned classes).

136. If there is a father ignorant of the sacred texts whose son has learned one whole recension of the Veda and the Aṅgas, and a son ignorant of the sacred texts whose father knows an entire recension of the Veda and the Aṅgas,

133. Nâr. thinks that the eater, not the giver of the feast will bear the punishment. Medh. gives both this explanation and that adopted in the translation. Nâr. explains *rishî*, 'spear,' by *khadga*, 'sword.' Nand. reads *hulân* for *gudân*, 'balls,' and says that *hula* means 'a double-edged sword.'

134. 'Knowledge,' i. e. 'the knowledge of the supreme soul' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). Medh. and Nâr. say that ascetics, hermits, students, and householders are intended by the four divisions mentioned in the text.

135. Vas. XI, 17; Baudh. II, 14, 3. The verse indicates that ascetics are particularly desirable guests.

136-137. Kull. remarks that the object of the verse is to teach that at a *Srâddha* the learned son of a learned father is to be entertained, but not to permit the admission of a fool whose father is learned.



137. Know that he whose father knows the Veda, is the more venerable one (of the two); yet the other one is worthy of honour, because respect is due to the Veda (which he has learned).

138. Let him not entertain a personal friend at a funeral sacrifice; he may gain his affection by (other) valuable gifts; let him feed at a Srâddha a Brâhmaṇa whom he considers neither as a foe nor as a friend.

139. He who performs funeral sacrifices and offerings to the gods chiefly for the sake of (gaining) friends, reaps after death no reward for Srâddhas and sacrifices.

140. That meanest among twice-born men who in his folly contracts friendships through a funeral sacrifice, loses heaven, because he performed a Srâddha for the sake of friendship.

141. A gift (of food) by twice-born men, consumed with (friends and relatives), is said to be offered to the Pisâkas; it remains in this (world) alone like a blind cow in one stable.

142. As a husbandman reaps no harvest when he has sown the seed in barren soil, even so the giver of sacrificial food gains no reward if he presented it to a man unacquainted with the *Rikas*.

143. But a present made in accordance with the rules to a learned man, makes the giver and the

138-148. Âp. II, 17, 4-6; Gaut. XV, 12-14; Baudh. II, 14, 6; Yâgyñ. I, 220.

141. Âp. II, 17, 8-9. According to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh. *paisakî* means 'offered after the manner of the Pisâkas.' But the version given above, which follows Nâr. and Nand., is supported by the ancient verse, quoted by Âpastamba, from which Manu's Sloka is probably derived.

recipient partakers of rewards both in this (life) and after death.

144. (If no learned Brâhmaṇa be at hand), he may rather honour a (virtuous) friend than an enemy, though the latter may be qualified (by learning and so forth); for sacrificial food, eaten by a foe, bears no reward after death.

145. Let him (take) pains (to) feed at a Srâddha an adherent of the *Rig*-veda who has studied one entire (recension of that) Veda, or a follower of the *Yagur*-veda who has finished one Sâkhâ, or a singer of Sâmans who (likewise) has completed (the study of an entire recension).

146. If one of these three dines, duly honoured, at a funeral sacrifice, the ancestors of him (who gives the feast), as far as the seventh person, will be satisfied for a very long time.

147. This is the chief rule (to be followed) in offering sacrifices to the gods and manes; know that the virtuous always observe the following subsidiary rule.

148. One may also entertain (on such occasions) one's maternal grandfather, a maternal uncle, a sister's son, a father-in-law, one's teacher, a daughter's son, a daughter's husband, a cognate kinsman, one's own officiating priest or a man for whom one offers sacrifices.

149. For a rite sacred to the gods, he who knows the law will not make (too close) inquiries regarding an (invited) Brâhmaṇa; but when one performs a

148. Bandhum, 'a cognate kinsman' (Kull., Râgh.), is taken by Medh. and Gov. in its widest sense, 'any remoter kinsman' (sago-trâdîḥ).

149. Vi. LXXXII, 1-2.

ceremony in honour of the manes, one must carefully examine (the qualities and parentage of the guest).

150. Manu has declared that those Brāhmaṇas who are thieves, outcasts, eunuchs, or atheists are unworthy (to partake) of oblations to the gods and manes.

151. Let him not entertain at a Śrāddha one who wears his hair in braids (a student), one who has not studied (the Veda), one afflicted with a skin-disease, a gambler, nor those who sacrifice for a multitude (of sacrificers).

152. Physicians, temple-priests, sellers of meat, and those who subsist by shop-keeping must be avoided at sacrifices offered to the gods and to the manes.

153. A paid servant of a village or of a king, a man with deformed nails or black teeth, one who opposes his teacher, one who has forsaken the sacred fire, and a usurer ;

154. One suffering from consumption, one who subsists by tending cattle, a younger brother who

150-182. Âp. II, 17, 21 ; Gaut. XV, 16-19, 30-31 ; Vas. XI, 19 ; Vi. LXXXII, 3-30 ; Yâgñ. I, 222-224.

150. For the term *nâstikavṛtti*, 'atheist,' Medh. proposes, besides the explanation given above, the other equally possible one, 'he who derives his livelihood from atheists.'

151. *Anadhiyânam*, 'one who has not studied the Veda,' i.e. 'one who has been initiated only, but has not studied' (Kull.), or 'one who has not mastered the Veda' (Medh.), or 'one who has left off studying' (Nâr.). Medh. and Nand. read *durvâlam* for *durbalam*, 'afflicted with a skin-disease,' and the former explains his var. lect. by 'a bald or a red-haired man.' 'Those who sacrifice for a multitude,' i.e. 'who offer the (forbidden) Ahîna sacrifices, for on that occasion there are many sacrificers' (Nâr.).

154. *Nirâkrûh*, 'one who neglects the five great sacrifices' (Medh.,

marries or kindles the sacred fire before the elder, one who neglects the five great sacrifices, an enemy of the Brâhmana race, an elder brother who marries or kindles the sacred fire after the younger, and one who belongs to a company or corporation,

155. An actor or singer, one who has broken the vow of studentship, one whose (only or first) wife is a Sûdra female, the son of a remarried woman, a one-eyed man, and he in whose house a paramour of his wife (resides);

156. He who teaches for a stipulated fee and he who is taught on that condition, he who instructs Sûdra pupils and he whose teacher is a Sûdra, he who speaks rudely, the son of an adulteress, and the son of a widow,

157. He who forsakes his mother, his father, or a teacher without a (sufficient) reason, he who has

Kull., Râgh.), means according to Gov. 'one who forsakes the Vedas (and the rest),' according to Nâr. and Nand. 'one who does not recite the Veda privately,' or 'who has forgotten it.' *Ganâ-bhyantaraḥ*, 'one who belongs to a company or corporation,' i.e. 'of men who live by one trade' (Medh., Gov., Nâr.), is further explained by Nâr. by 'the headman of a village,' or 'the leader of a caravan.' According to Kull. and Râgh. it means 'one who misappropriates the money of a corporation.'

155. *Kusilava*, 'an actor or singer,' is, as Medh. states, a very wide term, including all 'bards, actors, jugglers, dancers, singers, and the like.' Kull. wrongly understands by *avakîrṇin*, 'one who has broken the vow of studentship,' an ascetic also who has become unchaste. Such an ascetic is called *ârûdḥapatita*.

156. *Vâgdushaḥ*, 'one who speaks rudely,' means according to 'others,' quoted by Medh. and Kull., 'one who is accused of a great crime' (*abhisasta*).

157. According to Nâr. *guroḥ*, 'a teacher,' denotes the *âkârya* alone. Medh. blames this explanation, and refers it to the sub-teacher. The same explains *kundâśi*, 'he who eats the food of the son of an adulteress,' by 'a glutton who eats sixty Palas of rice.'

contracted an alliance with outcasts either through the Veda or through a marriage,

158. An incendiary, a prisoner, he who eats the food given by the son of an adulteress, a seller of Soma, he who undertakes voyages by sea, a bard, an oil-man, a suborner to perjury,

159. He who wrangles or goes to law with his father, the keeper of a gambling-house, a drunkard, he who is afflicted with a disease (in punishment of former) crimes, he who is accused of a mortal sin, a hypocrite, a seller of substances used for flavouring food,

160. A maker of bows and of arrows, he who lasciviously dallies with a brother's widow, the betrayer of a friend, one who subsists by gambling, he who learns (the Veda) from his son,

158. Agâradâhî, 'an incendiary,' includes according to a verse, quoted by Nand. also, 'one who burns corpses for money.' Kû-kârakaḥ, 'a suborner to perjury' (Gov., Kull.), means according to Medh. and Râgh. 'a false witness,' according to Nâr. and Nand. 'any one who commits fraud,' e.g. a forger, a falsifier of weights and measures. 'Others' quoted by Medh. explain somavikrayin as 'one who sells (the merit gained by) Soma (sacrifices).'

159. 'He who wrangles or goes to law with his father,' e.g. who forces him to divide the family estate (Medh.), see Gaut. XV, 19. Kitavaḥ, 'the keeper of a gambling-house' (Medh.), means according to Gov. and Nand. 'one who makes others play for himself,' according to Nâr. 'a gambler for pleasure,' and according to Nand. 'a rogue.' 'Others,' however, read kekaraḥ, 'a squinting man,' and construe it with madyapaḥ, 'a drunkard' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Nand., Râgh.). Rasa, 'substances used for flavouring food,' e.g. 'sugar-cane juice' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), 'molasses' (Nâr.). Medh. explains rasadaḥ by vishadaḥ, 'a poisoner.'

160. I accept Gov.'s and Râgh.'s explanation of agredidhishûpati, who believe it to be equivalent to didhishûpati explained below, verse 173. Kull. and Nand. take it as 'the husband of a younger sister married before the elder,' and Medh. as an

161. An epileptic man, one who suffers from scrofulous swellings of the glands, one afflicted with white leprosy, an informer, a madman, a blind man, and he who cavils at the Veda must (all) be avoided.

162. A trainer of elephants, oxen, horses, or camels, he who subsists by astrology, a bird-fancier, and he who teaches the use of arms,

163. He who diverts water-courses, and he who delights in obstructing them, an architect, a messenger, and he who plants trees (for money),

164. A breeder of sporting-dogs, a falconer, one who defiles maidens, he who delights in injuring living creatures, he who gains his subsistence from Sûdras, and he who offers sacrifices to the Ganas,

165. He who does not follow the rule of conduct, a (man destitute of energy like a) eunuch, one who constantly asks (for favours), he who lives by agri-

irregular compound consisting of *agredidhishûpati* and *didhishûpati*, see Gaut. XV, 16. Though in some *Smṛitis* *agredidhishûpati* has the meaning given by Kull., it seems here inadmissible, on account of verse 173, which is meaningless, if it is not meant to explain this term. *Dyûtavṛittiḥ*, 'one who subsists by gambling,' means according to Medh. 'one who makes others play for his profit,' according to Gov., Kull., and Râgh. 'the keeper of a gambling-house.' Nâr. and Nand. take it in its literal meaning.

162. *Pakshinâm poshakaḥ*, 'a bird-fancier,' means according to Medh. 'a trainer of hunting-falcons and hawks.'

164. The commentators mention a var. lect. *vṛishalaputraḥ*, 'one who has only sons by a Sûdra wife,' for 'one who gains his subsistence from Sûdras.' Nâr. and Nand. explain *ganânâm yâgakaḥ* by 'one who sacrifices for *ganas*,' i.e. many people or guilds. According to the explanation of Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh., which has been translated above, the performance of the *Vinâyaka* or *Ganesahoma* (*Yâgñ.* I, 270-294) may be meant. But it is also possible to think of the *Ganahomas*, which according to Baudh. IV, 8, 1 must not be performed for others.

culture, a club-footed man, and he who is censured by virtuous men,

166. A shepherd, a keeper of buffaloes, the husband of a remarried woman, and a carrier of dead bodies, (all these) must be carefully avoided.

167. A Brāhmaṇa who knows (the sacred law) should shun at (sacrifices) both (to the gods and to the manes) these lowest of twice-born men, whose conduct is reprehensible, and who are unworthy (to sit) in the company (at a repast).

168. As a fire of dry grass is (unable to consume the offerings and is quickly) extinguished, even so (is it with) an unlearned Brāhmaṇa ; sacrificial food must not be given to him, since it (would be) offered in ashes.

169. I will fully declare what result the giver obtains after death, if he gives food, destined for the gods or manes, to a man who is unworthy to sit in the company.

170. The Rākshasas, indeed, consume (the food) eaten by Brāhmaṇas who have not fulfilled the vow of studentship, by a Parivetrī and so forth, and by other men not admissible into the company.

171. He must be considered as a Parivetrī who

168. According to Medh. and Gov. the object of this verse is to admit virtuous and learned men, afflicted with bodily defects, as guests at rites in honour of the gods ; see Vas. XI, 20. Kull. thinks that the injunction to avoid ignorant men is repeated here in order to show that they are as unfit as real 'defilers of the company.'

170. Avratāḥ, 'who have not fulfilled the vow of studentship' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh.), means according to Medh. 'of bad conduct,' and according to Nār. 'who do not observe the rules prescribed for a Snātaka and so forth.'

171. Usually a person who kindles the sacred fire before his elder brother is called a Paryādhātṛī, and the elder brother a Paryāhita.

marries or begins the performance of the Agnihotra before his elder brother, but the latter as a Parivitti.

172. The elder brother who marries after the younger, the younger brother who marries before the elder, the female with whom such a marriage is contracted, he who gives her away, and the sacrificing priest, as the fifth, all fall into hell.

173. He who lasciviously dallies with the widow of a deceased brother, though she be appointed (to bear a child by him) in accordance with the sacred law, must be known to be a Didhishâpati.

174. Two (kinds of) sons, a *Kunda* and a *Golaka*, are born by wives of other men; (he who is born) while the husband lives, will be a *Kunda*, and (he who is begotten) after the husband's death, a *Golaka*.

175. But those two creatures, who are born of wives of other men, cause to the giver the loss (of the rewards), both in this life and after death, for the food sacred to gods or manes which has been given (to them).

176. The foolish giver (of a funeral repast) does not reap the reward for as many worthy guests as a man, inadmissible into company, can look on while they are feeding.

177. A blind man by his presence causes to the giver (of the feast) the loss of the reward for ninety (guests), a one-eyed man for sixty, one who suffers from white leprosy for a hundred, and one punished by a (terrible) disease for a thousand.

178. The giver (of a *Srâddha*) loses the reward,

172. Baudh. II, 1, 39.

177. Regarding the diseases which are punishments for sins committed in a former life, see below, XI, 49 seq.

178. Paurtikam, 'due for such a non-sacrificial gift,' i.e. 'for one

due for such a non-sacrificial gift, for as many Brāhmaṇas as a (guest) who sacrifices for Sūdras may touch (during the meal) with his limbs.

179. And if a Brāhmaṇa, though learned in the Veda, accepts through covetousness a gift from such (a man), he will quickly perish, like a vessel of unburnt clay in water.

180. (Food) given to a seller of Soma becomes ordure, (that given) to a physician pus and blood, but (that presented) to a temple-priest is lost, and (that given) to a usurer finds no place (in the world of the gods).

181. What has been given to a Brāhmaṇa who lives by trade that is not (useful) in this world and the next, and (a present) to a Brāhmaṇa born of a remarried woman (resembles) an oblation thrown into ashes.

182. But the wise declare that the food which (is offered) to other unholy, inadmissible men, enumerated above, (is turned into) adipose secretions, blood, flesh, marrow, and bone.

183. Now hear by what chief of twice-born men

which is given outside the sacrificial enclosure' (Medh., Gov.), or 'for the gift of food at a Śrāddha' (Kull., Rāgh.).

179. 'From such a man,' i. e. 'from one who sacrifices for Sūdras.'

180. The meaning is that the giver will be born in his next life among the animals, feeding on the unclean substances enumerated (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.), or that the food will be rejected by the manes and the gods as impure (Nār.). Apratish/ham, 'finds no place' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.), means according to Nār. and Nand. 'secures no fame (to the giver).'

182. According to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Rāgh., it must be understood that the giver will be born in his next existence as a worm, feeding on the substances mentioned.

183-186. Âp. II, 17, 22; Gaut. XV, 28, 31; Vas. III, 19; Baudh. II, 14, 2-3; Vi. LXXXIII; Yâgñ. I, 219-221.

a company defiled by (the presence of) unworthy (guests) is purified, and the full (description of) the Brâhmanas who sanctify a company.

184. Those men must be considered as the sanctifiers of a company who are most learned in all the Vedas and in all the Aṅgas, and who are the descendants of Srotriyas.

185. A Trinâkiketa, one who keeps five sacred fires, a Trisuparna, one who is versed in the six Aṅgas, the son of a woman married according to the Brâhma rite, one who sings the *Gyeshthasâman*,

186. One who knows the meaning of the Veda, and he who expounds it, a student, one who has given a thousand (cows), and a centenarian must be considered as Brâhmanas who sanctify a company.

187. On the day before the Srâddha-rite is performed, or on the day when it takes place, let him invite with due respect at least three Brâhmanas, such as have been mentioned above.

188. A Brâhmaṇa who has been invited to a (rite) in honour of the manes shall always control himself and not recite the Veda, and he who performs the Srâddha (must act in the same manner).

185. Regarding the term Trinâkiketa, see Âp. II, 17, 22, note. *Pañkâgniḥ*, 'one who keeps five sacred fires' (Medh., 'others,' Gov., Kull., Nand., Râgh.), means according to Medh. and Nâr. 'one who knows the *pañkâgnividyâ*, taught in the *Khândogya*panishad IV, 10 seq. Trisuparna means according to Medh., Nâr., and Nand. 'one who knows the texts Taitt. Âr. X, 38-40; but according to Gov., Kull., and Râgh. 'one who knows the portion of the Rig-veda called Trisuparna, Rig-veda X, 114, 3-5.

186. Nand. explains *brahmatâri*, 'a student,' by 'a chaste man' (see above, verse 50).

187. Âp. II, 17, 11-15; Vas. XI, 17; Yâgñ. I, 225.

188. Gaut. XV. 23; Yâgñ. I, 225. 'Control himself,' i.e. 'remain chaste.'

189. For the manes attend the invited Brâhmaṇas, follow them (when they walk) like the wind, and sit near them when they are seated.

190. But a Brâhmaṇa who, being duly invited to a rite in honour of the gods or of the manes, in any way breaks (the appointment), becomes guilty (of a crime), and (in his next birth) a hog.

191. But he who, being invited to a Srâddha, dallies with a Sûdra woman, takes upon himself all the sins which the giver (of the feast) committed.

192. The manes are primeval deities, free from anger, careful of purity, ever chaste, averse from strife, and endowed with great virtues.

193. Now learn fully from whom all these (manes derive) their origin, and with what ceremonies they ought to be worshipped.

194. The (various) classes of the manes are declared to be the sons of all those sages, Marîkî and the rest, who are children of Manu, the son of Hiranyagarbha.

195. The Somasads, the sons of Virâg, are stated to be the manes of the Sâdhyas, and the Agnish-

189. 'Like the wind,' i.e. 'like the vital air, the breath' (Medh., Gov., Kull.). Medh. thinks that the manes enter the body of the invited guests.

190. Medh. explains atikrâman, 'breaks the appointment' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), by 'breaks the rules of chastity and the like.' Medh. mentions a second 'improper' explanation given by 'others,' 'does not accept the invitation.'

191. Medh., Gov., Nand., and Râgh. take *vrîshalt*, 'a Sûdra woman,' in the sense of 'his lascivious wife.' Probably the word is used in its proper sense and indicates, as Nâr. states, that intercourse with a Sûdra wife is the worst offence in such a case.

194. 'Marîkî and the rest,' see above, I, 35.

195. Nâr., Nand., and K. *prima manu* read *Somasutaḥ* for *Somasadaḥ*.

vāttas, the children of Marīkī, are famous in the world (as the manes) of the gods.

196. The Barhishads, born of Atri, are recorded to be (the manes) of the Daityas, Dānavas, Yakshas, Gandharvas, Snake-deities, Rākshasas, Suparnas, and Kinnaras,

197. The Somapas those of the Brāhmaṇas, the Havirbhugs those of the Kshatriyas, the Āgyapas those of the Vaisyas, but the Sukālins those of the Sūdras.

198. The Somapas are the sons of Kavi (Bhrigu), the Havishmats the children of Aṅgiras, the Āgyapas the offspring of Pulastya, but the Sukālins (the issue) of Vasishṭha.

199. One should know that (other classes), the Agnidagdhas, the Anagnidagdhas, the Kāvyas, the Barhishads, the Agnishvāttas, and the Saumyas, are (the manes) of the Brāhmaṇas alone.

200. But know also that there exist in this (world) countless sons and grandsons of those chief classes of manes which have been enumerated.

201. From the sages sprang the manes, from the manes the gods and the Dānavas, but from the gods the whole world, both the movable and the immovable in due order.

202. Even water offered with faith (to the manes)

199. Medh. and Gov. place the Anagnidagdhas first. Nār. reads at the end of the first half-verse bahûn, 'many,' instead of tathâ, and Nand. has vahân. The translation follows the explanation given by Gov., Kull., and Râgh. The other three commentators say that this verse gives partly different names for the several classes of manes, enumerated in the preceding verses. But their explanations are not very clear, and they are forced to ignore or transpose the particle eva which stands after viprânâm. The verse probably contains a second classification of the manes, which differs from the preceding, because it is based on a different tradition.

202. Akshayâpakalpate, 'produces endless (bliss),' (Gov., Kull.),

in vessels made of silver or adorned with silver, produces endless (bliss).

203. For twice-born men the rite in honour of the manes is more important than the rite in honour of the gods; for the offering to the gods which precedes (the *Srâddhas*), has been declared to be a means of fortifying (the latter).

204. Let him first invite a (*Brâhmaṇa*) in honour of the gods as a protection for the (offering to the manes); for the *Rākshasas* destroy a funeral sacrifice which is left without such a protection.

205. Let him make (the *Srâddha*) begin and end with (a rite) in honour of the gods; it shall not begin and end with a (rite) to the manes; for he who makes it begin and end with a (rite) in honour of the manes, soon perishes together with his progeny.

206. Let him smear a pure and secluded place with cowdung, and carefully make it sloping towards the south.

207. The manes are always pleased with offerings made in open, naturally pure places, on the banks of rivers, and in secluded spots.

means according to Medh. 'affords to them imperishable satisfaction.'

203. The rite in honour of the gods meant is the *Vaisvadeva* which precedes each *Srâddha*.

204. The above translation of the first half-verse follows Medh., Gov., and Kull. It is, however, not impossible to take, with Sir W. Jones, *daivam* as a neuter, and to translate, 'Let him first perform the rite in honour of the gods as a protection for the (*Srâddha*).'

205. The meaning of the verse is that the *Brâhmaṇas*, fed at the *Vaisvadeva* which precedes the *Srâddha*, must be invited and served before and dismissed after the *Brâhmaṇas* entertained in honour of the manes (Medh., Kull., Nâr.). See also below, verse 209.

206. Âp. II, 18, 14; Gaut. XV, 25; Yâgñ. I, 227.

207. Vi. LXXXV, 54-63. *Koksheshu*, 'naturally pure' (Medh.,

208. The (sacrificer) shall make the (invited) Brâhmanas, who have duly performed their ablutions, sit down on separate, prepared seats, on which blades of Kusa grass have been placed.

209. Having placed those blameless Brâhmanas on their seats, he shall honour them with fragrant garlands and perfumes, beginning with (those who are invited in honour of) the gods.

210. Having presented to them water, sesamum grains, and blades of Kusa grass, the Brâhmana (sacrificer) shall offer (oblations) in the sacred fire, after having received permission (to do so) from (all) the Brâhmana (guests) conjointly.

211. Having first, according to the rule, performed, as a means of protecting (the Srâddha), oblations to Agni, to Soma, and to Yama, let him afterwards satisfy the manes by a gift of sacrificial food.

212. But if no (sacred) fire (is available), he shall place (the offerings) into the hand of a Brâhmana; for Brâhmanas who know the sacred texts declare, 'What fire is, even such is a Brâhmana.'

213. They (also) call those first of twice-born men the ancient deities of the funeral sacrifice, free from anger, easily pleased, employed in making men prosper.

Gov., Kull., Nâr.) or 'lovely' (Nand., Râgh.), 'such as forest glades' (Kull.).

208. Yâgñ. I, 226.

209. Vi. LXXIII, 2; Yâgñ. I, 231.

210. Vi. LXXXIII, 5; Âp. II, 17, 17-19; Baudh. II, 14, 7; Yâgñ. I, 229.

211. Vi. LXXIII, 12; Baudh. II, 14, 7.

212. Âsvalâyana Grîhya-sûtra IV, 8, 5-6. Cases, where a sacred fire is wanting, are those in which a child, an unmarried man, or a widower perform a Srâddha (Medh., Kull., Nâr.).

213. The object of the verse is to show why the offerings may

214. After he has performed (the oblations) in the fire, (and) the whole series of ceremonies in such a manner that they end in the south, let him sprinkle water with his right hand on the spot (where the cakes are to be placed).

215. But having made three cakes out of the remainder of that sacrificial food, he must, concentrating his mind and turning towards the south, place them on (Kusa grass) exactly in the same manner in which (he poured out the libations of) water.

216. Having offered those cakes according to the (prescribed) rule, being pure, let him wipe the same hand with (the roots of) those blades of Kusa grass for the sake of the (three ancestors) who partake of the wipings (lepa).

217. Having (next) sipped water, turned round (towards the north), and thrice slowly suppressed

be placed into the hands of the guests. The epithet 'ancient' is explained to mean 'produced in the kalpa when the Sādhyas were created' (Medh.), or 'those whose succession has been uninterrupted since immemorial times' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh.), or 'those who were produced before all other castes' (Nār.), or 'those who receive gifts before others' (Rāgh.). Medh. prefers, however, to read purā-tanāḥ, 'the ancients call,' &c., and this seems to have stood in Nand.'s text too.

214. 'The whole series of ceremonies,' i.e. 'the acts of sprinkling water and strewing Kusa grass round the fire and so forth, which are subsidiary to the oblations in the fire.' Apasavyam, 'in such a manner that they end in the south' (dakṣiṇāsamsthām), means according to Nār., prāñnāvītena, 'passing the sacrificial string over the right shoulder and under the left arm.' Apasavyena hastena, 'with his right hand' (Medh. 'others,' Kull., Rāgh.), means according to Medh., Gov., Nār., and Nand., 'out of the Tīrtha of the right hand which is sacred to the manes' (see above, II, 59).

216. The three ancestors meant are the great-grandfather, his father and grandfather; see Vi. LXXIII, 22.

217. The texts to be pronounced are, 'Adoration to Spring I' &c.,

his breath, (the sacrificer) who knows the sacred texts shall worship (the guardian deities of) the six seasons and the manes.

218. Let him gently pour out the remainder of the water near the cakes, and, with fixed attention, smell those cakes, in the order in which they were placed (on the ground).

219. But taking successively very small portions from the cakes, he shall make those seated Brâhmanas eat them, in accordance with the rule, before (their dinner).

220. But if the (sacrificer's) father is living, he must offer (the cakes) to three remoter (ancestors); or he may also feed his father at the funeral sacrifice as (one of the) Brâhmaṇa (guests).

221. But he whose father is dead, while his grandfather lives, shall, after pronouncing his father's name, mention (that of) his great-grandfather.

222. Manu has declared that either the grandfather may eat at that Srâddha (as a guest), or (the

and afterwards, 'Adoration to you, oh manes!' &c. Before he recites the latter texts, the worshipper must turn round towards the south.

218. Vi. LXXIII, 23. 'The remainder of the water,' i.e. 'which is contained in the vessel from which he took the water for sprinkling the ground' (verse 214).

219. 'Those seated Brâhmanas,' i.e. 'those invited for the funeral rite, not those invited for the preceding rite in honour of the gods.' 'According to the rule,' i.e. 'giving to the representative of the father a piece from the cake offered to the manes of the father and so forth' (Kull.), or 'after they have sipped water and so forth' (Nâr.). Nand. inserts here verse 223, and states that it is explanatory of the term 'according to the rule.'

220. Vi. LXXV, 1, 4. Nâr. adds that this case happens when a son has kindled the sacred fire during his father's lifetime, because then the *Pindâpitriyagña* and afterwards the *Pârvaṇa* Srâddha must be performed.

221-222. Vi. LXXV, 6.

grandson) having received permission, may perform it, as he desires.

223. Having poured water mixed with sesamum, in which a blade of Kusa grass has been placed, into the hands of the (guests), he shall give (to each) that (above-mentioned) portion of the cake, saying, 'To those, Svadhâ !'

224. But carrying (the vessel) filled with food with both hands, the (sacrificer) himself shall gently place it before the Brâhmanas, meditating on the manes.

225. The malevolent Asuras forcibly snatch away that food which is brought without being held with both hands.

226. Let him, being pure and attentive, carefully place on the ground the seasoning (for the rice), such as broths and pot herbs, sweet and sour milk, and honey,

227. (As well as) various (kinds of) hard food which require mastication, and of soft food, roots, fruits, savoury meat, and fragrant drinks.

228. All this he shall present (to his guests), and, being pure and attentive, successively invite them to partake of each (dish), proclaiming its qualities.

229. Let him on no account drop a tear, become angry or utter an untruth, nor let him touch the food with his foot nor violently shake it.

223. Vi. LXXIII, 23. This rule is a supplement to verse 220. Instead of the pronoun the names are to be used (Medh., Gov.).

225. Vas. XI, 25; Baudh. II, 15, 3.

229. Vi. LXXIX, 19-21; LXXXI, 1; Yâgñ. I, 239. Avadhû-nayet, 'nor violently shake it,' is explained according to Medh. by 'others,' 'nor remove the dust with his dress.' Nand. places verse 230 immediately after verse 228.

230. A tear sends the (food) to the Pretas, anger to his enemies, a falsehood to the dogs, contact with his foot to the Rākshasas, a shaking to the sinners.

231. Whatever may please the Brāhmaṇas, let him give without grudging it; let him give riddles from the Veda, for that is agreeable to the manes.

232. At a (sacrifice in honour) of the manes, he must let (his guests) hear the Veda, the Institutes of the sacred law, legends, tales, Purāṇas, and Khilas.

233. Himself being delighted, let him give delight to the Brāhmaṇas, cause them to partake gradually and slowly (of each dish), and repeatedly invite (them to eat) by (offering) the food and (praising) its qualities.

234. Let him eagerly entertain at a funeral sacrifice a daughter's son, though he be a student, and let him place a Nepāl blanket on the seat (of each guest), scattering sesamum grains on the ground.

231. Yâgñ. I, 239. Brahmodyâh kathâh, 'let him give riddles from the Veda,' such as those collected in the Ârvalâyana Srauta-sûtra X, 9, 2 (Medh., Nand.). Medh. thinks that the term brahmodya may also refer to Vedic stories, such as that of the fights of the Devas and Asuras, or of Saramâ and the Panis, and he mentions a var. lect. brahmâdyâh, 'conversations regarding the Brahman, the supreme soul.' This latter explanation is adopted by Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh., though the text everywhere has brahmodyâh. As the Brahmodya-riddles were a favourite recreation of the priests during the tedious performance of their sacrifices, it is not doubtful that the explanation given in the translation is the only admissible one.

232. Baudh. II, 14, 5; Vi. LXXIII, 16; Yâgñ. I, 239. 'Khilas,' i. e. 'the apocrypha of the Veda, such as the Sṛisûkta.' 'Âkhyânâni legends, such as the Sauparna, the Maitrâvârûna' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'such as occur in the Brāhmaṇas' (Nâr.), or 'the death of Kamsa and so forth' (Nand.).

235. There are three means of sanctification, (to be used) at a Śrāddha, a daughter's son, a Nepāl blanket, and sesamum grains; and they recommend three (other things) for it, cleanliness, suppression of anger, and absence of haste.

236. All the food must be very hot, and the (guests) shall eat in silence; (even though) asked by the giver (of the feast), the Brāhmaṇas shall not proclaim the qualities of the sacrificial food.

237. As long as the food remains warm, as long as they eat in silence, as long as the qualities of the food are not proclaimed, so long the manes partake (of it).

238. What (a guest) eats, covering his head, what he eats with his face turned towards the south, what he eats with sandals on (his feet), that the Rākshasas consume.

239. A Kāṇḍāla, a village pig, a cock, a dog, a menstruating woman, and a eunuch must not look at the Brāhmaṇas while they eat.

240. What (any of) these sees at a burnt-oblation, at a (solemn) gift, at a dinner (given to Brāhmaṇas), or at any rite in honour of the gods and manes, that produces not the intended result.

241. A boar makes (the rite) useless by inhaling the smell (of the offerings), a cock by the air of his wings, a dog by throwing his eye (on them), a low-caste man by touching (them).

242. If a lame man, a one-eyed man, one deficient

235. Vas. XI, 35-36.

236. Vi. LXXXI, 11, 20.

237. Vi. LXXXI, 20; Vas. XI, 32.

238. Vi. LXXXI, 12-14.

239. Âp. II, 17, 20; Gaut. XV, 24.

241. 'A low-caste man,' i.e. 'a Śūdra.'

242. Vi. LXXXI, 15-16. According to Medh., Gov., and Kull.,

in a limb, or one with a redundant limb, be even the servant of the performer (of the *Srâddha*), he also must be removed from that place (where the *Srâddha* is held).

243. To a *Brâhmana* (householder), or to an ascetic who comes for food, he may, with the permission of (his) *Brâhmana* (guests), show honour according to his ability.

244. Let him mix all the kinds of food together, sprinkle them with water and put them, scattering them (on *Kusa* grass), down on the ground in front of (his guests), when they have finished their meal.

245. The remnant (in the dishes), and the portion scattered on *Kusa* grass, shall be the share of deceased (children) who received not the sacrament (of cremation) and of those who (unjustly) forsook noble wives.

246. They declare the fragments which have fallen on the ground at a (*Srâddha*) to the manes, to be the share of honest, dutiful servants.

the word *api*, 'even,' indicates that others, e.g. *Sûdras*, must also be sent away.

243. Vi. LXXXI, 18. Medh., Gov., and Kull. take the first words differently, 'To a *Brâhmana* who comes as a guest (*atithi*) or any other mendicant.' Nâr. and Râgh. give the explanation adopted above.

244. Vi. LXXXI, 21.

245. Vas. XI, 23-24; Vi. LXXXI, 22. Regarding the burial of children, see below, V, 69. *Tyâginâm kulayoshitâm*, 'of those who unjustly forsook noble wives' (Medh., Kull.), may also mean, according to Râgh. and to 'others,' quoted by Medh. and Kull., 'of those who forsook their Gurus and of unmarried maidens;' according to Gov., 'of women who forsook their families;' according to Nâr., 'of suicides and childless women.' Nand. explains the first word by 'of ascetics.'

246. Vi. LXXXI, 23.

247. But before the performance of the *Sapindīkarana*, one must feed at the funeral sacrifice in honour of a (recently-)deceased Āryan (one Brāhmaṇa) without (making an offering) to the gods, and give one cake only.

248. But after the *Sapindīkarana* of the (deceased father) has been performed according to the sacred law, the sons must offer the cakes with those ceremonies, (described above.)

249. The foolish man who, after having eaten a Śrāddha(-dinner), gives the leavings to a Sūdra, falls headlong into the Kālasūtra hell.

250. If the partaker of a Śrāddha(-dinner) enters on the same day the bed of a Sūdra female, the manes of his (ancestors) will lie during that month in her ordure.

251. Having addressed the question, 'Have you dined well?' (to his guests), let him give water for sipping to them who are satisfied, and dismiss them, after they have sipped water, (with the words) 'Rest either (here or at home)!'

247. Vi. XXI, 2-12, 19; Yāgñ. I, 250. The *Sapindīkarana*, 'the solemn reception of a dead person among the partakers of the funeral oblations,' is performed either on the thirteenth day or a year after the death. Up to the time of its performance the Śrāddhas are so-called *Ekoddish/as*, 'performed for one person only.' Medh., Gov., Nār., Nand., and K. read the first word of the verse *asapindakriyākarma*, and according to this var. lect. the translation must be, 'The rite for persons not made *Sapindas* (i. e. the *Ekoddish/a* Śrāddha, must be performed) for an Āryan (recently) deceased; (on that occasion) one must,' &c.

250. Medh., Gov., Kull., and Rāgh. take *vrīṣhalī*, 'a Sūdra female' (Nār.), in the sense of 'a seducing woman' (*vrīṣhasyantī*).

251. Yāgñ. I, 242; Vi. LXXIII, 26-27. Kull. reads *abhi bho ramyatām*, 'Ho, take rest!' and Rāgh., *abhito gamyatām*, 'Go where you please!'

252. The Brâhmaṇa (guests) shall then answer him, 'Let there be Svadhâ;' for at all rites in honour of the manes the word Svadhâ is the highest benison.

253. Next let him inform (his guests) who have finished their meal, of the food which remains; with the permission of the Brâhmaṇas let him dispose (of that), as they may direct.

254. At a (Srâddha) in honour of the manes one must use (in asking the guests if they are satisfied, the word) svaditam; at a Gosh/*hi*-srâddha, (the word) susrutam; at a Vriddhi-srâddha, (the word) sampannam; and at (a rite) in honour of the gods, (the word) ruḷitam.

255. The afternoon, Kusa grass, the due preparation of the dwelling, sesamum grains, liberality, the careful preparation of the food, and (the company of) distinguished Brâhmaṇas are true riches at all funeral sacrifices.

256. Know that Kusa grass, purificatory (texts), the morning, sacrificial viands of all kinds, and those means of purification, mentioned above, are blessings at a sacrifice to the gods.

252. Yâgyñ. I, 243. Medh., Gov., Nand., and Râgh. read svadhetyeva, (shall then answer him) 'Svadhâ!'

254. 'One must ask,' i. e. 'the giver of the feast or any other person who comes' (Medh., Gov.), the former only (Kull.). Medh. and Gov. explain gosh/*he*, 'at a Gosh/*hi*-srâddha' (Kull., Râgh.), by 'in a cow-pen' (goshu tish/*hantishu*, goganamadhya), and Nâr. by gosh/*he* gomandâlârtham gosh/*he* brâhmaṇabhogane. Abhyudaya or Vriddhi-srâddhas are those performed on joyful occasions, such as marriages.

256. Pavitram, 'purificatory texts,' means according to Nâr. 'other means of purification, such as barley and water.' Nand. reads darbhapavitram, 'blades of Kusa grass.' 'Those means of purification mentioned above,' i. e. 'the preparation of the house

257. The food eaten by hermits in the forest, milk, Soma-juice, meat which is not prepared (with spices), and salt unprepared by art, are called, on account of their nature, sacrificial food.

258. Having dismissed the (invited) Brāhmaṇas, let him, with a concentrated mind, silent and pure, look towards the south and ask these blessings of the manes :

259. 'May liberal men abound with us! May (our knowledge of) the Vedas and (our) progeny increase! May faith not forsake us! May we have much to give (to the needy)!'

260. Having thus offered (the cakes), let him, after (the prayer), cause a cow, a Brāhmaṇa, a goat, or the sacred fire to consume those cakes, or let him throw them into water.

261. Some make the offering of the cakes after (the dinner); some cause (them) to be eaten by birds or throw them into fire or into water.

and so forth.' Nand. reads *havishyāni ka śaktiṭaḥ*, 'sacrificial viands (prepared) according to one's ability.'

257. *Anupaskṛitam*, 'which is not prepared (with spices),' (Gov., Nār.), means according to Nand. 'not dressed as people usually do,' according to Kull. and Rāgh. 'not tainted by a bad smell,' and according to Medh. 'not forbidden, such as meat from a slaughter-house.' 'Salt unprepared by art,' i.e. 'rock salt or salt from the sea' (but not *Biḍa*, Nār.).

259. *Yâgñ.* I, 245; Vi. LXXIII, 28.

260. *Yâgñ.* I, 256. 'Thus,' i.e. as described in verse 215.

261. Baudh. II, 14, 9. According to the MSS. and editions the word translated in accordance with the clear explanations of Medh., Kull., and K., and with the requirements of the context, by 'after (the dinner),' is *purastât*. As *purastât* always means 'before,' it would seem that the real reading of the three commentators was like that of Rāgh.'s commentary '*parastât*,' the sense of which perfectly agrees with their explanation.

262. The (sacrificer's) first wife, who is faithful and intent on the worship of the manes, may eat the middle-most cake, (if she be) desirous of bearing a son.

263. (Thus) she will bring forth a son who will be long-lived, famous, intelligent, rich, the father of numerous offspring, endowed with (the quality of) goodness, and righteous.

264. Having washed his hands and sipped water, let him prepare (food) for his paternal relations and, after giving it to them with due respect, let him feed his maternal relatives also.

265. But the remnants shall be left (where they lie) until the Brâhmanas have been dismissed; afterwards he shall perform the (daily) domestic Bali-offering; that is a settled (rule of the) sacred law.

266. I will now fully declare what kind of sacrificial food, given to the manes according to the rule, will serve for a long time or for eternity.

267. The ancestors of men are satisfied for one month with sesamum grains, rice, barley, mâsha beans, water, roots, and fruits, which have been given according to the prescribed rule,

268. Two months with fish, three months with the meat of gazelles, four with mutton, and five indeed with the flesh of birds,

Nâr. and Nand. clearly read purastât, and explain it by prâk, 'before.' But the meaning, thus obtained, is not good, because it stands to reason that the custom mentioned here should differ from that described above, verse 218 seq.

264. This is to be done after the cakes have been made and placed (Medh., Nand.). Medh., Gov., Nand. read pûgayet, 'let him honour,' instead of 'let him feed.'

267-272. Âp. II, 16, 23-17, 3; Gaut. XV, 15; Vi. LXXX; Yâgñ. I, 257-259.

269. Six months with the flesh of kids, seven with that of spotted deer, eight with that of the black antelope, but nine with that of the (deer called) Ruru,

270. Ten months they are satisfied with the meat of boars and buffaloes, but eleven months indeed with that of hares and tortoises,

271. One year with cow-milk and milk-rice ; from the flesh of a long-eared white he-goat their satisfaction endures twelve years.

272. The (vegetable called) Kālasāka, (the fish called) Mahāsalka, the flesh of a rhinoceros and that of a red goat, and all kinds of food eaten by hermits in the forest serve for an endless time.

273. Whatever (food), mixed with honey, one gives on the thirteenth lunar day in the rainy season under the asterism of Maghāḥ, that also procures endless (satisfaction).

274. 'May such a man (the manes say) be born in our family who will give us milk-rice, with honey and clarified butter, on the thirteenth lunar day (of the month of Bhādrapada) and (in the afternoon) when the shadow of an elephant falls towards the east.'

269. Gov. states the Ruru is the Sambara, or Sāmbar stag.

271. Nār. explains vārdhrīṇasa, which Medh., Gov., Kull., and Rāgh. declare, on the strength of a verse, to be a white goat, by 'a black-necked, white-winged bird with a red head,' and quotes another nigama in favour of his view ; see also Âp. II, 17, 3, where the crane called Vārdhrīṇasa (var. lect. Vārdhrīṇasa) is mentioned.

272. Another name of the pot-herb Kālasāka is according to Medh. Kṛīṣṇavāsudeva, according to Nand. Kṛīṣṇanimba. The Mahāsalka is the prawn. Others mentioned by Medh. read saralkān.

273. Vi. LXXVI, 1 ; Yāgñ. I, 260. The day meant is Bhādrapada Badi 13.

274. Vi. LXXVIII, 51-52 ; Vas. XI, 40. Gov. omits this verse.

275. Whatever (a man), full of faith, duly gives according to the prescribed rule, that becomes in the other world a perpetual and imperishable (gratification) for the manes.

276. The days of the dark half of the month, beginning with the tenth, but excepting the fourteenth, are recommended for a funeral sacrifice; (it is) not thus (with) the others.

277. He who performs it on the even (lunar) days and under the even constellations, gains (the fulfilment of) all his wishes; he who honours the manes on odd (lunar days) and under odd (constellations), obtains distinguished offspring.

278. As the second half of the month is preferable to the first half, even so the afternoon is better for (the performance of) a funeral sacrifice than the forenoon.

Medh. says that 'others' improperly explain *prâkṣhâye kuṅgarasya*, '(in the afternoon) when the shadow of an elephant falls towards the east' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), by 'during an eclipse.' He also mentions a var. lect. *prâkṣhâyâm*. It seems, however, by no means certain that the explanation, adopted by him and most commentators, is the correct one. It is much more probable that a particular day (see *Vigñânesvara* on *Yâgñ.* I, 217) is meant. The thirteenth lunar day is, of course, the thirteenth of the dark half of *Bhâdrapada*, the day of the *Mahâlâya Sṛâddha*.

276. Âp. II, 17, 6; Gaut. XV, 3; *Yâgñ.* I, 263; Vas. XI, 16. The reason why the fourteenth is excepted, is given Vi. LXXVIII, 50, and *Yâgñ.* loc. cit.

277. Âp. II, 17, 8-22; Gaut. XV, 4; Vi. LXXVIII, 8-49; *Yâgñ.* I, 267. I read with Medh., Gov., Nand., Râgh., and K. *pitṛṇ arṇan*, which, to judge from the commentary, must have been Kull.'s reading also, instead of the senseless *pitṛṇ sarvân* of the editions. Nand. adds five verses and a half which give the details with respect to the rewards obtained by performing the *Sṛâddhas* on particular lunar days. They are clearly an interpolation.

278. Âp. II, 17, 5.

279. Let him, untired, duly perform the (rites) in honour of the manes in accordance with the prescribed rule, passing the sacred thread over the right shoulder, proceeding from the left to the right (and) holding Kusa grass in his hands, up to the end (of the ceremony).

280. Let him not perform a funeral sacrifice at night, because the (night) is declared to belong to the Rākshasas, nor in the twilight, nor when the sun has just risen.

281. Let him offer here below a funeral sacrifice, according to the rule given above, (at least) thrice a year, in winter, in summer, and in the rainy season, but that which is included among the five great sacrifices, every day.

282. The burnt-oblation, offered at a sacrifice to the manes, must not be made in a common fire; a Brāhmaṇa who keeps a sacred fire (shall) not (perform) a funeral sacrifice except on the new-moon day.

283. Even when a Brāhmaṇa, after bathing, satisfies the manes with water, he obtains thereby the whole reward for the performance of the (daily) Śrāddha.

284. They call (the manes of) fathers Vasus, (those of) grandfathers Rudras, and (those of) great-grandfathers Ādityas; thus (speaks) the eternal Veda.

279. Gov., Kull., and Rāgh. explain apasavyam, 'proceeding from left to right' (Nār.), by 'with the Tirtha of the hand, that is sacred to the manes.' Medh. and Gov. think that ā nidhanât, 'up to the end (of the ceremony),' (Kull., Nār., Nand., Rāgh.), means 'until death.'

280. Âp. II, 17, 23.

284. Yâgñ. I, 268.

285. Let him daily partake of the *vighasa* and daily eat *amṛita* (ambrosia); but *vighasa* is what remains from the meal (of Brāhmaṇa guests) and the remainder of a sacrifice (is called) *amṛita*.

286. Thus all the ordinances relating to the five (daily great) sacrifices have been declared to you; hear now the law for the manner of living fit for Brāhmaṇas.

CHAPTER IV.

1. Having dwelt with a teacher during the fourth part of (a man's) life, a Brāhmaṇa shall live during the second quarter (of his existence) in his house, after he has wedded a wife.

2. A Brāhmaṇa must seek a means of subsistence which either causes no, or at least little pain (to others), and live (by that) except in times of distress.

3. For the purpose of gaining bare subsistence, let him accumulate property by (following those) irreproachable occupations (which are prescribed for) his (caste), without (unduly) fatiguing his body.

4. He may subsist by *Rita* (truth), and *Amṛita*

285. Medh. and Nār. seem to have read *bhṛityasēṣam*, 'what remains after those who must be supported (have been fed).' The former mentions the other reading too.

IV. 2. Medh., Gov., Kull., Nār., and Rāgh. particularly state that *droha* and *adroha* are not equivalent to *himsā* and *ahimsā*, because 'injury to living beings' is forbidden under any circumstances. What is meant by *droha* is the pain caused to others by importunate begging. Hence the meaning of Manu is that householders shall, if possible, not subsist by begging, but rather by gleaning corn. Nand., however, explains *droha* by *himsā*, and the following verses favour his opinion.

3. 'For the purpose of gaining bare subsistence, but not in order to procure many enjoyments for himself.'

(ambrosia), or by *Mr̥ita* (death) and by *Pramr̥ita* (what causes many deaths); or even by (the mode) called *Satyânṛita* (a mixture of truth and falsehood), but never by *Svavr̥itti* (a dog's mode of life).

5. By *Rita* shall be understood the gleanings of corn; by *Amr̥ita*, what is given unasked; by *Mr̥ita*, food obtained by begging; and agriculture is declared to be *Pramr̥ita*.

6. But trade and (money-lending) are *Satyânṛita*, even by that one may subsist. Service is called *Svavr̥itti*; therefore one should avoid it.

7. He may either possess enough to fill a granary, or a store filling a grain-jar; or he may collect what suffices for three days, or make no provision for the morrow.

8. Moreover, among these four *Brāhmaṇa* householders, each later-(named) must be considered more distinguished, and through his virtue to have conquered the world more completely.

9. One of these follows six occupations, another subsists by three, one by two, but the fourth lives by the *Brahmasattra*.

7. *Yâgñ. I, 128*. The first two clauses are variously interpreted. The first means according to *Medh.*, 'he may keep a store of grain or other property, sufficient to maintain a large family, many servants and animals during three years;' according to *Gov.*, 'a store of grain sufficient for twelve days;' according to *Kull. and Râgh.*, 'a store sufficient to fill a granary which holds a supply for three years or more;' and according to *Nâr.*, 'a store sufficient for a year, six months, or three months.' The second clause is interpreted by *Medh.* as 'a store sufficient for six months;' by *Gov. and Nâr.* as 'a store sufficient for six days;' and by *Kull. and Râgh.* as 'a sufficiency for one year.' For other explanations of the term *Kumbhîdhânya*, see *Baudh. I, 1, 5* note. *Nand.* reads *dvayahihikaḥ*, 'or he may collect what suffices for two days.'

9. 'Six occupations,' i.e. 'gleaning corn, acceptance of gifts

10. He who maintains himself by picking up grains and ears of corn, must be always intent on (the performance of) the Agnihotra, and constantly offer those *Ishṛis* only, which are prescribed for the days of the conjunction and opposition (of the moon), and for the solstices.

11. Let him never, for the sake of subsistence, follow the ways of the world; let him live the pure, straightforward, honest life of a *Brāhmaṇa*.

12. He who desires happiness must strive after a perfectly contented disposition and control himself; for happiness has contentment for its root, the root of unhappiness is the contrary (disposition).

13. A *Brāhmaṇa*, who is a *Snātaka* and subsists by one of the (above-mentioned) modes of life, must

given unasked, begging, agriculture, trade, and teaching' (Medh.), or 'those mentioned in verses 5-6' (Gov.), or 'those mentioned in verses 5-6, excepting service and with the addition of money-lending' (Kull., Rāgh.), or 'those enumerated in verses 5-6, and those six, mentioned above, I, 88' (Nār.), or 'those mentioned above, I, 88' (Nand.). 'Subsists by three,' i.e. 'by the first three, mentioned in verses 5-6' (Medh.), or 'by teaching, sacrificing, and accepting gifts' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh., Nand.), or 'by teaching, sacrificing and accepting gifts, and by the first three, mentioned in verses 5-6' (Nār.). 'One by two,' i.e. 'by gleaning and accepting voluntary gifts' (Medh.), or 'by sacrificing and teaching' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh., Nand.), or 'by gleaning ears and single grains' (Nār.). 'The *Brahmasattra*,' i.e. 'gleaning either ears or single grains' (Nār.), or 'teaching' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh., Nand.). Elsewhere the term *Brahmasattra* is applied to the daily recitation of the Veda, and it probably means here 'teaching.'

10. The Agnihotra, i.e. the daily morning and evening oblations in the sacred fire or fires. The sacrifices intended are the *Darsa-paurṇamāsas* and the *Āgrayanas*.

11. *Yâgñ.* I, 123.

12-17. *Yâgñ.* I, 129.

13. Nand. places verse 15 immediately after verse 12. Regarding the term *Snātaka*, see below, verse 31, *Âp.* I, 30, 1-3.

discharge the (following) duties which secure heavenly bliss, long life, and fame.

14. Let him, untired, perform daily the rites prescribed for him in the Veda ; for he who performs those according to his ability, attains to the highest state.

15. Whether he be rich or even in distress, let him not seek wealth through pursuits to which men cleave, nor by forbidden occupations, nor (let him accept presents) from any (giver whosoever he may be).

16. Let him not, out of desire (for enjoyments), attach himself to any sensual pleasures, and let him carefully obviate an excessive attachment to them, by (reflecting on their worthlessness in) his heart.

17. Let him avoid all (means of acquiring) wealth which impede the study of the Veda ; (let him maintain himself) anyhow, but study, because that (devotion to the Veda-study secures) the realisation of his aims.

18. Let him walk here (on earth), bringing his dress, speech, and thoughts to a conformity with his age, his occupation, his wealth, his sacred learning, and his race.

19. Let him daily pore over those Institutes of science which soon give increase of wisdom, those

15. Prasaṅga, 'through pursuits to which men cleave,' e.g. 'music and singing' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh., Nand.). Nâr. interprets the word by 'with too great eagerness.'

17. Vi. LXXI, 4.

18. Yâgñ. I, 123 ; Vi. LXXI, 5-6. 'His race,' e.g. let him wear his hair in the manner prescribed by the usage of his family (Vas. II, 21).

19. Yâgñ. I, 99 ; Vi. LXXI, 8. The various sciences meant are the Itihâsas, Purâṇas, and Nyâya, the Artharâstra, medicine, and

which teach the acquisition of wealth, those which are beneficial (for other worldly concerns), and likewise over the Nigamas which explain the Veda.

20. For the more a man completely studies the Institutes of science, the more he fully understands (them), and his great learning shines brightly.

21. Let him never, if he is able (to perform them), neglect the sacrifices to the sages, to the gods, to the Bhûtas, to men, and to the manes.

22. Some men who know the ordinances for sacrificial rites, always offer these great sacrifices in their organs (of sensation), without any (external) effort.

23. Knowing that the (performance of the) sacrifice in their speech and their breath yields imperishable (rewards), some always offer their breath in their speech, and their speech in their breath.

24. Other Brâhmanas, seeing with the eye of knowledge that the performance of those rites has knowledge for its root, always perform them through knowledge alone.

25. A Brâhmana shall always offer the Agnihotra at the beginning or at the end of the day and of the night, and the Darsa and Purnamâsa (Ishîs) at the end of each half-month,

26. When the old grain has been consumed the

astrology. The Nigamas are the Ângas (Medh.). Gov., Kull., and Nâr. consider the Nigamas to be a separate class of works, teaching the meaning of the Veda, i. e. the naigamakânda of the Nirukta.

22. This and the next two verses refer to various symbolical ways of performing the great sacrifices, which are mentioned in the Upanishads.

23. Kaushîtaki-Up. II, 5.

24. Nand. omits this verse.

25-27. Gaut. VIII, 19-20; Vas. XI, 46; Vi. LIX, 2-9; Baudh. II, 4, 23; Yâgñ. I, 97, 124-125.

(Âgrayana) Ishî with new grain, at the end of the (three) seasons the (*Kâturmâsya*)-sacrifices, at the solstices an animal (sacrifice), at the end of the year Soma-offerings.

27. A Brâhmana, who keeps sacred fires, shall, if he desires to live long, not eat new grain or meat, without having offered the (Âgrayana) Ishî with new grain and an animal-(sacrifice).

28. For his fires, not being worshipped by offerings of new grain and of an animal, seek to devour his vital spirits, (because they are) greedy for new grain and flesh.

29. No guest must stay in his house without being honoured, according to his ability, with a seat, food, a couch, water, or roots and fruits.

30. Let him not honour, even by a greeting, heretics, men who follow forbidden occupations, men who live like cats, rogues, logicians, (arguing against the Veda,) and those who live like herons.

31. Those who have become Snâtakas after studying the Veda, or after completing their vows, (and) householders, who are Srotriyas, one must worship by (gifts of food) sacred to gods and manes, but one must avoid those who are different.

30. *Yâgñ. I, 130. Pâshandînah*, 'heretics,' i.e. 'non-Brâhmanical ascetics' (*vâhyalingînah*, Medh.), or 'ascetics wearing red dresses and the like' (Gov.), or 'non-Brâhmanical ascetics, such as Bauddhas' (Kull., Nâr.), or 'those who do not believe in the Vedas' (Râgh.). The term does not necessarily refer to the Buddhists and Gainas, though the latter may be designated by it. The correct explanation of the word *pâshanda* or *pâshandin*, 'a sectarian,' has been given by Kern, *Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten*, p. 67. Regarding the men who act like cats or herons, see below, verses 195-196.

31. Nand. reads *griham âgatân*, 'who have come to his house,' instead of *grihamedhînah*, 'who are householders.'

32. A householder must give (as much food) as he is able (to spare) to those who do not cook for themselves, and to all beings one must distribute (food) without detriment (to one's own interest).

33. A Snâtaka who pines with hunger, may beg wealth of a king, of one for whom he sacrifices, and of a pupil, but not of others ; that is a settled rule.

34. A Snâtaka who is able (to procure food) shall never waste himself with hunger, nor shall he wear old or dirty clothes, if he possesses property.

35. Keeping his hair, nails, and beard clipped, subduing his passions by austerities, wearing white garments and (keeping himself) pure, he shall be always engaged in studying the Veda and (such acts as are) conducive to his welfare.

36. He shall carry a staff of bamboo, a pot full of water, a sacred string, a bundle of Kusa grass, and (wear) two bright golden ear-rings.

32. Âp. II, 4, 14 ; Gaut. V, 22 ; Baudh. II, 5, 20. 'Those who do not cook for themselves,' i.e. students and ascetics. According to Gov. Pâshandâs are included by this term.

33. Gaut. IX, 63-64 ; Vas. XII, 2 ; Yâgñ. I, 130. 'A king,' i.e. 'a Kshatriya king who rules in accordance with the Sâstras ;' see below, verse 84.

34. Vas. XII, 4 ; Vi. LXXI, 9 ; Gaut. IX, 3 ; Âp. I, 30, 13. Saktañ, 'who is able (to procure food),' (Nâr.), means according to Nand. 'he who is able to dine, shall not stint himself through avarice.' Gov., Kull., and K. explain the phrase, 'A Snâtaka, who is a fit (recipient of gifts), must not pine with hunger (as long as the king has anything to give),' i.e. he must be relieved. Râgh. reads yuktañ instead of saktañ, 'A Snâtaka who is suffering hunger shall not despair.' If taken in the second sense the rule is identical with that given Âp. II, 25, 11 ; Gaut. X, 9-10 ; Vi. III, 79.

35. Âp. I, 30, 10-12 ; Gaut. IX, 4, 7 ; Yâgñ. I, 131 ; Baudh. I, 5, 7.

36. Vas. XII, 14-17 ; Baudh. I, 5, 3-5 ; 6, 1-5 ; II, 6, 7 ; Vi. LXXI, 13-16 ; Yâgñ. I, 133.

37. Let him never look at the sun, when he sets or rises, is eclipsed or reflected in water, or stands in the middle of the sky.

38. Let him not step over a rope to which a calf is tied, let him not run when it rains, and let him not look at his own image in water ; that is a settled rule.

39. Let him pass by (a mound of) earth, a cow, an idol, a Brâhmana, clarified butter, honey, a cross-way, and well-known trees, turning his right hand towards them.

40. Let him, though mad with desire, not approach his wife when her courses appear ; nor let him sleep with her in the same bed.

41. For the wisdom, the energy, the strength, the sight, and the vitality of a man who approaches a woman covered with menstrual excretions, utterly perish.

42. If he avoids her, while she is in that condition, his wisdom, energy, strength, sight, and vitality will increase.

43. Let him not eat in the company of his wife, nor look at her, while she eats, sneezes, yawns, or sits at her ease.

44. A Brâhmana who desires energy must not

37. Âp. I, 31, 20 ; Vas. XII, 10 ; Baudh. II, 6, 10 ; Vi. LXXI, 17-21 ; Yâgñ. I, 135.

38. Âp. I, 31, 15 ; Vas. XII, 9 ; Baudh. II, 6, 15 ; Vi. LXXI, 23 ; LXIII, 41-43.

39. Gaut. IX, 66 ; Vi. LXIII, 26-28 ; Yâgñ. I, 133.

40-42. Gaut. IX, 29-30 ; Vas. XII, 7 ; Vi. LXIX, 11.

42. Medh. and Nand. read lakshmî, 'luck,' instead of *tegañ*, 'energy.'

43. Vas. XII, 31 ; Vi. LXVIII, 46 ; Yâgñ. I, 131 ; Gaut. IX, 32.

44. Gaut. IX, 32.

look at (a woman) who applies collyrium to her eyes, has anointed or uncovered herself or brings forth (a child).

45. Let him not eat, dressed with one garment only; let him not bathe naked; let him not void urine on a road, on ashes, or in a cow-pen,

46. Nor on ploughed land, in water, on an altar of bricks, on a mountain, on the ruins of a temple, nor ever on an ant-hill,

47. Nor in holes inhabited by living creatures, nor while he walks or stands, nor on reaching the bank of a river, nor on the top of a mountain.

48. Let him never void faeces or urine, facing the wind, or a fire, or looking towards a Brâhmaṇa, the sun, water, or cows.

49. He may ease himself, having covered (the ground) with sticks, clods, leaves, grass, and the like, restraining his speech, (keeping himself) pure, wrapping up his body, and covering his head.

50. Let him void faeces and urine, in the day-time turning to the north, at night turning towards the south, during the two twilights in the same (position) as by day.

45. Âp. I, 30, 18; Gaut. IX, 40, 45; Vas. XII, 11; Baudh. II, 6, 24, 39; Vi. LXVIII, 14; LXIV, 5; LX, 11, 16, 19; Yâgñ. I, 131, 134. Govrage, 'in a cow-pen' (Gov., Kull.), means according to Medh. 'a place where cows graze.'

46. Âp. I, 30, 18; Gaut. IX, 40; Vi. LX, 4, 21, 10. 'Some omit verses 46-47' (Nâr.), and they are not found in Nand.

47. Vi. LX, 9.

48. Âp. I, 30, 20; Gaut. II, 12; Vi. LX, 22; Yâgñ. I, 134. 'Looking at (things moved by) the wind' (Medh., Kull.). Medh. places verse 52 immediately after this.

49. Âp. I, 30, 14-15; Gaut. IX, 37-38, 41-43; Vas. XII, 13; Vi. LX, 2-3, 23.

50. Âp. I, 31, 1; Vi. LX, 2-3.

51. In the shade or in darkness a Brāhmaṇa may, both by day and at night, do it, assuming any position he pleases ; likewise when his life is in danger.

52. The intellect of (a man) who voids urine against a fire, the sun, the moon, in water, against a Brāhmaṇa, a cow, or the wind, perishes.

53. Let him not blow a fire with his mouth ; let him not look at a naked woman ; let him not throw any impure substance into the fire, and let him not warm his feet at it.

54. Let him not place (fire) under (a bed or the like) ; nor step over it, nor place it (when he sleeps) at the foot-(end of his bed) ; let him not torment living creatures.

55. Let him not eat, nor travel, nor sleep during the twilight ; let him not scratch the ground ; let him not take off his garland.

56. Let him not throw urine or faeces into the water, nor saliva, nor (clothes) defiled by impure substances, nor any other (impurity), nor blood, nor poisonous things.

57. Let him not sleep alone in a deserted dwelling ; let him not wake (a superior) who is sleeping ; let him not converse with a menstruating woman ;

52. Medh. and Nār. mention a var. lect. for *prativātam*, 'against the wind,' *pratisamdhyaṃ*, 'in the twilights,' which Nand. adopts.

53. Âp. I, 15, 20-21 ; Gaut. IX, 32 ; Vas. XII, 27 ; Vi. LXXI, 32-34, 37 ; Yâgñ. I, 137.

54. Vi. LXXI, 36 ; Yâgñ. I, 135, 137 ; Gaut. IX, 73.

55. Vi. LXIII, 8 ; LXVIII, 12 ; LXXI, 41, 55.

56. Âp. I, 30, 19 ; Vi. LXXI, 35 ; Yâgñ. I, 137.

57. Gaut. IX, 54-55 ; Vas. XII, 42 ; Vi. LXIII, 21 ; LXX, 13 ; LXXI, 58 ; Yâgñ. I, 138.

nor let him go to a sacrifice, if he is not chosen (to be officiating priest).

58. Let him keep his right arm uncovered in a place where a sacred fire is kept, in a cow-pen, in the presence of Brâhmaṇas, during the private recitation of the Veda, and at meals.

59. Let him not interrupt a cow who is suckling (her calf), nor tell anybody of it. A wise man, if he sees a rainbow in the sky, must not point it out to anybody.

60. Let him not dwell in a village where the sacred law is not obeyed, nor (stay) long where diseases are endemic; let him not go alone on a journey, nor reside long on a mountain.

61. Let him not dwell in a country where the rulers are Sûdras, nor in one which is surrounded by unrighteous men, nor in one which has become subject to heretics, nor in one swarming with men of the lowest castes.

62. Let him not eat anything from which the oil has been extracted; let him not be a glutton; let him not eat very early (in the morning), nor very late (in the evening), nor (take any food) in the evening, if he has eaten (his fill) in the morning.

63. Let him not exert himself without a purpose; let him not drink water out of his joined palms; let

58. Baudh. II, 6, 38; Vi. LXXI, 60.

59. Âp. I, 31, 10, 18; Gaut. IX, 23; Vas. XII, 33; Baudh. II, 6, 11, 17; Vi. LXIII, 2; LXXI, 62. All the commentators except Râgh. explain dhayantîm, 'who is suckling (her calf),' by pibantîm, 'who is drinking' (milk or water, see Yâgñ. I, 140).

60-61. Âp. I, 15, 22, 32, 18; Gaut. IX, 65; Baudh. II, 6, 21, 31; Vi. LXXI, 64-68.

62. Vi. LXVIII, 27, 48; see above, II, 56-57.

63. Gaut. IX, 9, 50, 56; Baudh. II, 6, 5; Vi. LXXI, 69.

him not eat food (placed) in his lap; let him not show (idle) curiosity.

64. Let him not dance, nor sing, nor play musical instruments, nor slap (his limbs), nor grind his teeth, nor let him make uncouth noises, though he be in a passion.

65. Let him never wash his feet in a vessel of white brass; let him not eat out of a broken (earthen) dish, nor out of one that (to judge) from its appearance (is) defiled.

66. Let him not use shoes, garments, a sacred string, ornaments, a garland, or a water-vessel which have been used by others.

67. Let him not travel with untrained beasts of burden, nor with (animals) that are tormented by hunger or disease, or whose horns, eyes, and hoofs have been injured, or whose tails have been disfigured.

68. Let him always travel with (beasts) which are well broken in, swift, endowed with lucky marks, and perfect in colour and form, without urging them much with the goad.

69. The morning sun, the smoke rising from a (burning) corpse, and a broken seat must be avoided. Let him not clip his nails or hair, and not tear his nails with his teeth.

64. Âp. II, 20, 13; Vi. LXXI, 70-71. Na kshvedet, 'let him not grind his teeth,' means according to Nâr., 'let him not roar like a lion;' according to Nand., 'let him not snap his fingers.' Na spho/aye/, 'he shall not slap (his limbs),' means according to Nand., 'he shall not make his fingers crack.'

65. Vi. LXVIII, 20; LXXI, 39.

66. Vi. LXXI, 47.

67-68. Vi. LXIII, 13-18.

69. Vi. LXXI, 44, 46; Yâgñ. I, 139. Bâlâtapaḥ, 'the morning sun,' is according to 'some,' mentioned by Nâr., and according to

70. Let him not crush earth or clods, nor tear off grass with his nails ; let him not do anything that is useless or will have disagreeable results in the future.

71. A man who crushes clods, tears off grass, or bites his nails, goes soon to perdition, likewise an informer and he who neglects (the rules of) purification.

72. Let him not wrangle ; let him not wear a garland over (his hair). To ride on the back of cows (or of oxen) is anyhow a blamable act.

73. Let him not enter a walled village or house except by the gate, and by night let him keep at a long distance from the roots of trees.

74. Let him never play with dice, nor himself take off his shoes ; let him not eat, lying on a bed, nor what has been placed in his hand or on a seat.

Râgh. 'the sun in the sign of Kanyâ, or Virgo,' i.e. 'the sun in autumn.' The same explanation is mentioned by Nandapandita in his comment on the parallel passage of Vishnu. It is, however, probably wrong : see the Introduction. 'Let him not clip his nails or hair,' i.e. 'not himself, but let him employ a barber' (Medh., Gov.), or 'before they have grown long' (Kull.), or 'except at the proper time for clipping' (Nand.).

70. Âp. I, 32, 18 ; Gaut. IX, 51 ; Vi. LXXI, 42-43.

72. Âp. I, 32, 5 ; Gaut. IX, 32 ; Baudh. II, 69. I read with all the commentators 'vigrîhya' instead of the 'vigarhya' of the editions. 'Let him not wear a garland over (his dress),' (Medh.), or 'let him not wear a garland outside (the house),' or 'one that is not fragrant' (others, Medh.).

73. Âp. I, 31, 23 ; Gaut. IX, 32 ; Baudh. II, 6, 13 ; Yâgñ. I, 140.

74. Gaut. IX, 32 ; Vas. XII, 36 ; Baudh. II, 6, 6 ; Vi. LXVIII, 23 ; Vi. LXXI, 45 ; Yâgñ. I, 138. 'Nor what has been placed in his hand,' i.e. 'in his left hand or in a vessel held in that hand' (Nâr.). This is no doubt the best explanation, as Hindus always eat with the fingers of the right hand, and the left hand is considered unclean for very good reasons.

75. Let him not eat after sunset any (food) containing sesamum grains ; let him never sleep naked, nor go anywhere unpurified (after meals).

76. Let him eat while his feet are (yet) wet (from the ablution), but let him not go to bed with wet feet. He who eats while his feet are (still) wet, will attain long life.

77. Let him never enter a place, difficult of access, which is impervious to his eye ; let him not look at urine or ordure, nor cross a river (swimming) with his arms.

78. Let him not step on hair, ashes, bones, potsherds, cotton-seed or chaff, if he desires long life.

79. Let him not stay together with outcasts, nor with *Kāṇḍālas*, nor with *Pukkasas*, nor with fools, nor with overbearing men, nor with low-caste men, nor with *Antyāvasāyins*.

80. Let him not give to a *Sūdra* advice, nor the remnants (of his meal), nor food offered to the gods ; nor let him explain the sacred law (to such a man), nor impose (upon him) a penance.

81. For he who explains the sacred law (to a *Sūdra*) or dictates to him a penance, will sink together with that (man) into the hell (called) *Asamvṛita*.

82. Let him not scratch his head with both hands

75. Gaut. IX, 60 ; Vi. LXVIII, 29 ; LXXI, 3 ; see above, II, 56.

76. Vi. LXVIII, 34 ; LXX, 1.

77. Âp. I, 32, 26 ; Gaut. IX, 32 ; Vas. XII, 45 ; Baudh. II, 6, 26 ; Vi. LXIII, 46.

78. Âp. II, 20, 11 ; Gaut. IX, 15 ; Baudh. II, 6, 16 ; Yâgñ. I, 139.

79. Regarding the *Pukkasas* and *Antyāvasāyins*, see below, X, 18, 39.

80. Âp. I, 31, 24 ; Vi. LXXI, 48-52 ; Vas. XVIII, 14.

81. Vas. XVIII, 15.

82. Vi. LXXI, 53.

joined ; let him not touch it while he is impure, nor bathe without (submerging) it.

83. Let him avoid (in anger) to lay hold of (his own or other men's) hair, or to strike (himself or others) on the head. When he has bathed (submerging) his head, he shall not touch any of his limbs with oil.

84. Let him not accept presents from a king who is not descended from the Kshatriya race, nor from butchers, oil-manufacturers, and publicans, nor from those who subsist by the gain of prostitutes.

85. One oil-press is as (bad) as ten slaughter-houses, one tavern as (bad as) ten oil-presses, one brothel as (bad as) ten taverns, one king as (bad as) ten brothels.

86. A king is declared to be equal (in wickedness) to a butcher who keeps a hundred thousand slaughter-houses ; to accept presents from him is a terrible (crime).

87. He who accepts presents from an avaricious king who acts contrary to the Institutes (of the sacred law), will go in succession to the following twenty-one hells :

88. Tâmisra, Andhatâmisra, Mahâraurava, Raurava, the Kâlasûtra hell, Mahânaraka,

89. Samgîvana, Mahâvîki, Tapanâ, Sampratâpana, Samghâta, Sakâkola, Kuḍmala, Pûtimrittika,

83. Vi. LXIV, 12. 'When he has bathed (submerging) his head' should be according to others (mentioned by Kull. and Râgh.) 'when he has anointed his head with oil.'

84. Yâgñ. I, 140.

85. Yâgñ. I, 141. Medh., Gov., Nâr., and Nand. say, 'one king as bad as ten prostitutes' (veryâ).

88-90. Vi. XLIII, 2-22. Nâr. and Gov. say expressly that *narakam kâlasûtram* ka means 'the Kâlasûtra hell,' and Nâr. that 'Vaita-

90. Lohasaṅku, *Rīgīsha*, Pathin, the (flaming) river, Sālmala, Asipatravana, and Lohakāraḥa.

91. Learned Brāhmaṇas, who know that, who study the Veda and desire bliss after death, do not accept presents from a king.

92. Let him wake in the muhūrta, sacred to Brahman, and think of (the acquisition of) spiritual merit and wealth, of the bodily fatigue arising therefrom, and of the true meaning of the Veda.

93. When he has risen, has relieved the necessities of nature and carefully purified himself, let him stand during the morning twilight, muttering for a long time (the Gāyatrī), and at the proper time (he must similarly perform) the evening (devotion).

94. By prolonging the twilight devotions, the sages obtained long life, wisdom, honour, fame, and excellence in Vedic knowledge.

95. Having performed the Upākarmaṇ according to the prescribed rule on (the full moon of the month) Srāvana, or on that of Praushṭhapada (Bhādrapada),

raṁī' must be understood with nadi, 'the river,' while Gov. speaks of a hell called Nadi, 'the river.' The corresponding passage of Vishṇu shows that the Dīpanadī is meant. The editions read Samhāta instead of Samghāta, Sālmali instead of Sālmala, and Lohadāraḥa, which Rāgh. has also, instead of Lohakāraḥa.

92. Vas. XII, 47; Vi. LX, 1. Kull. and Rāgh. say, 'in the muhūrta, sacred to Brāhmī,' or Bhārati, the goddess of speech. But this explanation is wrong, as the expression prāḡāpatya muhūrta, used in other Smṛitis, shows.

93. Vi. LXXI, 77.

94. I read with Gov., Nand., and K., avāpnuyān, 'obtained,' instead of avāpnuyuh (Medh., Kull., Nār., Rāgh.).

95-97. Āp. I, 9, 1-3, 10, 2; Gaut. XVI, 1-2, 40; Vas. XIII, 1-5; Baudh. I, 12-16; Vi. XXX, 1-2, 24-25; Yāgyñ. I, 142-144.

The Upākarmaṇ is the solemn opening of the Brāhmaṇical school-term, and the Utsargana or Utsarga its closing. Their

a Brâhmaṇa shall diligently study the Vedas during four months and a half.

96. When the Pushya-day (of the month Pausha), or the first day of the bright half of Mâgha has come, a Brâhmaṇa shall perform in the forenoon the Utsargana of the Vedas.

97. Having performed the Utsarga outside (the village), as the Institutes (of the sacred law) prescribe, he shall stop reading during two days and the intervening night, or during that day (of the Utsarga) and (the following) night.

98. Afterwards he shall diligently recite the Vedas during the bright (halves of the months), and duly study all the Aṅgas of the Vedas during the dark fortnights.

99. Let him not recite (the texts) indistinctly, nor in the presence of Sûdras; nor let him, if in the latter part of the night he is tired with reciting the Veda, go again to sleep.

100. According to the rule declared above, let him recite the daily (portion of the) Mantras, and a zealous Brâhmaṇa, (who is) not in distress, (shall study) the Brâhmaṇa and the Mantrasamhitâ.

101. Let him who studies always avoid (reading) on the following occasions when the Veda-study is

description is found in the *Gr̥hya-sûtras*, e.g. *Sâṅkhâya* IV, 5-6. The Pushya-day is the sixth lunar day of each month: *Śrâvana*, July-August; *Bhâdrapada*, August-September; *Pausha*, December-January; *Mâgha*, January-February.

97. But see below, verse 119.

98-129. *Âp.* I, 9, 4-11, 38; 32, 12-15; *Gaut.* I, 58-60; XVI, 5-49; *Vas.* XIII, 6-40; XVIII, 13; *Baudh.* I, 21, 4-22; *Vi.* XXX, 3-30; *Yâgy.* I, 144-151.

100. 'The daily (portion of the) Mantras,' i.e. 'the *Gâyatrî* and other portions of the *Rikas*, *Yagus*, and *Sâmans*.'

forbidden, and (let) him who teaches pupils according to the prescribed rule (do it likewise).

102. Those who know the (rules of) recitation declare that in the rainy season the Veda-study must be stopped on these two (occasions), when the wind is audible at night, and when it whirls up the dust in the day-time.

103. Manu has stated, that when lightning, thunder, and rain (are observed together), or when large fiery meteors fall on all sides, the recitation must be interrupted until the same hour (on the next day, counting from the occurrence of the event).

104. When one perceives these (phenomena) all together (in the twilight), after the sacred fires have been made to blaze (for the performance of the Agnihotra), then one must know the recitation of the Veda to be forbidden, and also when clouds appear out of season.

105. On (the occasion of) a preternatural sound from the sky, (of) an earthquake, and when the lights of heaven are surrounded by a halo, let him know that (the Veda-study must be) stopped until the same hour (on the next day), even if (these phenomena happen) in the (rainy) season.

106. But when lightning and the roar of thunder (are observed) after the sacred fires have been made to blaze, the stoppage shall last as long as the light (of the sun or of the stars is visible); if the remaining (above-named phenomenon, rain, occurs, the reading shall cease), both in the day-time and at night.

105. Medh. proposes as another explanation of *gyotishâm kopa-sargane*, 'when the heavenly lights trouble each other,' i. e. obscure each other, and Nâr., Kull., and Râgh. refer the phrase to eclipses.

107. For those who wish to acquire exceedingly great merit, a continual interruption of the Veda-study (is prescribed) in villages and in towns, and (the Veda-study must) always (cease) when any kind of foul smell (is perceptible).

108. In a village where a corpse lies, in the presence of a (man who lives as unrighteously as a) Sûdra, while (the sound of) weeping (is heard), and in a crowd of men the (recitation of the Veda must be) stopped.

109. In water, during the middle part of the night, while he voids excrements, or is impure, and after he has partaken of a funeral dinner, a man must not even think in his heart (of the sacred texts).

110. A learned Brâhmana shall not recite the Veda during three days, when he has accepted an invitation to a (funeral rite) in honour of one ancestor (ekoddishṭa), or when the king has become impure through a birth or death in his family (sûtaka), or when Râhu by an eclipse makes the moon impure.

111. As long as the smell and the stains of the (food given) in honour of one ancestor remain on the body of a learned Brâhmana, so long he must not recite the Veda.

112. While lying on a bed, while his feet are raised (on a bench), while he sits on his hams with a cloth tied round his knees, let him not study, nor when he has eaten meat or food given by a person impure on account of a birth or a death,

107. With respect to this verse, see especially Baudh. II, 6, 33-34.

109. Medh. mentions a var. lect. udaye, 'at sunrise,' for udaye, 'in water.'

110. Eclipses of the sun are of course included.

113. Nor during a fog, nor while the sound of arrows is audible, nor during both the twilights, nor on the new-moon day, nor on the fourteenth and the eighth (days of each half-month), nor on the full-moon day.

114. The new-moon day destroys the teacher, the fourteenth (day) the pupil, the eighth and the full-moon days (destroy all remembrance of) the Veda; let him therefore avoid (reading on) those (days).

115. A Brâhmana shall not recite (the Veda) during a dust-storm, nor while the sky is preternaturally red, nor while jackals howl, nor while the barking of dogs, the braying of donkeys, or the grunting of camels (is heard), nor while (he is seated) in a company.

116. Let him not study near a burial-ground, nor near a village, nor in a cow-pen, nor dressed in a garment which he wore during conjugal intercourse, nor after receiving a present at a funeral sacrifice.

117. Be it an animal or a thing inanimate, whatever be the (gift) at a Srâddha, let him not, having just accepted it, recite the Veda; for the hand of a Brâhmana is his mouth.

118. When the village has been beset by robbers, and when an alarm has been raised by fire, let him know that (the Veda-study must be) interrupted until the same hour (on the next day), and on (the occurrence of) all portents.

113. *Vâna*, 'arrows,' may also mean 'a large lute.'

115. *Pañktau*, 'in a company' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., 'others'), means according to Medh., Nâr., and Râgh. 'in the midst of dogs, donkeys, or camels.' Nâr. mentions a third explanation, 'in the company of unworthy persons' (*apâñktya*).

117. I.e. it is as sinful to recite the Veda after accepting a present at a Srâddha, as to study after partaking of a funeral dinner.

119. On (the occasion of) the Upâkarman and (of) the Vedotsarga an omission (of the Veda-study) for three days has been prescribed, but on the Ash/akâs and on the last nights of the seasons for a day and a night.

120. Let him not recite the Veda on horseback, nor on a tree, nor on an elephant, nor in a boat (or ship), nor on a donkey, nor on a camel, nor standing on barren ground, nor riding in a carriage,

121. Nor during a verbal altercation, nor during a mutual assault, nor in a camp, nor during a battle, nor when he has just eaten, nor during an indigestion, nor after vomiting, nor with sour eructations,

122. Nor without receiving permission from a guest (who stays in his house), nor while the wind blows vehemently, nor while blood flows from his body, nor when he is wounded by a weapon.

123. Let him never recite the *Rîg-veda* or the *Yagur-veda* while the *Sâman* (melodies) are heard; (let him stop all Veda-study for a day and a night) after finishing a Veda or after reciting an *Âraṇyaka*.

124. The *Rîg-veda* is declared to be sacred to the gods, the *Yagur-veda* sacred to men, and the *Sâma-veda* sacred to the manes; hence the sound of the latter is impure (as it were).

119. The Ash/akâs are the three or four days for the Ash/akâ Srâddhas, which are placed differently by different writers; see Weber, *Die Nakshatras* II, 337.

121. Nâr. interprets *na vivâde na kalahe* by 'neither during a dispute on legal matters nor during an altercation.'

124. 'Is impure (as it were),' i.e. 'it is not really impure, but when it is heard, one must not study, just as in the presence of some impure thing or person' (Medh.).

125. Knowing this, the learned daily repeat first in due order the essence of the three (Vedas) and afterwards the (text of the) Veda.

126. Know that (the Veda-study must be) interrupted for a day and a night, when cattle, a frog, a cat, a dog, a snake, an ichneumon, or a rat pass between (the teacher and his pupil).

127. Let a twice-born man always carefully interrupt the Veda-study on two (occasions, viz.) when the place where he recites is impure, and when he himself is unpurified.

128. A twice-born man who is a Snātaka shall remain chaste on the new-moon day, on the eighth (lunar day of each half-month), on the full-moon day, and on the fourteenth, even (if they fall) in the period (proper for conjugal intercourse).

129. Let him not bathe (immediately) after a meal, nor when he is sick, nor in the middle of the night, nor frequently dressed in all his garments, nor in a pool which he does not perfectly know.

130. Let him not intentionally step on the shadow of (images of) the gods, of a Guru, of a king, of a Snātaka, of his teacher, of a reddish-brown animal, or of one who has been initiated to the performance of a Śrauta sacrifice (Dikshita).

125. 'The essence of three (Vedas),' i.e. the syllable Om and the Gâyatrī; see above, II, 76-77.

128. Vi. LXIX, 1; Vas. XII, 21. According to others, quoted by Medh., the word *brahmaṭrī* translated by 'chaste' indicates that a Snātaka must also in other respects behave like a student. Medh. thinks it possible that the abstention from honey and meat may also be indicated.

129. Âp. I, 32, 8; Baudh. II, 6, 25; Vi. LXIV, 3-4, 6. 'Not frequently,' i.e. 'only for particular reasons, such as being touched by a *Kāṇḍāla*.'

130. Yâgñ. I, 152; Vi. LXIII, 40. Babhru, 'a reddish-brown

131. At midday and at midnight, after partaking of meat at a funeral dinner, and in the two twilights let him not stay long on a cross-road.

132. Let him not step intentionally on things used for cleansing the body, on water used for a bath, on urine or ordure, on blood, on mucus, and on anything spat out or vomited.

133. Let him not show particular attention to an enemy, to the friend of an enemy, to a wicked man, to a thief, or to the wife of another man.

134. For in this world there is nothing so detrimental to long life as criminal conversation with another man's wife.

135. Let him who desires prosperity, indeed, never despise a Kshatriya, a snake, and a learned Brâhmaṇa, be they ever so feeble.

136. Because these three, when treated with disrespect, may utterly destroy him; hence a wise man must never despise them.

137. Let him not despise himself on account of former failures; until death let him seek fortune, nor despair of gaining it.

138. Let him say what is true, let him say what is pleasing, let him utter no disagreeable truth, and let him utter no agreeable falsehood; that is the eternal law.

animal,' is not clearly explained by Gov., Kull., and Râgh. Medh. thinks that 'a brown cow' or 'the Soma creeper' may be meant. Nand. adopts the former view, and Nâr. explains it by 'a brown creature.'

132. Vi. LXIII, 41; Yâgñ. I, 152. Apasânânam, 'water used for a bath,' means according to Nâr. and Nand. 'water used for washing a corpse.'

135-136. Yâgñ. I, 153.

137. Vi. LXXI, 76; Yâgñ. I, 153.

138. Gaut. IX, 68; Vi. LXXI, 73-74; Yâgñ. I, 132.

139. (What is) well, let him call well, or let him say 'well' only; let him not engage in a useless enmity or dispute with anybody.

140. Let him not journey too early in the morning, nor too late in the evening, nor just during the midday (heat), nor with an unknown (companion), nor alone, nor with Śūdras.

141. Let him not insult those who have redundant limbs or are deficient in limbs, nor those destitute of knowledge, nor very aged men, nor those who have no beauty or wealth, nor those who are of low birth.

142. A Brāhmaṇa who is impure must not touch with his hand a cow, a Brāhmaṇa, or fire; nor, being in good health, let him look at the luminaries in the sky, while he is impure.

143. If he has touched these, while impure, let him always sprinkle with his hand water on the organs of sensation, all his limbs, and the navel.

144. Except when sick he must not touch the cavities (of the body) without a reason, and he must avoid (to touch) the hair on the secret (parts).

145. Let him eagerly follow the (customs which are) auspicious and the rule of good conduct, be careful of purity, and control all his organs, let him mutter (prayers) and, untired, daily offer oblations in the fire.

139. Âp. I, 32, 11-14; Gaut. IX, 19-20; Vi. LXXI, 57; Yâgñ. I, 132; Gaut. IX, 32. 'Only,' i.e. even if things go wrong. I follow Nâr.'s explanation, which is the only correct one: *bhadram vastuto yakkhobhanam* | *bhadram ity eva vâ 'bhadram api*, '(let him call) well what is really well; or (let him call) well even that which is not well.'

140. Baudh. II, 6, 22-23; Vi. LXIII, 4, 6-7, 9.

141. Vi. LXXI, 2. 142. Yâgñ. I, 155. 144. Vi. LXXI, 79.

146. No calamity happens to those who eagerly follow auspicious customs and the rule of good conduct, to those who are always careful of purity, and to those who mutter (sacred texts) and offer burnt-oblations.

147. Let him, without tiring, daily mutter the Veda at the proper time; for they declare that to be one's highest duty; (all) other (observances) are called secondary duties.

148. By daily reciting the Veda, by (the observance of the rules of) purification, by (practising) austerities, and by doing no injury to created beings, one (obtains the faculty of) remembering former births.

149. He who, recollecting his former existences, again recites the Veda, gains endless bliss by the continual study of the Veda.

150. Let him always offer on the Parva-days oblations to Savitṛi and such as avert evil omens, and on the Aśtākās and Anvashākās let him constantly worship the manes.

151. Far from his dwelling let him remove urine (and ordure), far (let him remove) the water used for washing his feet, and far the remnants of food and the water from his bath.

152. Early in the morning only let him void

146. Vas. XXVI, 14.

147. Gaut. IX, 72.

150. Vi. LXXI, 86. Nand. reads sāvitrīyā, 'with the Sāvitrī,' for sāvitrān, 'to Savitrī,' and Nār. has the same explanation.

151. Âp. I, 31, 2-3; Gaut. IX, 39; Yâgñ. I, 153. Âvasatha, 'his dwelling,' means according to Kull. 'the room where the fires are kept.' Kull. explains nishekam, 'the water from his bath,' by 'seminal impurity.' Gov. and Nār. read *utkṣhish/ānnanishekam ka*, and explain nisheka by tyāga, 'throwing away.'

152. According to Medh., 'others' explained maitram, 'defecation,' by 'friendly service,' or by 'the worship of Mitra.'

fæces, decorate (his body), bathe, clean his teeth, apply collyrium to his eyes, and worship the gods.

153. But on the Parva-days let him go to visit the (images of the) gods, and virtuous Brāhmanas, and the ruler (of the country), for the sake of protection, as well as his Gurus.

154. Let him reverentially salute venerable men (who visit him), give them his own seat, let him sit near them with joined hands and, when they leave, (accompany them), walking behind them.

155. Let him, untired, follow the conduct of virtuous men, connected with his occupations, which has been fully declared in the revealed texts and in the sacred tradition (*Smṛiti*) and is the root of the sacred law.

156. Through virtuous conduct he obtains long life, through virtuous conduct desirable offspring, through virtuous conduct imperishable wealth; virtuous conduct destroys (the effect of) inauspicious marks.

157. For a man of bad conduct is blamed among people, constantly suffers misfortunes, is afflicted with diseases, and short-lived.

158. A man who follows the conduct of the virtuous, has faith and is free from envy, lives a hundred years, though he be entirely destitute of auspicious marks.

159. Let him carefully avoid all undertakings (the success of) which depends on others; but let

153. Âp. I, 31, 21-22. Medh. omits verses 153-158.

154. Baudh. II, 6, 35. 155. Vas. LXXI, 90; Yâgñ. I, 154.

156. Vas. VI, 7; Vi. LXXI, 91. 157. Vas. VI, 6.

158. Vas. VI, 8; Vi. LXXI, 92.

him eagerly pursue that (the accomplishment of) which depends on himself.

160. Everything that depends on others (gives) pain, everything that depends on oneself (gives) pleasure; know that this is the short definition of pleasure and pain.

161. When the performance of an act gladdens his heart, let him perform it with diligence; but let him avoid the opposite.

162. Let him never offend the teacher who initiated him, nor him who explained the Veda, nor his father and mother, nor (any other) Guru, nor cows, nor Brâhmaṇas, nor any men performing austerities.

163. Let him avoid atheism, cavilling at the Vedas, contempt of the gods, hatred, want of modesty, pride, anger, and harshness.

164. Let him, when angry, not raise a stick against another man, nor strike (anybody) except a son or a pupil; those two he may beat in order to correct them.

161. This rule refers to indifferent acts or cases where there is an option; see above, II, 12.

162. Yâgñ. I, 157-158. Na himsyât, 'let him never offend' (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Nand.), means according to Gov. 'let him never injure them, though they attempt his life, when self-defence is permitted' (see VIII, 350). Tapasvinah means according to Medh. and Gov. 'all those engaged in the performance of austerities,' e.g. even sinners who perform penances (Medh.), while the other commentators understand it to denote 'ascetics.'

163. Âp. I, 30, 25; Vas. XIII, 41; Vi. LXXI, 83. I read with all the commentators instead of dambham, 'hypocrisy,' stambham, which according to Medh., Gov., and Nâr. means 'want of modesty,' and according to Kull. 'want of energy in the fulfilment of duties.'

164. Vi. LXXI, 81-82. See also below, VIII, 299-300.

165. A twice-born man who has merely threatened a Brāhmaṇa with the intention of (doing him) a corporal injury, will wander about for a hundred years in the Tāmisa hell.

166. Having intentionally struck him in anger, even with a blade of grass, he will be born during twenty-one existences in the wombs (of such beings where men are born in punishment of their) sins.

167. A man who in his folly caused blood to flow from the body of a Brāhmaṇa who does not attack him, will suffer after death exceedingly great pain.

168. As many particles of dust as the blood takes up from the ground, during so many years the spiller of the blood will be devoured by other (animals) in the next world.

169. A wise man should therefore never threaten a Brāhmaṇa, nor strike him even with a blade of grass, nor cause his blood to flow.

170. Neither a man who (lives) unrighteously, nor he who (acquires) wealth (by telling) falsehoods, nor he who always delights in doing injury, ever attain happiness in this world.

171. Let him, though suffering in consequence of his righteousness, never turn his heart to unrighteousness; for he will see the speedy overthrow of unrighteous, wicked men.

172. Unrighteousness, practised in this world, does not at once produce its fruit, like a cow; but, advancing slowly, it cuts off the roots of him who committed it.

165-167. Gaut. XXI, 20-22; Yâgñ. I, 155.

172. 'Like a cow,' i.e. 'which at once yields benefits by its milk, &c.' (Gov., Nâr., Nand.). Medh., Kull., and Râgh. take gauḥ

173. If (the punishment falls) not on (the offender) himself, (it falls) on his sons, if not on the sons, (at least) on his grandsons ; but an iniquity (once) committed, never fails to produce fruit to him who wrought it.

174. He prospers for a while through unrighteousness, then he gains great good fortune, next he conquers his enemies, but (at last) he perishes (branch and) root.

175. Let him always delight in truthfulness, (obedience to) the sacred law, conduct worthy of an Āryan, and purity ; let him chastise his pupils according to the sacred law ; let him keep his speech, his arms, and his belly under control.

176. Let him avoid (the acquisition of) wealth and (the gratification of his) desires, if they are opposed to the sacred law, and even lawful acts which may cause pain in the future or are offensive to men.

177. Let him not be uselessly active with his hands and feet, or with his eyes, nor crooked (in his ways), nor talk idly, nor injure others by deeds or even think of it.

178. Let him walk in that path of holy men

in its other sense, 'the earth,' i.e. 'which does not at once yield a harvest,' but mention the first explanation too. It is not impossible that the word has to be taken both ways, and that the author wishes to give with it both a *sādharmya* and a *vaidharmyadrishānta*.

175. Gaut. IX, 50, 68-69.

176. Gaut. IX, 47, 73 ; Vi. LXXI, 84-85 ; Yāgñ. I, 156. As an example of 'a lawful act causing pain in the future,' Medh. adduces 'the gift of one's whole property.'

177. The last portion of the verse, 'nor injure others, &c.,' may also be translated, 'let him not be intent on deeds (calculated) to injure others.'

which his fathers and his grandfathers followed; while he walks in that, he will not suffer harm.

179. With an officiating or a domestic priest, with a teacher, with a maternal uncle, a guest and a dependant, with infants, aged and sick men, with learned men, with his paternal relatives, connexions by marriage and maternal relatives,

180. With his father and his mother, with female relatives, with a brother, with his son and his wife, with his daughter and with his slaves, let him not have quarrels.

181. If he avoids quarrels with these persons, he will be freed from all sins, and by suppressing (all) such (quarrels) a householder conquers all the following worlds.

182. The teacher is the lord of the world of Brahman, the father has power over the world of the Lord of created beings (Pragâpati), a guest rules over the world of Indra, and the priests over the world of the gods.

183. The female relatives (have power) over the world of the Apsarases, the maternal relatives over that of the Visve Devâs, the connexions by marriage over that of the waters, the mother and the maternal uncle over the earth.

184. Infants, aged, poor and sick men must be considered as rulers of the middle sphere, the eldest

179-184. Yâgñ. I, 157-158.

179. Vaidyair, 'with learned men,' may also mean 'with physicians.'

181. Instead of *etair gitais ka*, 'by suppressing (all) such (quarrels),' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.), Nâr. and Nand. read *etair gitais ka*, 'allowing himself to be conquered by these,' i.e. 'by bearing with these persons.' This reading, though less well attested than the vulgata, is perhaps preferable.

brother as equal to one's father, one's wife and one's son as one's own body,

185. One's slaves as one's shadow, one's daughter as the highest object of tenderness ; hence if one is offended by (any one of) these, one must bear it without resentment.

186. Though (by his learning and sanctity) he may be entitled to accept presents, let him not attach himself (too much) to that (habit); for through his accepting (many) presents the divine light in him is soon extinguished.

187. Without a full knowledge of the rules, prescribed by the sacred law for the acceptance of presents, a wise man should not take anything, even though he may pine with hunger.

188. But an ignorant (man) who accepts gold, land, a horse, a cow, food, a dress, sesamum-grains, (or) clarified butter, is reduced to ashes like (a piece of) wood.

189. Gold and food destroy his longevity, land and a cow his body, a horse his eye(sight), a garment his skin, clarified butter his energy, sesamum-grains his offspring.

190. A Brâhmaṇa who neither performs austerities nor studies the Veda, yet delights in accepting gifts, sinks with the (donor into hell), just as (he who attempts to cross over in) a boat made of stone (is submerged) in the water.

191. Hence an ignorant (man) should be afraid of accepting any presents ; for by reason of a very small (gift) even a fool sinks (into hell) as a cow into a morass.

186. Vi. LVII, 6-7.

188. Yâgñ. I, 201.

187. Vi. LVII, 8.

191. Yâgñ. I, 202.

192. (A man) who knows the law should not offer even water to a Brāhmaṇa who acts like a cat, nor to a Brāhmaṇa who acts like a heron, nor to one who is unacquainted with the Veda.

193. For property, though earned in accordance with prescribed rules, which is given to these three (persons), causes in the next world misery both to the giver and to the recipient.

194. As he who (attempts to) cross water in a boat of stone sinks (to the bottom), even so an ignorant donor and an ignorant donee sink low.

195. (A man) who, ever covetous, displays the flag of virtue, (who is) a hypocrite, a deceiver of the people, intent on doing injury, (and) a detractor (from the merits) of all men, one must know to be one who acts like a cat.

196. That Brāhmaṇa, who with downcast look, of a cruel disposition, is solely intent on attaining his own ends, dishonest and falsely gentle, is one who acts like a heron.

197. Those Brāhmaṇas who act like herons, and those who display the characteristics of cats, fall in consequence of that wicked mode of acting into (the hell called) Andhatâmisra.

198. When he has committed a sin, let him not

192. Vi. XCIII, 7.

195. Vi. XCIII, 8.

196-200. Vi. XCIII, 9-13.

196. I have everywhere translated the word *baka* or *vaka* by 'heron,' though, like its modern representative *baglâ*, it is used also as a name of the white ibis and of the bittern. But from other verses, which speak of the *baka* cautiously wading in the water as if it were afraid of hurting the aquatic animals, it would seem that the proceedings of the heron, which one can watch in India at every village tank, gave rise to the proverbial expressions *bakavrata* and *bakavratin*.

198. Several penances, e.g. the *Kândrâyaṇa* or the lunar penance,

perform a penance under the pretence (that the act is intended to gain) spiritual merit, (thus) hiding his sin under (the pretext of) a vow and deceiving women and Sûdras.

199. Such Brâhmanas are reprehended after death and in this (life) by those who expound the Veda, and a vow, performed under a false pretence, goes to the Râkshasas.

200. He who, without being a student, gains his livelihood by (wearing) the dress of a student, takes upon himself the guilt of (all) students and is born again in the womb of an animal.

201. Let him never bathe in tanks belonging to other men ; if he bathes (in such a one), he is tainted by a portion of the guilt of him who made the tank.

202. He who uses without permission a carriage, a bed, a seat, a well, a garden or a house belonging to an (other man), takes upon himself one fourth of (the owner's) guilt.

203. Let him always bathe in rivers, in ponds, dug by the gods (themselves), in lakes, and in water-holes or springs.

204. A wise man should constantly discharge the paramount duties (called yama), but not always the minor ones (called niyama) ; for he who does not

may be performed either by a sinner in order to atone for a crime or by a guiltless man in order to gain spiritual merit ; see Baudh. III, 8, 27-31.

201. Vi. LXIV, 1 ; Yâgñ. I, 159 ; Baudh. II, 5, 6.

202. Yâgñ. I, 160 ; Baudh. II, 6, 29.

203. Vi. LXIV, 16 ; Yâgñ. I, 159. Garta, 'water-holes' (Gov., Nâr.), means according to Kull., who quotes a verse of the *Khândogya-parishîṭa*, Nand., and Râgh., 'a brook.'

204. Regarding the two classes of duties, see Yâgñ. III, 313-314. Though the commentators give various explanations of yama

discharge the former, while he obeys the latter alone, becomes an outcast.

205. A Brāhmaṇa must never eat (a dinner given) at a sacrifice that is offered by one who is not a Srotriya, by one who sacrifices for a multitude of men, by a woman, or by a eunuch.

206. When those persons offer sacrificial viands in the fire, it is unlucky for holy (men) and it displeases the gods ; let him therefore avoid it.

207. Let him never eat (food given) by intoxicated, angry, or sick (men), nor that in which hair or insects are found, nor what has been touched intentionally with the foot,

208. Nor that at which the slayer of a learned Brāhmaṇa has looked, nor that which has been touched by a menstruating woman, nor that which has been pecked at by birds or touched by a dog,

209. Nor food at which a cow has smelt, nor particularly that which has been offered by an invitation to all comers, nor that (given) by a multitude or by harlots, nor that which is declared to be bad by a learned (man),

210. Nor the food (given) by a thief, a musician, a carpenter, a usurer, one who has been initiated (for the performance of a Srauta sacrifice), a miser, one bound with fetters,

and niyama, it is highly probable that Kull. is right in supposing Manu to have held the same opinion as Yâgñ.

205. Nâr. mentions a var. lect. *sûdreṇa*, 'by a Sûdra,' for 'by a eunuch.'

209. Gov. and Kull. give as an instance of 'a multitude,' 'a fraternity of Brāhmaṇas inhabiting a monastery.'

210. I translate *baddhasya nigadasya ka* according to Kull. by 'one bound with fetters,' because in the older Sanskrit the genitive is occasionally used for the instrumental with passive perfect parti-

211. By one accused of a mortal sin (Abhisasta), a hermaphrodite, an unchaste woman, or a hypocrite, nor (any sweet thing) that has turned sour, nor what has been kept a whole night, nor (the food) of a Sûdra, nor the leavings (of another man),

212. Nor (the food given) by a physician, a hunter, a cruel man, one who eats the fragments (of another's meal), nor the food of an Ugra, nor that prepared for a woman in childbed, nor that (given at a dinner) where (a guest rises) prematurely (and) sips water, nor that (given by a woman) whose ten days of impurity have not elapsed,

213. Nor (food) given without due respect, nor (that which contains) meat eaten for no sacred purpose, nor (that given) by a female who has no male (relatives), nor the food of an enemy, nor that (given) by the lord of a town, nor that (given) by outcasts, nor that on which anybody has sneezed ;

ciples, and because *nigada* does not mean 'bound with fetters,' as the other commentators assume. Nand. adds that the correct reading is *nigalena*, which is found in some southern MSS.

211. *Sûdrasyokkḥisham eva ka*, 'nor (the food) of a Sûdra, nor the leavings (of any other man),' (Kull., Nâr.); or, 'the leavings of a Sûdra,' which are mentioned in order to show that a very heavy penance has to be performed (Medh., Râgh.); or, 'that food of which a Sûdra has eaten, and has left a remnant in the dish' (Gov., Nand., Medh., 'others'). Medh. mentions also a var. lect. *ukḥisham aguros tathâ*, 'nor the leavings of any man excepting a Guru.'

212. Ugra is explained variously as 'a man of the Ugra caste' (Medh., Gov., Nâr., Nand., Râgh.); or, 'a king' (Medh., Gov. in the *Maṅgari*); or, 'a man who perpetrates dreadful deeds' (Kull., Râgh.).

213. Kull. and Gov. seem to take *nagaryannam*, 'food given by the lord of a town,' i.e. a king (Medh., Nâr., Râgh.), in the sense of *nagarânnam*, 'food given by a whole town.'

214. Nor the food (given) by an informer, by one who habitually tells falsehoods, or by one who sells (the rewards for) sacrifices, nor the food (given) by an actor, a tailor, or an ungrateful (man),

215. By a blacksmith, a Nishâda, a stage-player, a goldsmith, a basket-maker, or a dealer in weapons,

216. By trainers of hunting dogs, publicans, a washerman, a dyer, a pitiless (man), and a man in whose house (lives) a paramour (of his wife),

217. Nor (the food given) by those who knowingly bear with paramours (of their wives), and by those who in all matters are ruled by women, nor food (given by men) whose ten days of impurity on account of a death have not passed, nor that which is unpalatable.

218. The food of a king impairs his vigour, the food of a Sûdra his excellence in sacred learning, the food of a goldsmith his longevity, that of a leather-cutter his fame ;

219. The food of an artisan destroys his offspring, that of a washerman his (bodily) strength ; the food of a multitude and of harlots excludes him from (the higher) worlds.

220. The food of a physician (is as vile as) pus, that of an unchaste woman (equal to) semen, that of a usurer (as vile as) ordure, and that of a dealer in weapons (as bad as) dirt.

221. The food of those other persons who have

215. According to 'others,' quoted by Medh., Nand., and Râgh., *sailûsha*, 'an actor,' may also mean 'one who prostitutes his wife.'

216. *Nrisamsa*, 'a pitiless man' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand., Râgh.), may also mean 'a bard' (Medh., Nâr., Râgh.).

220. I.e. it causes him to be reborn as an animal feeding on pus or other impure substances (Gov.).

been successively enumerated as such whose food must not be eaten, the wise declare (to be as impure as) skin, bones, and hair.

222. If he has unwittingly eaten the food of one of those, (he must) fast for three days; if he has eaten it intentionally, or (has swallowed) semen, ordure, or urine, he must perform a *Krikkhra* penance.

223. A Brâhmaṇa who knows (the law) must not eat cooked food (given) by a Sûdra who performs no *Srâddhas*; but, on failure of (other) means of subsistence, he may accept raw (grain), sufficient for one night (and day).

224. The gods, having considered (the respective merits) of a niggardly *Srottriya* and of a liberal usurer, declared the food of both to be equal (in quality).

225. The Lord of created beings (*Pragâpati*) came and spake to them, 'Do not make that equal, which is unequal. The food of that liberal (usurer) is purified by faith; (that of the) other (man) is defiled by a want of faith.'

226. Let him, without tiring, always offer sacrifices and perform works of charity with faith; for offerings and charitable works made with faith and with lawfully-earned money, (procure) endless rewards.

227. Let him always practise, according to his

222. Gaut. XXIII, 23-24. Regarding the *Krikkhra* penance, see below, XI, 211.

224. Nâr. explains *asrâddhinaḥ*, 'who performs no *Srâddhas*,' by 'destitute of faith,' and Nand. writes *asraddhinaḥ*.

224-225. Baudh. I, 10, 5; Vas. XIV, 17.

226-227. Gov. gives and explains 226a and 227b only.

ability, with a cheerful heart, the duty of liberality, both by sacrifices and by charitable works, if he finds a worthy recipient (for his gifts).

228. If he is asked, let him always give something, be it ever so little, without grudging; for a worthy recipient will (perhaps) be found who saves him from all (guilt).

229. A giver of water obtains the satisfaction (of his hunger and thirst), a giver of food imperishable happiness, a giver of sesamum desirable offspring, a giver of a lamp a most excellent eyesight.

230. A giver of land obtains land, a giver of gold long life, a giver of a house most excellent mansions, a giver of silver (*rûpya*) exquisite beauty (*rûpa*),

231. A giver of a garment a place in the world of the moon, a giver of a horse (*asva*) a place in the world of the *Asvins*, a giver of a draught-ox great good fortune, a giver of a cow the world of the sun;

232. A giver of a carriage or of a bed a wife, a giver of protection supreme dominion, a giver of grain eternal bliss, a giver of the *Veda* (*brahman*) union with *Brahman*;

233. The gift of the *Veda* surpasses all other gifts, water, food, cows, land, clothes, sesamum, gold, and clarified butter.

234. For whatever purpose (a man) bestows any gift, for that same purpose he receives (in his next birth) with due honour its (reward).

226-235. Vas. XXX; Vi. XCI-XCII; *Yâgñ.* I, 201, 203-212.

234. Medh., Gov., Nâr., and Râgh. take the verse differently. 'With whatever disposition (a man) bestows any gift, with that same disposition he receives (in his next birth its reward), being duly honoured.' Nand. omits it. K. follows Kull's explanation, which is mentioned by Medh. also.

235. Both he who respectfully receives (a gift), and he who respectfully bestows it, go to heaven ; in the contrary case (they both fall) into hell.

236. Let him not be proud of his austerities ; let him not utter a falsehood after he has offered a sacrifice ; let him not speak ill of Brāhmanas, though he be tormented (by them) ; when he has bestowed (a gift), let him not boast of it.

237. By falsehood a sacrifice becomes vain, by self-complacency (the reward for) austerities is lost, longevity by speaking evil of Brāhmanas, and (the reward of) a gift by boasting.

238. Giving no pain to any creature, let him slowly accumulate spiritual merit, for the sake (of acquiring) a companion to the next world, just as the white ant (gradually raises its) hill.

239. For in the next world neither father, nor mother, nor wife, nor sons, nor relations stay to be his companions ; spiritual merit alone remains (with him).

240. Single is each being born ; single it dies ; single it enjoys (the reward of its) virtue ; single (it suffers the punishment of its) sin.

241. Leaving the dead body on the ground like a log of wood, or a clod of earth, the relatives depart with averted faces ; but spiritual merit follows the (soul).

242. Let him therefore always slowly accumulate spiritual merit, in order (that it may be his) companion (after death) ; for with merit as his companion he will traverse a gloom difficult to traverse.

243. (That companion) speedily conducts the man who is devoted to duty and effaces his sins by

austerities, to the next world, radiant and clothed with an ethereal body.

244. Let him, who desires to raise his race, ever form connexions with the most excellent (men), and shun all low ones.

245. A Brâhmaṇa who always connects himself with the most excellent (ones), and shuns all inferior ones, (himself) becomes most distinguished; by an opposite conduct he becomes a Sûdra.

246. He who is persevering, gentle, (and) patient, shuns the company of men of cruel conduct, and does no injury (to living creatures), gains, if he constantly lives in that manner, by controlling his organs and by liberality, heavenly bliss.

247. He may accept from any (man), fuel, water, roots, fruit, food offered without asking, and honey, likewise a gift (which consists in) a promise of protection.

248. The Lord of created beings (Pragâpati) has declared that alms freely offered and brought (by the giver himself) may be accepted even from a sinful man, provided (the gift) had not been (asked for or) promised beforehand.

249. During fifteen years the manes do not eat (the food) of that man who disdains a (freely-offered gift), nor does the fire carry his offerings (to the gods).

250. A couch, a house, Kusa grass, perfumes,

247. Âp. I, 18, 1; Gaut. XVII, 5; Vas. XIV, 12; Vi. LVII, 11.

248. Âp. I, 10, 12-14; Vas. XIV, 16; Vi. LVII, 11; Yâgñ. I, 215. Medh., Gov., and Nâr. take *apraṇoditâm*, 'not asked for or promised,' in the sense of 'not promised' only, and so does Nand., who reads *apraṇeditâm*.

249. Âp. I, 19, 14; Vas. XIV, 18; Vi. LVII, 12.

250. Gaut. XVII, 5; Vas. XIV, 12; Vi. LVII, 11; Yâgñ. I, 214.

water, flowers, jewels, sour milk, grain, fish, sweet milk, meat, and vegetables let him not reject, (if they are voluntarily offered.)

251. He who desires to relieve his Gurus and those whom he is bound to maintain, or wishes to honour the gods and guests, may accept (gifts) from anybody ; but he must not satisfy his (own hunger) with such (presents).

252. But if his Gurus are dead, or if he lives separate from them in (another) house, let him, when he seeks a subsistence, accept (presents) from good men alone.

253. His labourer in tillage, a friend of his family, his cow-herd, his slave, and his barber are, among Sûdras, those whose food he may eat, likewise (a poor man) who offers himself (to be his slave).

254. As his character is, as the work is which he desires to perform, and as the manner is in which he means to serve, even so (a voluntary slave) must offer himself.

255. He who describes himself to virtuous (men), in a manner contrary to truth, is the most sinful (wretch) in this world ; he is a thief who makes away with his own self.

256. All things (have their nature) determined by speech ; speech is their root, and from speech they proceed ; but he who is dishonest with respect to speech, is dishonest in everything.

251. Âp. I, 7, 20 ; Gaut. XVII, 4 ; Vas. XIV, 13 ; Vi. LVII, 13 ; Yâgy. I, 216.

252. Vi. LVII, 15.

253. Âp. I, 18, 14 ; Gaut. XVII, 5-6 ; Vi. LVII, 16.

255. I. e. by denying who he really is, he destroys his own identity.

257. When he has paid, according to the law, his debts to the great sages, to the manes, and to the gods, let him make over everything to his son and dwell (in his house), not caring for any worldly concerns.

258. Alone let him constantly meditate in solitude on that which is salutary for his soul; for he who meditates in solitude attains supreme bliss.

259. Thus have been declared the means by which a Brâhmaṇa householder must always subsist, and the summary of the ordinances for a Snâtaka, which cause an increase of holiness and are praise-worthy.

260. A Brâhmaṇa who, being learned in the lore of the Vedas, conducts himself in this manner and daily destroys his sins, will be exalted in Brahman's world.

CHAPTER V.

1. The sages, having heard the duties of a Snâtaka thus declared, spoke to great-souled Bhrigu, who sprang from fire :

2. 'How can Death have power over Brâhmaṇas

257. Regarding the three debts, see Vas. XI, 48. This verse and the next describe, as Medh. points out, a kind of informal *samnyâsa*.

260. Vas. VIII, 17; Baudh. II, 3, 1; Gaut. IX, 74.

V. 1. Medh., Gov., and Râgh. state correctly that Bhrigu, though above, I, 35, he is said to have been created by Manu, and has therefore been named Mânava below, V, 3, is here called the offspring of Fire, in accordance with other passages of the Veda and of the Mahâbhârata.

2. I.e. 'how can they be deprived of the length of life, one hundred years, allotted to men in the Veda?' (Gov., Kull.)

who know the sacred science, the Veda, (and) who fulfil their duties as they have been explained (by thee), O Lord ?'

3. Righteous Bhrigu, the son of Manu, (thus) answered the great sages : 'Hear, (in punishment) of what faults Death seeks to shorten the lives of Brâhmaṇas !'

4. 'Through neglect of the Veda-study, through deviation from the rule of conduct, through remissness (in the fulfilment of duties), and through faults (committed by eating forbidden) food, Death becomes eager to shorten the lives of Brâhmaṇas.'

5. Garlic, leeks and onions, mushrooms and (all plants), springing from impure (substances), are unfit to be eaten by twice-born men.

6. One should carefully avoid red exudations from trees and (juices) flowing from incisions, the Selu (fruit), and the thickened milk of a cow (which she gives after calving).

7. Rice boiled with sesamum, wheat mixed with butter, milk and sugar, milk-rice and flour-cakes which are not prepared for a sacrifice, meat which has not been sprinkled with water while sacred texts were recited, food offered to the gods and sacrificial viands,

8. The milk of a cow (or other female animal) within ten days after her calving, that of camels,

5-25. Âp. I, 17, 18-39 ; Gaut. XVII, 22-36 ; Vas. XIV, 33-48 ; Baudh. I, 12, 1-15 ; Vi. LI, 3-6, 21-42 ; Yâgñ. I, 169-178. Selu, i.e. Cordia Myxa.

7. 'Food offered to the gods,' i.e. the so-called Naivedya. This and sacrificial viands, i.e. those destined for burnt-oblations, must not be eaten before the offering has been made, afterwards the remnants may be eaten (Medh., Gov., Kull.).

8. Sandhinî, 'a cow in heat' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), means according

of one-hoofed animals, of sheep, of a cow in heat, or of one that has no calf with her,

9. (The milk) of all wild animals excepting buffalo-cows, that of women, and all (substances turned) sour must be avoided.

10. Among (things turned) sour, sour milk, and all (food) prepared of it may be eaten, likewise what is extracted from pure flowers, roots, and fruit.

11. Let him avoid all carnivorous birds and those living in villages, and one-hoofed animals which are not specially permitted (to be eaten), and the *Tittibha* (Parra Jacana),

12. The sparrow, the *Plava*, the *Hamsa*, the *Brâhmañi* duck, the village-cock, the *Sârasa* crane, the *Raggudâla*, the woodpecker, the parrot, and the starling,

13. Those which feed striking with their beaks, web-footed birds, the *Koyashî*, those which scratch with their toes, those which dive and live on fish, meat from a slaughter-house and dried meat,

14. The *Baka* and the *Balâkâ* crane, the raven, the *Khañgarî* (animals) that eat fish, village-pigs, and all kinds of fishes.

15. He who eats the flesh of any (animal) is

to Medh. and Gov. 'one who gives milk once a day only,' and according to Nand. and K. 'one big with a calf.'

11. The permission to eat one-hoofed animals is, as the commentators observe, not given in the *Smṛiti*. The expression refers to the cases where the Veda prescribes horses, &c., to be slain and eaten at sacrifices.

12. I read with all the commentators *Raggudâla* instead of *Ragguvâla*, which the printed editions give. The *Raggudâla* is according to *Vigñânesvara* the jungle-fowl, according to *Nâr.* an aquatic bird.

14. Regarding the *Vaka* or *Baka*, see above, IV, 196.

called the eater of the flesh of that (particular creature), he who eats fish is an eater of every (kind of) flesh ; let him therefore avoid fish.

16. (But the fish called) *Pâtikṇa* and (that called) *Rohita* may be eaten, if used for offerings to the gods or to the manes ; (one may eat) likewise *Râgīvas*, *Simhatundās*, and *Sasalkas* on all (occasions).

17. Let him not eat solitary or unknown beasts and birds, though they may fall under (the categories of) eatable (creatures), nor any five-toed (animals).

18. The porcupine, the hedgehog, the iguana, the rhinoceros, the tortoise, and the hare they declare to be eatable ; likewise those (domestic animals) that have teeth in one jaw only, excepting camels.

19. A twice-born man who knowingly eats mushrooms, a village-pig, garlic, a village-cock, onions, or leeks, will become an outcast.

20. He who unwittingly partakes of (any of) these six, shall perform a *Sâmtapana* (*Krikkhṛa*) or the lunar penance (*Kândrâyana*) of ascetics ; in case (he has eaten) any other (kind of forbidden food) he shall fast for one day (and a night).

21. Once a year a *Brâhmaṇa* must perform a *Krikkhṛa* penance, in order to atone for unintentionally eating (forbidden food) ; but for intentionally (eating forbidden food he must perform the penances prescribed) specially.

22. Beasts and birds recommended (for con-

16. Nâr. explains *ekaṭarân*, 'solitary animals,' by 'those who go in herds' (*saṃghaṭārinah*).

20. Regarding the *Sâmtapana* *Krikkhṛa* and the lunar penance of ascetics, see below, XI, 213 and 219.

21. Regarding the *Krikkhṛa* penance, see below, XI, 212.

22. Vas. XIV, 15.

sumption) may be slain by Brâhmanas for sacrifices, and in order to feed those whom they are bound to maintain; for Agastya did this of old.

23. For in ancient (times) the sacrificial cakes were (made of the flesh) of eatable beasts and birds at the sacrifices offered by Brâhmanas and Kshatriyas.

24. All lawful hard or soft food may be eaten, though stale, (after having been) mixed with fatty (substances), and so may the remains of sacrificial viands.

25. But all preparations of barley and wheat, as well as preparations of milk, may be eaten by twice-born men without being mixed with fatty (substances), though they may have stood for a long time.

26. Thus has the food, allowed and forbidden to twice-born men, been fully described; I will now propound the rules for eating and avoiding meat.

27. One may eat meat when it has been sprinkled with water, while Mantras were recited, when Brâhmanas desire (one's doing it), when one is engaged (in the performance of a rite) according to the law, and when one's life is in danger.

28. The Lord of creatures (Pragâpati) created this whole (world to be) the sustenance of the vital spirit; both the immovable and the movable (creation is) the food of the vital spirit.

29. What is destitute of motion is the food of those endowed with locomotion; (animals) without fangs (are the food) of those with fangs, those without hands of those who possess hands, and the timid of the bold.

30. The eater who daily even devours those

27-56. Vas. IV, 5-8; Vi. LI, 59-78; Yâgñ. I, 178-181.

27. Meat is sprinkled with water at the Srauta sacrifices.

destined to be his food, commits no sin; for the creator himself created both the eaters and those who are to be eaten (for those special purposes).

31. 'The consumption of meat (is befitting) for sacrifices,' that is declared to be a rule made by the gods; but to persist (in using it) on other (occasions) is said to be a proceeding worthy of Rākshasas.

32. He who eats meat, when he honours the gods and manes, commits no sin, whether he has bought it, or himself has killed (the animal), or has received it as a present from others.

33. A twice-born man who knows the law, must not eat meat except in conformity with the law; for if he has eaten it unlawfully, he will, unable to save himself, be eaten after death by his (victims).

34. After death the guilt of one who slays deer for gain is not as (great) as that of him who eats meat for no (sacred) purpose.

35. But a man who, being duly, engaged (to officiate or to dine at a sacred rite), refuses to eat meat, becomes after death an animal during twenty-one existences.

36. A Brāhmaṇa must never eat (the flesh of) animals unhallowed by Mantras; but, obedient to the primeval law, he may eat it, consecrated with Vedic texts.

37. If he has a strong desire (for meat) he may make an animal of clarified butter or one of flour, (and eat that); but let him never seek to destroy an animal without a (lawful) reason.

34. 'Of one who slays deer for gain,' i. e. of a professional hunter of the Sabara or other low castes.

35. Vas. XI, 34.

37. Saṅge, 'if (he has) a strong desire (for meat),' (Kull., Rāgh.),

38. As many hairs as the slain beast has, so often indeed will he who killed it without a (lawful) reason suffer a violent death in future births.

39. Svayambhû (the Self-existent) himself created animals for the sake of sacrifices; sacrifices (have been instituted) for the good of this whole (world); hence the slaughtering (of beasts) for sacrifices is not slaughtering (in the ordinary sense of the word).

40. Herbs, trees, cattle, birds, and (other) animals that have been destroyed for sacrifices, receive (being reborn) higher existences.

41. On offering the honey-mixture (to a guest), at a sacrifice and at the rites in honour of the manes, but on these occasions only, may an animal be slain; that (rule) Manu proclaimed.

42. A twice-born man who, knowing the true meaning of the Veda, slays an animal for these purposes, causes both himself and the animal to enter a most blessed state.

43. A twice-born man of virtuous disposition, whether he dwells in (his own) house, with a teacher, or in the forest, must never, even in times of distress, cause an injury (to any creature) which is not sanctioned by the Veda.

44. Know that the injury to moving creatures and to those destitute of motion, which the Veda has

means according to Medh. and K. 'if an occasion (arises to slay an animal at a non-Vedic rite),' according to Gov. 'in case (one suffers from) an attack by evil spirits (Bhûtas and the like),' and according to Nand. 'on the occasion of social meetings.' Râgh. mentions Medh.'s view as an optional explanation, and Nâr. objects to Gov.'s interpretation. His own explanation saṅge-tyantekâyâm is corrupt, but is probably intended for atyantekâ-~~h~~âyâm, and thus agrees with Kull.'s.

prescribed for certain occasions, is no injury at all ; for the sacred law shone forth from the Veda.

45. He who injures innoxious beings from a wish to (give) himself pleasure, never finds happiness, neither living nor dead.

46. He who does not seek to cause the sufferings of bonds and death to living creatures, (but) desires the good of all (beings), obtains endless bliss.

47. He who does not injure any (creature), attains without an effort what he thinks of, what he undertakes, and what he fixes his mind on.

48. Meat can never be obtained without injury to living creatures, and injury to sentient beings is detrimental to (the attainment of) heavenly bliss ; let him therefore shun (the use of) meat.

49. Having well considered the (disgusting) origin of flesh and the (cruelty of) fettering and slaying corporeal beings, let him entirely abstain from eating flesh.

50. He who, disregarding the rule (given above), does not eat meat like a *Pisâka*, becomes dear to men, and will not be tormented by diseases.

51. He who permits (the slaughter of an animal), he who cuts it up, he who kills it, he who buys or sells (meat), he who cooks it, he who serves it up, and he who eats it, (must all be considered as) the slayers (of the animal).

52. There is no greater sinner than that (man) who, though not worshipping the gods or the manes, seeks to increase (the bulk of) his own flesh by the flesh of other (beings).

46. The latter part of the verse may also be translated 'will obtain endless bliss, because he is a man who desires the good of all creatures' (Gov.).

53. He who during a hundred years annually offers a horse-sacrifice, and he who entirely abstains from meat, obtain the same reward for their meritorious (conduct).

54. By subsisting on pure fruit and roots, and by eating food fit for ascetics (in the forest), one does not gain (so great) a reward as by entirely avoiding (the use of) flesh.

55. 'Me he (*mâm sah*)' will devour in the next (world), whose flesh I eat in this (life); the wise declare this (to be) the real meaning of the word 'flesh' (*mâmsah*).

56. There is no sin in eating meat, in (drinking) spirituous liquor, and in carnal intercourse, for that is the natural way of created beings, but abstention brings great rewards.

57. I will now in due order explain the purification for the dead and the purification of things as they are prescribed for the four castes (*varṇa*).

58. When (a child) dies that has teethed, or that before teething has received (the sacrament of) the tonsure (*Kûdâkarana*) or (of the initiation), all relatives (become) impure, and on the birth (of a child) the same (rule) is prescribed.

54. Munyannâni, 'food fit for ascetics (in the forest),' i.e. 'wild rice and other produce of the forest.'

56. 'There is no sin,' i.e. in doing these things when they are permitted by law.

58-104. Âp. I, 15, 18; II, 15, 2-11; Gaut. XIV; Vas. IV, 16-37; Baudh. I, 11, 1-8, 17-23, 27-32; Vi. XXII; Yâgñ. III, 1-30.

58. Medh. and Gov. explain anugâte, translated freely by 'before teething,' as the conventional designation of 'a child that is younger than one that has teethed' (*gâtadantâd bâlâtara iti smaranti*), and Nâr. and Râgh. agree to this interpretation. Kull., however, seems to take it in the sense of 'after teething,' and Nand. explains it as 'one who has been born again, i.e. has been initiated.' Gov.,

59. It is ordained (that) among *Sapindas* the impurity on account of a death (shall last) ten days, (or) until the bones have been collected, (or) three days or one day only.

60. But the *Sapinda*-relationship ceases with the seventh person (in the ascending and descending lines), the *Samānodaka*-relationship when the (common) origin and the (existence of a common family)-name are no (longer) known.

61. As this impurity on account of a death is prescribed for (all) *Sapindas*, even so it shall be (held) on a birth by those who desire to be absolutely pure.

62. (Or while) the impurity on account of a death is common to all (*Sapindas*), that caused by a birth (falls) on the parents alone; (or) it shall fall on the mother alone, and the father shall become pure by bathing;

Nâr., Kull., and Râgh. think that on account of the second *ka*, 'or,' the words 'of the initiation' must be understood.

59. The bones of a *Brâhmaṇa* are collected on the fourth day; see Vi. XIX, 10. The commentators are of opinion that the length of the period of impurity depends, in accordance with the express teaching of other *Smṛitis*, on the status of the mourner, and that a man who knows the Mantras only of one *Sâkhâ* shall be impure during four days, one who knows a whole *Sâkhâ* (or two Vedas) during three days, one who knows the Veda (or three Vedas) and keeps three or five sacred fires, during one day. Medh., however, mentions another interpretation, according to which the four periods correspond to the four ages of the deceased, which have been mentioned in the preceding verse. According to this view the *Sapindas* shall mourn for an initiated person ten days, for one who had received the tonsure four days, &c. But see verse 67.

61-62. Medh. and Gov. have only one verse instead of the two: *ganane 'py evaṃ syân mâtâpitros tu sûtakam | sûtakam mâtur eva syâd upasprîsya pitâ sukih ||* 'Even thus it shall be (held) on a birth, or the impurity shall fall on the parents alone,

63. But a man, having spent his strength, is purified merely by bathing ; after begetting a child (on a remarried female), he shall retain the impurity during three days.

64. Those who have touched a corpse are purified after one day and night (added to) three periods of three days ; those who give libations of water, after three days.

65. A pupil who performs the *Pitr̥medha* for his deceased teacher, becomes also pure after ten days, just like those who carry the corpse out (to the burial-ground).

66. (A woman) is purified on a miscarriage in as many (days and) nights as months (elapsed after conception), and a menstruating female becomes pure by bathing after the menstrual secretion has ceased (to flow).

or it shall fall on the mother alone, and the father (shall become) pure by bathing.' Nand. leaves out the first half of verse 61, and combines the second half of 61 with the first half of 62. He continues in this manner down to 65, the second half of which he takes by itself. Hence his interpretation of the following verses is perfectly useless.

63. The translation given above follows Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. Medh. differs.

64. According to Gov. and Nâr. the rule refers to such Brâhmanas who for money carry a dead body to the cemetery ; according to Kull. and Râgh. to *Sapindas* who in any way touch a corpse out of affection. Medh. thinks that it applies to all who touch or carry out a dead body, be it for love or for money. Râgh. thinks that the text mentions three alternative periods of impurity, one day, three days, and ten days.

65. The *Pitr̥medha*, i.e. the *Antyeshî* (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'the whole of the obsequies' ('others,' Medh.).

66. Thus according to Kull. ; Nâr. and Râgh. think that this rule refers to miscarriages which happen during the first six months of pregnancy ; and that from the seventh month, whether the child

67. (On the death) of children whose tonsure (*Kû-dâkarman*) has not been performed, the (*Sapindas*) are declared to become pure in one (day and) night; (on the death) of those who have received the tonsure (but not the initiation, the law) ordains (that) the purification (takes place) after three days.

68. A child that has died before the completion of its second year, the relatives shall carry out (of the village), decked (with flowers, and bury it) in pure ground, without collecting the bones (afterwards).

69. Such (a child) shall not be burnt with fire, and no libations of water shall be offered to it; leaving it like a (log of) wood in the forest, (the relatives) shall remain impure during three days only.

70. The relatives shall not offer libations to (a child) that has not reached the third year; but if it had teeth, or the ceremony of naming it (*Nâmakarman*) had been performed, (the offering of water is) optional.

71. If a fellow-student has died, the *Smṛiti* prescribes an impurity of one day; on a birth the purification of the *Samânodakas* is declared (to take place) after three (days and) nights.

72. (On the death) of females (betrothed but) not married (the bridegroom and his) relatives are purified after three days, and the paternal relatives become pure according to the same rule.

lives or not, the full period of impurity must be kept. *Nâr.*, moreover, asserts that in the first and second months the impurity shall last three days. *Sâdhvî*, 'becomes pure,' i.e. 'fit to perform sacred rites' (*Gov.*). *Nâr.* takes the word in the sense of 'chaste.'

67. *Nand.* inserts verse 78 immediately after verse 66.

72. 'According to the same rule,' i.e. 'according to that given in verse 67' (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Nand.*), or 'just as the husband's relatives, i.e. after three days' (*Kull.*, *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*).

73. Let (mourners) eat food without factitious salt, bathe during three days, abstain from meat, and sleep separate on the ground.

74. The above rule regarding impurity on account of a death has been prescribed (for cases where the kinsmen live) near (the deceased); (*Sapinda*) kinsmen and (*Samânodaka*) relatives must know the following rule (to refer to cases where deceased lived) at a distance (from them).

75. He who may hear that (a relative) residing in a distant country has died, before ten (days after his death have elapsed), shall be impure for the remainder of the period of ten (days and) nights only.

76. If the ten days have passed, he shall be impure during three (days and) nights; but if a year has elapsed (since the occurrence of the death), he becomes pure merely by bathing.

77. A man who hears of a (*Sapinda*) relative's death, or of the birth of a son after the ten days (of impurity have passed), becomes pure by bathing, dressed in his garments.

78. If an infant (that has not teethed), or a (grown-up relative who is) not a *Sapinda*, die in a distant country, one becomes at once pure after bathing in one's clothes.

79. If within the ten days (of impurity) another birth or death happens, a *Brâhmaṇa* shall remain impure only until the (first) period of ten days has expired.

80. They declare that, when the teacher (*âçârya*) has died, the impurity (lasts) three days; if the

73. Nand. reads *anvāham*, (bathe) 'daily' instead of 'during three days.'

(teacher's) son or wife (is dead, it lasts) a day and a night; that is a settled (rule).

81. For a Srotriya who resides with (him out of affection), a man shall be impure for three days; for a maternal uncle, a pupil, an officiating priest, or a maternal relative, for one night together with the preceding and following days.

82. If the king in whose realm he resides is dead, (he shall be impure) as long as the light (of the sun or stars shines), but for (an intimate friend) who is not a Srotriya (the impurity lasts) for a whole day, likewise for a Guru who knows the Veda and the Āṅgas.

83. A Brāhmaṇa shall be pure after ten days, a Kshatriya after twelve, a Vaisya after fifteen, and a Sūdra is purified after a month.

84. Let him not (unnecessarily) lengthen the period of impurity, nor interrupt the rites to be performed with the sacred fires; for he who performs that (Agnihotra) rite will not be impure, though (he be) a (Sapinda) relative.

81. Upasampanne, 'who resides with (him out of affection),' may according to Medh. also mean 'who is virtuous.' According to Nār. it means 'who is a neighbour.'

82. Anûkâṇe tathâ gurau, 'likewise for a Guru who knows the Veda and Āṅgas,' i.e. 'such a one who is mentioned above, II, 149' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). Nār. takes the two words separately. Medh. connects anûkâṇe with asrotriye, and thinks that a man is meant who does not know the Veda, but the Āṅgas. He also mentions the explanation adopted above. Nand. finally reads anûkâṇe tathâ 'gurau, 'likewise for one who knows the Veda and the Āṅgas, but is not a Guru.'

84. According to Medh. the meaning of the first clause is that, if there is an option between shorter or longer periods of impurity, the mourner is not to choose the longer one in order to escape the performance of his sacred duties. He adds, that others think

85. When he has touched a *Kandâla*, a menstruating woman, an outcast, a woman in childbed, a corpse, or one who has touched a (corpse), he becomes pure by bathing.

86. He who has purified himself by sipping water shall, on seeing any impure (thing or person), always mutter the sacred texts, addressed to *Sûrya*, and the *Pâvamânî* (verses).

87. A *Brâhmana* who has touched a human bone to which fat adheres, becomes pure by bathing; if it be free from fat, by sipping water and by touching (afterwards) a cow or looking at the sun.

88. He who has undertaken the performance of a vow shall not pour out libations (to the dead) until the vow has been completed; but when he has

it to be an exhortation not to delay the bath which must be taken at the expiration of the period of impurity. The other commentators mention the first explanation only. The second clause, which refers to the continued offering of the *Srauta Agnihotra*, means according to Medh., Gov., and Nand., that an *Agnihotrin* who is in mourning shall not perform the offerings in person, but make others, who may even be his near relatives, do it for him. Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. think that the performer himself may also offer them. Nand. explains *sanâbhyaḥ*, 'a *Sapinda*' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), by *sahodaraḥ*, 'a full brother.'

85. *Tatsprishnam*, 'one who has touched a (corpse),' (Medh., 'others;' Gov., Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh., Nâr., and Nand. 'one who has touched any of those enumerated before, a *Kandâla* and so forth.'

86. 'He who has purified himself,' i. e. 'before he begins to worship the gods or manes' (Medh., 'others;' Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). 'An impure (thing or person),' i. e. 'those mentioned above.' Medh. and Gov. take the verse differently, 'On seeing one of those impure persons mentioned above, let him sip water and, thus purified, recite, &c.' The texts addressed to *Sûrya* are found *Rig-veda* I, 50, 1 seq.; the *Pâvamânîs* in *Mandâla* IX.

88. The rule refers to a student, who must not during his studentship perform the last rites for any deceased relative except

offered water after its completion, he becomes pure in three days only.

89. Libations of water shall not be offered to those who (neglect the prescribed rites and may be said to) have been born in vain, to those born in consequence of an illegal mixture of the castes, to those who are ascetics (of heretical sects), and to those who have committed suicide,

90. To women who have joined a heretical sect, who through lust live (with many men), who have caused an abortion, have killed their husbands, or drink spirituous liquor.

91. A student does not break his vow by carrying out (to the place of cremation) his own dead teacher (âkârya), sub-teacher (upâdhyâya), father, mother, or Guru.

92. Let him carry out a dead Sûdra by the southern gate of the town, but (the corpses of)

his mother (Medh.), or except his mother and father (Gov.), or except his parents and his teacher; see below, verse 91 (Kull., Râgh.). According to K. 'others' think that the rule refers to those performing a lunar penance or other vows.

89. 'To those who (neglect the prescribed rites and may be said to) have been born in vain' (Gov., Kull., Nand., Râgh.), i.e. 'to those who for a year belonged to no order' (Medh.), or 'to eunuchs' (Nâr.). The term *saṃkaragâh*, 'born in consequence of an illegal mixture of the castes,' includes besides those sprung from mothers of a higher and fathers of a lower caste, sons of widows not appointed and of adulteresses (Medh., Gov., Nand.). 'Ascetics (of heretical sects),' i.e. Kâpâlikas, those wearing red garments, &c. (Medh.). Nâr. and Râgh. refer the term to orthodox ascetics.

90. *Pâshandam*, 'a heretical sect,' i.e. the Kâpâlikas, those wearing red garments' (Medh.), or 'Bauddhas and so forth' (Nâr.).

91. 'Guru,' i.e. 'one who explains the Veda' (Nâr., Kull.), or 'him who is mentioned above, II, 149' (Medh., Gov.).

92. I.e. a Vaisya by the western gate, a Kshatriya by the

twice-born men, as is proper, by the western, northern, or eastern (gates).

93. The taint of impurity does not fall on kings, and those engaged in the performance of a vow, or of a *Sattra*; for the (first are) seated on the throne of Indra, and the (last two are) ever pure like Brahman.

94. For a king, on the throne of magnanimity, immediate purification is prescribed, and the reason for that is that he is seated (there) for the protection of (his) subjects.

95. (The same rule applies to the kinsmen) of those who have fallen in a riot or a battle, (of those who have been killed) by lightning or by the king, and (of those who perished fighting) for cows and *Brāhmaṇas*, and to those whom the king wishes (to be pure).

96. A king is an incarnation of the eight guardian deities of the world, the Moon, the Fire, the Sun, the Wind, Indra, the Lords of wealth and water (*Kubera* and *Varuṇa*), and Yama.

97. Because the king is pervaded by (those)

northern, and a *Brāhmaṇa* by the eastern (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand., Râgh.).

93. 'A vow,' i.e. 'the studentship (*Nâr.*), also a lunar penance and the like' (Medh., Gov., Kull.); 'a *Sattra*,' i.e. 'a long sacrifice such as the *Gavāmayana*.' *Brahmabhûtaḥ*, 'pure like Brahman' (Kull., *Nâr.*, Râgh.), means according to Medh. 'they have reached Brahmahood.'

95. Nand. and K. explain *śimbha*, 'in a riot,' to mean 'by infants.' 'Whom the king wishes (to be pure),' i.e. 'his servants and ministers whom he wants for his affairs.' *Nâr.* inserts another class, '(the kinsmen of those who have been killed) by *Brāhmaṇas*, i.e. by incantations.' But I do not understand how the word could be made to suit the verse.

96. See below, VII, 4.

97. Medh. reads *lokesaprabhavâpyayau*, and the second half

lords of the world, no impurity is ordained for him ; for purity and impurity of mortals is caused and removed by (those) lords of the world.

98. By him who is slain in battle with brandished weapons according to the law of the Kshatriyas, a (Srauta) sacrifice is instantly completed, and so is the period of impurity (caused by his death) ; that is a settled rule.

99. (At the end of the period of impurity) a Brâhmaṇa who has performed the necessary rites, becomes pure by touching water, a Kshatriya by touching the animal on which he rides, and his weapons, a Vaisya by touching his goad or the nose-string (of his oxen), a Sûdra by touching his staff.

100. Thus the purification (required) on (the death of) Sapindas has been explained to you, O best of twice-born men ; hear now the manner in which men are purified on the death of any (relative who is) not a Sapinda.

101. A Brâhmaṇa, having carried out a dead

verse must then be translated 'purity and impurity affect mortals, they are caused and removed by the guardians of the world.' Nâr., Nand., and K. read *lokesaprabhavo hy ayam*, 'but he (the) king springs from the guardians of the world.' Nâr. mentions also a reading *lokesaprabhave 'pyayaḥ*, 'for him who springs from the guardians of the world, (purity and impurity) do not exist.'

98. According to Medh. some contend that this rule refers only to those who die on the battle-field, not to those who die later of their wounds. *Yagñiḥ*, 'a (Srauta) sacrifice' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.), means according to Nâr. 'the funeral sacrifice.'

99. 'Touching water,' i.e. 'bathing' (Medh., Kull., Nâr.), 'washing his hands' (Gov.).

101. 'The relatives of his mother and (the Sagotras of his father), or connexions by marriage, are meant' (Nâr.).

Brâhmana who is not a *Sapinda*, as (if he were) a (near) relative, or a near relative of his mother, becomes pure after three days;

102. But if he eats the food of the (*Sapindas* of the deceased), he is purified in ten days, (but) in one day, if he does not eat their food nor dwells in their house.

103. Having voluntarily followed a corpse, whether (that of) a paternal kinsman or (of) a stranger, he becomes pure by bathing, dressed in his clothes, by touching fire and eating clarified butter.

104. Let him not allow a dead Brâhmana to be carried out by a *Sûdra*, while men of the same caste are at hand; for that burnt-offering which is defiled by a *Sûdra*'s touch is detrimental to (the deceased's passage to) heaven.

105. The knowledge (of Brahman) austerities, fire, (holy) food, earth, (restraint of) the internal organ, water, smearing (with cowdung), the wind, sacred rites, the sun, and time are the purifiers of corporeal (beings).

106. Among all modes of purification, purity in (the acquisition of) wealth is declared to be the best; for he is pure who gains wealth with clean hands, not he who purifies himself with earth and water.

102. In case he stays in the house of the mourners, he becomes impure for three days (Gov., Kull., Râgh., K.).

104. According to Nâr. the rule refers exclusively to Brâhmanas, according to Medh. and Kull. to all Âryans. The burning of the body is euphemistically called a burnt-offering.

105. Vi. XXII, 88; Yâgñ. III, 31; Baudh. I, 8, 52. *Manah kshamâkhyah* (?) *niyamayuktam mano gîvasya* (Nâr.). The other commentators take *manah*, 'the mind or internal organ,' in the sense of 'a sanctified heart.'

106. Vi. XXII, 89; Yâgñ. III, 32.

107. The learned are purified by a forgiving disposition, those who have committed forbidden actions by liberality, secret sinners by muttering (sacred texts), and those who best know the Veda by austerities.

108. By earth and water is purified what ought to be made pure, a river by its current, a woman whose thoughts have been impure by the menstrual secretion, a Brâhmaṇa by abandoning the world (*saṃnyâsa*).

109. The body is cleansed by water, the internal organ is purified by truthfulness, the individual soul by sacred learning and austerities, the intellect by (true) knowledge.

110. Thus the precise rules for the purification of the body have been declared to you; hear now the decision (of the law) regarding the purification of the various (inanimate) things.

111. The wise ordain that all (objects) made of metal, gems, and anything made of stone are to be cleansed with ashes, earth, and water.

112. A golden vessel which shows no stains, becomes pure with water alone, likewise what is produced in water (as shells and coral), what is made of stone, and a silver (vessel) not enchased.

107. Vi. XXII, 90; Yâgñ. III, 33.

108. Vi. XXII, 91; Vas. III, 58; Yâgñ. III, 32.

109. Vi. XXII, 92; Vas. III, 60; Yâgñ. III, 33-34.

110. Vi. XXII, 93.

111-126. Âp. I, 17, 8-13; II, 3, 9; Gaut. I, 29-34; Vas. III, 44-57, 59, 61-63; Baudh. I, 8, 32-53, 9, 1-4, 7-12, 10, 1-9; 13, 11-14, 19; Vi. XXIII, 2-46, 56; Yâgñ. I, 182-190.

112. Anupaskṛitam, 'not enchased,' may also mean according to Medh. and Nand. 'not defiled very much.' Medh. and Nâr. add

113. From the union of water and fire arose the glittering gold and silver; those two, therefore, are best purified by (the elements) from which they sprang.

114. Copper, iron, brass, pewter, tin, and lead must be cleansed, as may be suitable (for each particular case), by alkaline (substances), acids or water.

115. The purification prescribed for all (sorts of) liquids is by passing two blades of Kusa grass through them, for solid things by sprinkling (them with water), for (objects) made of wood by planing them.

116. At sacrifices the purification of (the Soma cups called) *Kamasas* and *Grahas*, and of (other) sacrificial vessels (takes place) by rubbing (them) with the hand, and (afterwards) rinsing (them with water).

117. The *Karu* and (the spoons called) *Sruk* and *Sruva* must be cleaned with hot water, likewise (the wooden sword, called) *Sphya*, the winnowing-basket (*Sûrpa*), the cart (for bringing the grain), the pestle and the mortar.

118. The manner of purifying large quantities of grain and of cloth is to sprinkle them with water;

that this last term applies to all the various objects mentioned in the verse.

113. Medh., Gov., and Kull. quote a Vedic passage which derives the origin of gold from Agni and the goddess *Varuṇāni*.

115. *Utpavanam* or *utplavanam* (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), 'passing two blades of Kusa grass through them,' means according to Medh., 'others,' and K. 'purifying by pouring them into another vessel, filled with pure liquids of the same kind,' according to Nâr. by 'straining through a cloth.' 'Solid things,' i.e. 'a couch, a seat, and the like.'

but the purification of small quantities is prescribed (to take place) by washing them.

119. Skins and (objects) made of split cane must be cleaned like clothes; vegetables, roots, and fruit like grain;

120. Silk and woollen stuffs with alkaline earth; blankets with pounded *Arishṭa* (fruit); *Amsupattas* with Bel fruit; linen cloth with (a paste of) yellow mustard.

121. A man who knows (the law) must purify conch-shells, horn, bone and ivory, like linen cloth, or with a mixture of cow's urine and water.

122. Grass, wood, and straw become pure by being sprinkled (with water), a house by sweeping and smearing (it with cowdung or whitewash), an earthen (vessel) by a second burning.

123. An earthen vessel which has been defiled by spirituous liquor, urine, ordure, saliva, pus or blood cannot be purified by another burning.

124. Land is purified by (the following) five (modes, viz.) by sweeping, by smearing (it with cowdung), by sprinkling (it with cows' urine or milk), by scraping, and by cows staying (on it during a day and night).

125. (Food) which has been pecked at by birds,

119. *Vaidalânâm*, 'objects made of split cane' (Kull., K., Râgh., Nâr., Nand.), means according to Medh. and Gov. 'made of the bark of trees and the like.' Medh. remarks that this and other rules, where skins and so forth are mentioned, apply also to objects made of such things, e.g. shoes.

120. *Arishṭa*, i.e. *Sapindus detergens*, the soap-berry tree. *Amsupaṭṭa* means according to Gov., Nand., and Nâr. 'cloth made of thinned bark,' according to Kull. and Râgh. 'upper garments for women (*Sârîs*) made of fine cloth' (*paṭṭasârîṭṭa*, *paṭṭasârîṭṭa*).

125. 'By birds,' i.e. 'by parrots and the like, not by crows,

smelt at by cows, touched (with the foot), sneezed on, or defiled by hair or insects, becomes pure by scattering earth (over it).

126. As long as the (foul) smell does not leave an (object) defiled by impure substances, and the stain caused by them (does not disappear), so long must earth and water be applied in cleansing (in-animate) things.

127. The gods declared three things (to be) pure to Brâhmaṇas, that (on which) no (taint is) visible, what has been washed with water, and what has been commended (as pure) by the word (of a Brâhmaṇa).

128. Water, sufficient (in quantity) in order to slake the thirst of a cow, possessing the (proper) smell, colour, and taste, and unmixed with impure substances, is pure, if it is collected on (pure) ground.

129. The hand of an artisan is always pure, so is (every vendible commodity) exposed for sale in

vultures, and other impure ones' (Medh., Gov., Kull.). Avadhûtam, 'touched (with the foot),' (Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. 'blown upon with the mouth,' or 'dusted with a dress,' according to Gov. 'dusted with a dress,' according to Nâr. 'moved by the wind (caused by the motion) of a cloth, the foot or the like,' according to Nand. 'defiled by the dust of a broom or of the air moved by the wings (of a bird).'

127. Vas. XIV, 24; Baudh. I, 9, 9; Vi. XXIII, 47; Yâgñ. I, 191. In conformity with the opinion of the commentators I translate pavitrâṇi by 'pure.' But the word has also the meaning of 'means of purification,' in which I have taken it in the translations of the parallel passages. The general sense remains the same.

128. Vas. III, 35-36, 47; Baudh. I, 9, 10; Vi. XXIII, 43; Yâgñ. I, 192.

129. Baudh. I, 9, 1; Vi. XXIII, 43.

the market, and food obtained by begging which a student holds (in his hand) is always fit for use; that is a settled rule.

130. The mouth of a woman is always pure, likewise a bird when he causes a fruit to fall; a calf is pure on the flowing of the milk, and a dog when he catches a deer.

131. Manu has declared that the flesh (of an animal) killed by dogs is pure, likewise (that) of a (beast) slain by carnivorous (animals) or by men of low caste (Dasyu), such as *Kandâlas*.

132. All those cavities (of the body) which lie above the navel are pure, (but) those which are below the navel are impure, as well as excretions that fall from the body.

133. Flies, drops of water, a shadow, a cow, a horse, the rays of the sun, dust, earth, the wind, and fire one must know to be pure to the touch.

134. In order to cleanse (the organs) by which urine and faeces are ejected, earth and water must be used, as they may be required, likewise in removing the (remaining ones among) twelve impurities of the body.

130. Baudh. I, 9, 2; Vi. XXIII, 49; Yâgñ. I, 193.

131. Vas. III, 45; Vi. XXIII, 50; Yâgñ. I, 192.

132. Vi. XXIII, 51; Yâgñ. I, 194.

133. Vi. XXIII, 51; Yâgñ. I, 193. 'Drops of water,' i.e. 'such as are only perceptible by the touch' (Medh., Gov.), or 'such as come from the mouth, i.e. of saliva' (Kull., Râgh., Nâr.). Râgh. adds, 'and a continuous stream of water.'

134. Âp. I, 16, 15; Gaut. I, 43; Vas. VI, 14; Yâgñ. I, 17. 'As they may be required,' i.e. 'for removing the first six kinds of impurities enumerated in the next verse, as much water and earth as may be required, and for the last six water only' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.).

135. Oily exudations, semen, blood, (the fatty substance of the) brain, urine, faeces, the mucus of the nose, ear-wax, phlegm, tears, the rheum of the eyes, and sweat are the twelve impurities of human (bodies).

136. He who desires to be pure, must clean the organ by one (application of) earth, the anus by (applying earth) three (times), the (left) hand alone by (applying it) ten (times), and both (hands) by (applying it) seven (times).

137. Such is the purification ordained for householders; (it shall be) double for students, treble for hermits, but quadruple for ascetics.

138. When he has voided urine or faeces, let him, after sipping water, sprinkle the cavities, likewise when he is going to recite the Veda, and always before he takes food.

139. Let him who desires bodily purity first sip water three times, and then twice wipe his mouth; but a woman and a Śūdra (shall perform each act) once (only).

140. Śūdras who live according to the law, shall each month shave (their heads); their mode of purification (shall be) the same as that of Vaisyas, and their food the fragments of an Āryan's meal.

136. Vas. VI, 18; Vi. LX, 25.

137. Vas. VI, 19; Vi. LX, 26.

138. Gaut. I, 36; Baudh. I, 8, 26; Vi. LXII, 8. 'The cavities,' i. e. of the head (Gov.), and also the navel, the heart, and the crown of the head (Nâr., Kull.).

139. Âp. I, 16, 3-8; Gaut. I, 36; Vas. III, 27-28; Baudh. I, 8, 20-22; Vi. LXII, 6-8; Yâgñ. I, 20.

140. Âp. II, 3, 4-6. 'Who live according to the law,' i. e. 'who serve Āryans' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.). Nand. thinks that *mâsikam vapanam kâryam*, 'shall shave each month,' means 'shall offer the monthly Srâddha.'

141. Drops (of water) from the mouth which do not fall on a limb, do not make (a man) impure, nor the hair of the moustache entering the mouth, nor what adheres to the teeth.

142. Drops which trickle on the feet of him who offers water for sipping to others, must be considered as equal to (water) collected on the ground ; they render him not impure.

143. He who, while carrying anything in any manner, is touched by an impure (person or thing), shall become pure, if he performs an ablution, without putting down that object.

144. He who has vomited or purged shall bathe, and afterwards eat clarified butter ; but if (the attack comes on) after he has eaten, let him only sip water ; bathing is prescribed for him who has had intercourse with a woman.

145. Though he may be (already) pure, let him sip water after sleeping, sneezing, eating, spitting, telling untruths, and drinking water, likewise when he is going to study the Veda.

146. Thus the rules of personal purification for men of all castes, and those for cleaning (inanimate) things, have been fully declared to you : hear now the duties of women.

141. Âp. I, 16, 13; Gaut. I, 38-41; Vas. III, 37, 40-41; Baudh. I, 8, 23-25; Vi. XXIII, 53; Yâgñ. I, 195. I read with Medh., Gov., Nâr., Nand., and K., *aṅgam na yanti yâh*, instead of *aṅge patanti*, 'which fall on a limb,' the reading of Kull. and Râgh.

142. Vas. III, 42; Vi. XXIII, 54.

143. Gaut. I, 28; Vas. III, 43; Baudh. I, 8, 27-29; Vi. XXIII, 55.

145. Âp. I, 16, 14; Gaut. I, 37; Vi. XXII, 75; Yâgñ. I, 196. According to Medh., some refer this verse to a repeated sipping of water.

147. By a girl, by a young woman, or even by an aged one, nothing must be done independently, even in her own house.

148. In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons; a woman must never be independent.

149. She must not seek to separate herself from her father, husband, or sons; by leaving them she would make both (her own and her husband's) families contemptible.

150. She must always be cheerful, clever in (the management of her) household affairs, careful in cleaning her utensils, and economical in expenditure.

151. Him to whom her father may give her, or her brother with the father's permission, she shall obey as long as he lives, and when he is dead, she must not insult (his memory).

152. For the sake of procuring good fortune to (brides), the recitation of benedictory texts (svastyayana), and the sacrifice to the Lord of creatures (Pragâpati) are used at weddings; (but) the betrothal (by the father or guardian) is the cause of (the husband's) dominion (over his wife).

147-149. See below, IX, 2-3; Vi. XXVI, 12-13; Yâgñ. I, 85-86.

150. Vi. XXVI, 4-6; Yâgñ. I, 83.

151. Vi. XXVI, 14; Yâgñ. I, 63.

152. Svastyayanam, 'the recitation of benedictory texts,' i.e. 'of those intended for averting evil omens' (Gov., Kull.); or 'the *Puṇyâhavâkṣa* and the rest' (Nâr.); or 'the recitation of the texts which precede the nuptial burnt-oblation' (Râgh., Nand.). Medh. connects the word with *yagñāḥ*, and explains it by 'that whereby welfare is obtained.' Medh. explains the expression 'the sacrifice to Pragâpati' by stating that 'some' prescribe at a wedding an oblation with the verse *Pragâpate na tvad evānyaḥ* (? *tvadetāny*, Rîg-veda X, 121, 10), and that the offerings to the other gods are

153. The husband who wedded her with sacred texts, always gives happiness to his wife, both in season and out of season, in this world and in the next.

154. Though destitute of virtue, or seeking pleasure (elsewhere), or devoid of good qualities, (yet) a husband must be constantly worshipped as a god by a faithful wife.

155. No sacrifice, no vow, no fast must be performed by women apart (from their husbands); if a wife obeys her husband, she will for that (reason alone) be exalted in heaven.

156. A faithful wife, who desires to dwell (after death) with her husband, must never do anything that might displease him who took her hand, whether he be alive or dead.

157. At her pleasure let her emaciate her body by (living on) pure flowers, roots, and fruit; but she must never even mention the name of another man after her husband has died.

158. Until death let her be patient (of hardships), self-controlled, and chaste, and strive (to fulfil) that most excellent duty which (is prescribed) for wives who have one husband only.

159. Many thousands of Brâhmanas who were chaste from their youth, have gone to heaven without continuing their race.

implied by this expression. Nâr. thinks that the Pragâpati called Manu is the guardian deity of the bride, and hence the nuptial oblations are called 'the sacrifice to Pragâpati.'

155. Vi. XXVI, 15; Yâgñ. I, 77.

156-166. See below, IX, 64-68; Yâgñ. I, 75, 87.

157. Medh. takes this opportunity to strongly object to the practice of widows burning themselves with their husbands' corpses.

159. Gov. and Kull. think that the verse refers to the Vâlahhilya Rîshis.

160. A virtuous wife who after the death of her husband constantly remains chaste, reaches heaven, though she have no son, just like those chaste men.

161. But a woman who from a desire to have offspring violates her duty towards her (deceased) husband, brings on herself disgrace in this world, and loses her place with her husband (in heaven).

162. Offspring begotten by another man is here not (considered lawful), nor (does offspring begotten) on another man's wife (belong to the begetter), nor is a second husband anywhere prescribed for virtuous women.

163. She who cohabits with a man of higher caste, forsaking her own husband who belongs to a lower one, will become contemptible in this world, and is called a remarried woman (parapûrvâ).

164. By violating her duty towards her husband, a wife is disgraced in this world, (after death) she enters the womb of a jackal, and is tormented by diseases (the punishment of) her sin.

165. She who, controlling her thoughts, words, and deeds, never slights her lord, resides (after death) with her husband (in heaven), and is called a virtuous (wife).

166. In reward of such conduct, a female who controls her thoughts, speech, and actions, gains in this (life) highest renown, and in the next (world) a place near her husband.

160. Vi. XXVI, 17.

162. Medh., Nâr., and Nand. take the first part of the verse differently: 'Offspring begotten by another man does not belong (to the mother).' The other explanation is given by Gov. and Kull.

165. Medh. omits verses 165-166.

167. A twice-born man, versed in the sacred law, shall burn a wife of equal caste who conducts herself thus and dies before him, with (the sacred fires used for) the Agnihotra, and with the sacrificial implements.

168. Having thus, at the funeral, given the sacred fires to his wife who dies before him, he may marry again, and again kindle (the fires).

169. (Living) according to the (preceding) rules, he must never neglect the five (great) sacrifices, and, having taken a wife, he must dwell in (his own) house during the second period of his life.

CHAPTER VI.

1. A twice-born Snâtaka, who has thus lived according to the law in the order of householders, may, taking a firm resolution and keeping his organs in subjection, dwell in the forest, duly (observing the rules given below).

2. When a householder sees his (skin) wrinkled, and (his hair) white, and the sons of his sons, then he may resort to the forest.

167-168. *Yâgñ.* I, 88.

VI. 1-32. *Âp.* II, 21, 18-23, 2; *Gaut.* III, 26-35; *Vas.* VI, 19-20; IX; *Baudh.* II, 11, 14-15; III, 18-4, 22; VI. XCIV-XCV; *Yâgñ.* III, 45-55.

1. *Niyatah*, 'taking a firm resolution' (Gov., Kull.), means according to Nâr. 'devoted to the restrictive duties, austerities, reciting the Veda, and so forth.' Kull. connects *yathâvad*, 'duly observing,' &c. (Gov., Nâr.), with 'keeping his organs in subjection.'

2. *Medh.* notes particularly that the *Sishâs* insist on the necessity that he who takes to forest-life must have sons and sons' sons, and that hence *apatya*, 'offspring,' is to be taken in this restricted sense. Nâr. holds that the verse gives three separate grounds for entering the third order, each of which is sufficient by itself, while

3. Abandoning all food raised by cultivation, and all his belongings, he may depart into the forest, either committing his wife to his sons, or accompanied by her.

4. Taking with him the sacred fire and the implements required for domestic (sacrifices), he may go forth from the village into the forest and reside there, duly controlling his senses.

5. Let him offer those five great sacrifices according to the rule, with various kinds of pure food fit for ascetics, or with herbs, roots, and fruit.

6. Let him wear a skin or a tattered garment; let him bathe in the evening or in the morning; and let him always wear (his hair in) braids, the hair on his body, his beard, and his nails (being unclipped).

7. Let him perform the Bali-offering with such food as he eats, and give alms according to his ability; let him honour those who come to his hermitage with alms consisting of water, roots, and fruit.

8. Let him be always industrious in privately reciting the Veda; let him be patient of hardships, friendly (towards all), of collected mind, ever liberal

Medh. thinks that the three conditions must exist together. Others, however, mentioned by Medh., took the verse to give a description of the approach of old age, which entitles the householder to turn hermit.

3. 'If his wife desires to accompany him, she may do so. But others say that he is to leave his wife behind if she is young, but shall take her with him if she is aged' (Medh.).

6. *Āṭram*, 'a tattered garment' (*vastrakhaṇḍam*, Medh., Gov., Kull.), may also mean 'a dress made of bark, Kura grass, or the like' (Gov., Nār., Rāgh.).

8. *Dāntaḥ*, 'patient of hardships,' means according to Medh. and Nār. 'free from pride.' Gov. reads in the beginning of the second

and never a receiver of gifts, and compassionate towards all living creatures.

9. Let him offer, according to the law, the Agnihotra with three sacred fires, never omitting the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices at the proper time.

10. Let him also offer the Nakshatreshśī, the Āgrayana, and the Kâturmâsya (sacrifices), as well as the Turâyana and likewise the Dâkshâyana, in due order.

11. With pure grains, fit for ascetics, which grow in spring and in autumn, and which he himself has collected, let him severally prepare the sacrificial cakes (purodâsa) and the boiled messes (kuru), as the law directs.

12. Having offered those most pure sacrificial viands, consisting of the produce of the forest, he may use the remainder for himself, (mixed with) salt prepared by himself.

half-verse, tyaktadvandvo 'nisam dâtâ, 'let him not care for the pairs of opposites, let him be ever liberal and compassionate towards all creatures.'

9. Yogatah, 'at the proper time' (Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. and Gov. 'as required by law;' according to Nâr. 'diligently.'

10. Medh. reads Darseshśī for Rîksheshśī, 'the Nakshatreshśī.' I read with Medh., Nâr., Nand., and Râgh., Turâyana (see Sâṅkh. Srauta-sûtra IV, 11) instead of Uttarâyana, 'the sacrifice at the winter-solstice,' which Gov., Kull., and K. give. The first reads also more consistently than Kull. and K.: Dakshinâyana, 'the sacrifice at the summer-solstice,' for Dakshasyâyana, 'the Dâkshâyana.' The Nakshatreshśī is a Srauta sacrifice offered to the lunar mansions. Regarding the variety of the Darsapaurṇamâsa, called Dâkshâyana, see Âsv. Srauta-sûtra II, 14.

12. According to Kull., the hermit is to collect the salt from ūsharas, i.e. salt-marshes; according to Nâr., he is to prepare it from the kshâra, 'salt or alkaline elements' of trees and the like.

13. Let him eat vegetables that grow on dry land or in water, flowers, roots, and fruits, the productions of pure trees, and oils extracted from forest-fruits.

14. Let him avoid honey, flesh, and mushrooms growing on the ground (or elsewhere, the vegetables called) *Bhûstrîna*, and *Sigruka*, and the *Sleshmântaka* fruit.

15. Let him throw away in the month of *Âsvina* the food of ascetics, which he formerly collected, likewise his worn-out clothes and his vegetables, roots, and fruit.

16. Let him not eat anything (grown on) ploughed (land), though it may have been thrown away by somebody, nor roots and fruit grown in a village, though (he may be) tormented (by hunger).

17. He may eat either what has been cooked with fire, or what has been ripened by time; he either may use a stone for grinding, or his teeth may be his mortar.

18. He may either at once (after his daily meal) cleanse (his vessel for collecting food), or lay up a

14. *Bhûstrîna*, i.e. *Andropogon Schoenanthus*, *Sigruka*, according to *Nâr.*, the same as the *Sobhanâñgana*, i.e. *Moringa Pterygosperma*, the horse-radish tree, the leaves of which are said to be used as a vegetable. According to *Medh.*, these two vegetables are known among the *Bâhîkas*, in the *Panjâb*; according to *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*, the former is found in *Mâlvâ*. *Sleshmântaka*, i.e. *Cordia Myxa*. According to *Medh.*, *bhaumâni*, 'those which grow on or come from the ground,' has to be taken as a separate word, and denotes a plant, known to the woodmen, named *Gogihvikâ*, *Phlomis* or *Premna Esculenta*. *Gov.*, *Nâr.*, and *Kull.* give the construction adopted above, and the latter two declare that mushrooms growing on trees are likewise forbidden.

16. 'Though he may be in distress,' i.e. 'tormented by hunger' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*), or 'sick' (*Nâr.*).

18. 'He may either at once (after his daily meal) cleanse (his

store sufficient for a month, or gather what suffices for six months or for a year.

19. Having collected food according to his ability, he may either eat at night (only), or in the day-time (only), or at every fourth meal-time, or at every eighth.

20. Or he may live according to the rule of the lunar penance (*Kāndrāyana*, daily diminishing the quantity of his food) in the bright (half of the month) and (increasing it) in the dark (half); or he may eat on the last days of each fortnight, once (a day only), boiled barley-gruel.

21. Or he may constantly subsist on flowers, roots, and fruit alone, which have been ripened by time and have fallen spontaneously, following the rule of the (Institutes) of Vikhanas.

22. Let him either roll about on the ground, or stand during the day on tiptoe, (or) let him alternately stand and sit down; going at the Savanas (at sunrise, at midday, and at sunset) to water in the forest (in order to bathe).

23. In summer let him expose himself to the heat of five fires, during the rainy season live under the open sky, and in winter be dressed in wet clothes, (thus) gradually increasing (the rigour of) his austerities.

vessel for collecting food),’ (Nâr.), means ‘he may either gather only as much as suffices for one day.’ This mode of subsistence is apparently the same as that called *Samprakshâlanî vr̥iti* by Baudhâya, III, 2, 11.

21. All the commentators except Nâr. expressly state that the text refers to a particular set of Sûtras, ascribed to the *R̥ishi* Vikhanas, which contained rules for hermits. Medh. adds that the hermit is to learn other practices also from that work.

23. ‘Five fires,’ i.e. ‘four fires and the sun from above.’

24. When he bathes at the three Savanas (sunrise, midday, and sunset), let him offer libations of water to the manes and the gods, and practising harsher and harsher austerities, let him dry up his bodily frame.

25. Having repositied the three sacred fires in himself, according to the prescribed rule, let him live without a fire, without a house, wholly silent, subsisting on roots and fruit,

26. Making no effort (to procure) things that give pleasure, chaste, sleeping on the bare ground, not caring for any shelter, dwelling at the roots of trees.

27. From Brâhmanas (who live as) ascetics, let him receive alms, (barely sufficient) to support life, or from other householders of the twice-born (castes) who reside in the forest.

28. Or (the hermit) who dwells in the forest may bring (food) from a village, receiving it either in a hollow dish (of leaves), in (his naked) hand, or in a broken earthen dish, and may eat eight mouthfuls.

29. These and other observances must a Brâhmana who dwells in the forest diligently practise, and in order to attain complete (union with) the (supreme) Soul, (he must study) the various sacred texts contained in the Upanishads,

24. Gov. says that these harsher austerities are those prescribed in the Vaikhâṇasa Sâstra. Medh. gives as instances, standing with uplifted arms, fasting for a month, and the Dvâḍasarâtra.

25. 'According to the rule,' i.e. 'by swallowing ashes and so forth' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), which mode has to be learned from the Srâvanaka [Srâmanaka Sûtra] (Medh.), or by reciting the text 'Yâ te agne yagnîyâ,' Taitt. Samh. II, 5, 8, 8 (Nâr.).

29. Âtmasamsiddhaye, 'in order to attain complete (union with the (supreme) Soul,' may also mean 'in order to make himself or his soul perfect.' Nâr. gives the correct etymology of Upanishad, explaining upanishannâ yokyata ity upanishat, 'Upanishad means (a text) which is recited (while the pupils are) seated near (the teacher).'

30. (As well as those rites and texts) which have been practised and studied by the sages (*R̥ṣhis*), and by *Brāhmaṇa* householders, in order to increase their knowledge (of Brahman), and their austerity, and in order to sanctify their bodies ;

31. Or let him walk, fully determined and going straight on, in a north-easterly direction, subsisting on water and air, until his body sinks to rest.

32. A *Brāhmaṇa*, having got rid of his body by one of those modes practised by the great sages, is exalted in the world of Brahman, free from sorrow and fear.

33. But having thus passed the third part of (a

30. Gov. and Kull. separate the two words '*Brāhmaṇa* householders.' The former explains *Brāhmaṇa* by 'hermit,' and the latter by 'acquainted with the Brahman, i. e. ascetic.' By 'householders' Kull. understands 'hermits in the forest.' *Rāgh.* explains *Brāhmaṇa* by 'those who know Brahman.'

31. Gov. and Kull. take *yukta*, 'firmly resolved' (*Nār.*, *Rāgh.*), in the sense of 'intent on the practice of Yoga.' Gov. and Kull. (see also *Medh.* on the next verse) say that a man may undertake the *Mahāprasthāna*, or 'Great Departure,' on a journey which ends in death, when he is incurably diseased or meets with a great misfortune, and that, because it is taught in the *Sāstras*, it is not opposed to the Vedic rules which forbid suicide. From the parallel passage of *Āp.* II, 23, 2, it is, however, evident that a voluntary death by starvation was considered the befitting conclusion of a hermit's life. The antiquity and general prevalence of the practice may be inferred from the fact that the *Gaina* ascetics, too, consider it particularly meritorious.

32. 'By one of those modes,' i. e. 'drowning oneself in a river, precipitating oneself from a mount, burning oneself or starving oneself to death' (*Medh.*); or 'by one of those modes of practising austerities, mentioned above, verse 23' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Nār.*, *Nand.*). *Medh.* adds a long discussion, trying to prove that 'the world of Brahman,' which the ascetic thus gains, is not the real complete liberation.

33-85. *Āp.* II, 21, 2-17; *Gaut.* III, 11-25; *Vas.* VI, 19-20; X;

man's natural term of) life in the forest, he may live as an ascetic during the fourth part of his existence, after abandoning all attachment to worldly objects. ✓

34. He who after passing from order to order, after offering sacrifices and subduing his senses, becomes, tired with (giving) alms and offerings of food, an ascetic, gains bliss after death.

35. When he has paid the three debts, let him apply his mind to (the attainment of) final liberation; he who seeks it without having paid (his debts) sinks downwards.

36. Having studied the Vedas in accordance with the rule, having begat sons according to the sacred law, and having offered sacrifices according to his ability, he may direct his mind to (the attainment of) final liberation.

37. A twice-born man who seeks final liberation, without having studied the Vedas, without having begotten sons, and without having offered sacrifices, sinks downwards.

38. Having performed the *Ishāi*, sacred to the Lord of creatures (*Pragâpati*), where (he gives) all his property as the sacrificial fee, having reposed the sacred fires in himself, a *Brâhmaṇa* may depart from his house (as an ascetic).

39. Worlds, radiant in brilliancy, become (the portion) of him who recites (the texts regarding) Brahman and departs from his house (as an ascetic), after giving a promise of safety to all created beings.

Baudh. II, 11, 16-26; 17, 1-18, 27; Vi. XCVI-XCVII; Yâgñ. III, 56-65.

33. *Nâr.* takes *âsaṅga*, 'attachment' (Gov., Kull.), in the sense of 'possessions.'

38. The description of the rites to be performed on entering the order of ascetics is given in detail in Baudh. II, 17.

40. For that twice-born man, by whom not the smallest danger even is caused to created beings, there will be no danger from any (quarter), after he is freed from his body.

41. Departing from his house fully provided with the means of purification (Pavitra), let him wander about absolutely silent, and caring nothing for enjoyments that may be offered (to him).

42. Let him always wander alone, without any companion, in order to attain (final liberation), fully understanding that the solitary (man, who) neither forsakes nor is forsaken, gains his end.

43. He shall neither possess a fire, nor a dwelling, he may go to a village for his food, (he shall be) indifferent to everything, firm of purpose, meditating (and) concentrating his mind on Brahman.

44. A potsherd (instead of an alms-bowl), the roots of trees (for a dwelling), coarse worn-out garments,

41. Pavitropakītaḥ, 'provided with the means of purification,' i. e. 'his staff, his water-pot, and so forth' (Gov., Kull., Nand.), means according to Medh. either 'applying himself to the recitation of purificatory texts and provided with the means of purifications, i. e. a staff, &c.,' or 'performing penances which purify.' Nâr. takes it to mean, 'having been made most eminent during his life as a householder by acts which purify, i. e. austerities and recitals of the Veda and so forth;' and Râgh., 'possessing a rich store of sanctifying knowledge taught in the Upanishads.' Nâr. takes muniḥ, 'wholly silent' (Gov., Kull.), in the sense of 'intent on meditation.' Nand. explains samupodheshu, 'which may be offered to him' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), by 'which he collected in his house;' and Nâr. by 'which he has duly enjoyed.'

43. Medh. explains muniḥ, 'meditating' (Gov., Kull.), by 'wholly silent.' Instead of asaṃkasukaḥ or aṣaṃkasukaḥ, 'firm of purpose' (Gov., Kull.), Nâr., Nand., and K. prima manu read asaṃkayikaḥ, 'destitute of any store of provisions,' and Râgh. aṣaṃkasūkaḥ, 'free from doubts.' Medh., whose text now reads asaṃkasukaḥ, gives this word as the var. lect. of others, and probably originally read, like Nâr. and Nand., asaṃkayikaḥ.

life in solitude and indifference towards everything, are the marks of one who has attained liberation.

45. Let him not desire to die, let him not desire to live; let him wait for (his appointed) time, as a servant (waits) for the payment of his wages.

46. Let him put down his foot purified by his sight, let him drink water purified by (straining with) a cloth, let him utter speech purified by truth, let him keep his heart pure.

47. Let him patiently bear hard words, let him not insult anybody, and let him not become anybody's enemy for the sake of this (perishable) body.

48. Against an angry man let him not in return show anger, let him bless when he is cursed, and let him not utter speech, devoid of truth, scattered at the seven gates.

49. Delighting in what refers to the Soul, sitting (in the postures prescribed by the Yoga), independent (of external help), entirely abstaining from sensual enjoyments, with himself for his only companion, he shall live in this world, desiring the bliss (of final liberation).

45. The correct reading is *nirvesam* (Medh., Nâr., var. lect., Nand.) instead of *nirdesam* (Gov., K.) or *nidesam* (Kull., Râgh.). The latter reading can, as Nâr. remarks, only mean 'command.'

46. I.e. 'let him look before he puts down his foot, lest he injure any small animal, see ver. 68' (Gov., Medh., Râgh.), or 'lest he step on something impure' (Kull.).

48. 'The seven gates' are, according to Medh. and Gov., 'Dharma, Artha, and Kâma separately, Dharma and Artha, Dharma and Kâma, Artha and Kâma, and finally Dharmârthakâma conjointly; according to Kull. and Medh., 'mind, intellect, and the five senses;' and according to Nâr., 'the five senses, mind, and Aham-kâra, or egoism.' Kull. mentions another explanation, 'the seven worlds,' and Medh. gives as a third meaning, 'the seven vital airs located in the head.' The general sense, 'what refers to worldly matters,' remains always the same.

50. Neither by (explaining) prodigies and omens, nor by skill in astrology and palmistry, nor by giving advice and by the exposition (of the *Sâstras*), let him ever seek to obtain alms.

51. Let him not (in order to beg) go near a house filled with hermits, *Brâhmanas*, birds, dogs, or other mendicants.

52. His hair, nails, and beard being clipped, carrying an alms-bowl, a staff, and a water-pot, let him continually wander about, controlling himself and not hurting any creature.

53. His vessels shall not be made of metal, they shall be free from fractures; it is ordained that they shall be cleansed with water, like (the cups, called) *Kamasa*, at a sacrifice.

54. A gourd, a wooden bowl, an earthen (dish), or one made of split cane, Manu, the son of *Sva-yambhu*, has declared (to be) vessels (suitable) for an ascetic.

55. Let him go to beg once (a day), let him not be eager to obtain a large quantity (of alms); for an ascetic who eagerly seeks alms, attaches himself also to sensual enjoyments.

50. According to *Nâr.* and *Râgh.*, *aṅgavidyâ*, 'palmistry' (*Medh.*, *Kull.*, *Nand.*), means 'the science of grammar and the other five *Âṅgas* of the *Veda*.' Gov. takes *nakshatrâṅgavidyâ* as a determinative compound, meaning 'astrology.' *Anusâsana*, 'giving advice' (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*), means according to *Nâr.* and *Nând.* 'teaching the *Veda*.' *Vâda*, 'the exposition (of the *Sâstras*)', (*Gov.*, *Kull.*), means according to *Medh.* and *Nâr.* 'disputations'; according to *Nand.* and *Râgh.* 'the science of dialectics.' This verse, which occurs also in *Vas. X, 21*, is historically important, as it shows that in ancient as in modern times, ascetics followed worldly pursuits and were the teachers or advisers of the people.

55. 'Let him not go oftener to beg' is Gov.'s explanation, instead of 'let him not be eager to obtain a large quantity of alms.'

56. When no smoke ascends from (the kitchen), when the pestle lies motionless, when the embers have been extinguished, when the people have finished their meal, when the remnants in the dishes have been removed, let the ascetic always go to beg.

57. Let him not be sorry when he obtains nothing, nor rejoice when he obtains (something), let him (accept) so much only as will sustain life, let him not care about the (quality of his) utensils.

58. Let him disdain all (food) obtained in consequence of humble salutations, (for) even an ascetic who has attained final liberation, is bound (with the fetters of the *Samsâra*) by accepting (food given) in consequence of humble salutations.

59. By eating little, and by standing and sitting in solitude, let him restrain his senses, if they are attracted by sensual objects.

60. By the restraint of his senses, by the destruction of love and hatred, and by the abstention from injuring the creatures, he becomes fit for immortality.

61. Let him reflect on the transmigrations of men, caused by their sinful deeds, on their falling into hell, and on the torments in the world of Yama,

62. On the separation from their dear ones, on their union with hated men, on their being overpowered by age and being tormented with diseases,

63. On the departure of the individual soul from this body and its new birth in (another) womb, and

57. *Mâtrâ*, 'utensils,' i.e. his staff, water-pot, &c. (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*), means according to *Nâr.* and *Nand.* 'a portion, e.g. a mouthful' (*kavalâdiḥ*, *Nâr.*), or 'a portion, i.e. enough to fill his stomach' (*udarapûraṇâvadhîr mâtrâ*).

on its wanderings through ten thousand millions of existences,

64. On the infliction of pain on embodied (spirits), which is caused by demerit, and the gain of eternal bliss, which is caused by the attainment of their highest aim, (gained through) spiritual merit.

65. By deep meditation let him recognise the subtle nature of the supreme Soul, and its presence in all organisms, both the highest and the lowest.

66. To whatever order he may be attached, let him, though blemished (by a want of the external marks), fulfil his duty, equal-minded towards all creatures; (for) the external mark (of the order) is not the cause of (the acquisition of) merit.

67. Though the fruit of the Kataka tree (the clearing-nut) makes water clear, yet the (latter) does not become limpid in consequence of the mention of the (fruit's) name.

68. In order to preserve living creatures, let him always by day and by night, even with pain to his body, walk, carefully scanning the ground.

69. In order to expiate (the death) of those creatures which he unintentionally injures by day or by night, an ascetic shall bathe and perform six suppressions of the breath.

65. Nand. omits this verse. 'The highest aim' is 'the recognition of the Brahman' (Kull.), and the good fortune of attaining that falls only to the lot of those who have accumulated a rich store of merit.

66. Instead of *dûshito 'pi*, 'though blemished (by a want of the external marks of the order),' (Kull., Nand., Râgh.), Medh., Gov., Nâr., and K. read *bhûshito 'pi*, 'though adorned (with garlands and the like).'

69. Regarding the term 'suppression of the breath,' see Vas. XXV, 13, and Wilson, *Vishṇupurâṇa*, V, p. 231 (ed. Hall).

70. Three suppressions of the breath even, performed according to the rule, and accompanied with the (recitation of the) Vyâhr̥itis and of the syllable Om, one must know to be the highest (form of) austerity for every Brâhmaṇa.

71. For as the impurities of metallic ores, melted in the blast (of a furnace), are consumed, even so the taints of the organs are destroyed through the suppression of the breath.

72. Let him destroy the taints through suppressions of the breath, (the production of) sin by fixed attention, all sensual attachments by restraining (his senses and organs), and all qualities that are not lordly by meditation.

73. Let him recognise by the practice of meditation the progress of the individual soul through beings of various kinds, (a progress) hard to understand for unregenerate men.

74. He who possesses the true insight (into the

71. Vas. XXV, 6; Baudh. IV, 1, 24.

72. Regarding the term dhâraṇâ, 'fixed attention,' see Wilson, *Vishṇupurâṇa*, V, p. 237 (ed. Hall), and Jacob, *Vedântasâra*, p. 109.

Anîsvarân gunân, 'all qualities that are not lordly.' Medh. explains the qualities by 'goodness, passion, and darkness,' and the epithet 'not lordly' by 'depending upon another,' and adds that 'the conceit (abhimâna) of the soul (purusha) that it possesses qualities and is affected by pleasure or pain and the like must be destroyed.' Gov. and K. assert that the qualities opposed to 'virtue, knowledge, absence of passion and power' (Davies, *Sâṃkhya*, p. 81) are to be destroyed by 'meditation,' as defined in the *Yoga-sâstra*. Similarly Nâr., who (as also Nand.) reads anaisvarân, says that the qualities that are opposed to true knowledge and power, and are modifications of passion and darkness, must be destroyed by meditating on the formless. Kull. and Râgh., on the other hand, interpret the passage on Vedânta principles, and explain the qualities as 'such which do not belong to the lord, Brahman, i.e. anger, greed, envy, and so forth.'

nature of the world), is not fettered by his deeds ; but he who is destitute of that insight, is drawn into the circle of births and deaths.

75. By not injuring any creatures, by detaching the senses (from objects of enjoyment), by the rites prescribed in the Veda, and by rigorously practising austerities, (men) gain that state (even) in this (world).

76-77. Let him quit this dwelling, composed of the five elements, where the bones are the beams, which is held together by tendons (instead of cords), where the flesh and the blood are the mortar, which is thatched with the skin, which is foul-smelling, filled with urine and ordure, infested by old age and sorrow, the seat of disease, harassed by pain, gloomy with passion, and perishable.

78. He who leaves this body, (be it by necessity) as a tree (that is torn from) the river-bank, or (freely) like a bird (that) quits a tree, is freed from the misery (of this world, dreadful like) a shark.

79. Making over (the merit of his own) good actions to his friends and (the guilt of) his evil deeds to his enemies, he attains the eternal Brahman by the practice of meditation.

80. When by the disposition (of his heart) he

75. 'By the rites prescribed in the Veda,' i.e. the daily rites (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or 'the daily rites and those prescribed for certain occasions' (Nâr., Nand.). 'That state,' i.e. 'the union with Brahman' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. 'that place, i.e. the world of Brahman.' Nâr. and Nand. read *tatparam*, 'that highest (Brahman).'

76-77. Maitr. Up. III, 4.

79. 'Making over (the merit of his own) good actions' means according to Gov. and Medh. '(the merit of anybody's) good actions.'

80. 'In this world,' i.e. he becomes a *Gîvanmukta*, one liberated during this life (Nâr.).

becomes indifferent to all objects, he obtains eternal happiness both in this world and after death.

81. He who has in this manner gradually given up all attachments and is freed from all the pairs (of opposites), reposes in Brahman alone.

82. All that has been declared (above) depends on meditation; for he who is not proficient in the knowledge of that which refers to the Soul reaps not the full reward of the performance of rites.

83. Let him constantly recite (those texts of) the Veda which refer to the sacrifice, (those) referring to the deities, and (those) which treat of the Soul and are contained in the concluding portions of the Veda (Vedânta).

84. That is the refuge of the ignorant, and even

81. 'The pairs of opposites,' i.e. hunger and satiety and so forth (Gov.), or honour and dishonour (Kull.).

82. I follow Gov., Nâr., and Nand., who explain the verse to mean that all the teaching of the preceding chapters with respect to the four orders depends, as far as its ultimate result is concerned, on meditation, because, however well a man may fulfil the prescribed rites, he cannot reap the full reward without knowing and meditating on the Brahman. Kull. refers the phrase 'All that has been declared' to the contents of the last verse, and says that 'the complete freedom from all attachments and the repose in Brahman' depend on the recognition of the unity of the individual soul and of Brahman. He understands by *kriyâphalam*, 'the reward for the act of meditating.' Medh. begins with an explanation similar to that of Kull., but he takes finally *kriyâphalam* in the same sense as Gov., Nâr., and Nand. Râgh. explains *yad etad abhisabdhitam* by 'what can be expressed by words.'

83. 'Which refer to the sacrifice,' i.e. 'the *Brâhmanas*' (Medh., Gov., Nand.), or 'the *Brahmaveda*' (Kull., Nâr.), or 'the *Karmakânda*,' e.g. *ishe tvâ ūrge tvâ* (*Vâg. Samh.* I, 1), Râgh. 'Those referring to the deities,' i.e. 'Mantras describing the various deities' (Medh., Gov.), e.g. *Rig-veda* VIII, 44, 16 (Gov.). The third class of texts mentioned is that of the Upanishads; but see also Goldstücker, *Sansk. Dict.*, s. v. *adhyâtma*.

that (the refuge) of those who know (the meaning of the Veda); that is (the protection) of those who seek (bliss in) heaven and of those who seek endless (beatitude).

85. A twice-born man who becomes an ascetic, after the successive performance of the above-mentioned acts, shakes off sin here below and reaches the highest Brahman.

86. Thus the law (valid) for self-restrained ascetics has been explained to you ; now listen to the (particular) duties of those who give up (the rites prescribed by) the Veda.

87. The student, the householder, the hermit, and the ascetic, these (constitute) four separate orders, which all spring from (the order of) householders.

88. But all (or) even (any of) these orders, assumed successively in accordance with the Institutes (of the sacred law), lead the Brâhmaṇa who acts by the preceding (rules) to the highest state.

89. And in accordance with the precepts of the Veda and of the Smṛiti, the housekeeper is declared

86. Gov. is of opinion that the persons named above, IV, 22, are here intended. But from what follows, verses 94, 95, it appears that those Brâhmaṇas are meant who, though solely intent on the acquisition of supreme knowledge, and retired from all worldly affairs, continue to reside in their houses ; see also IV, 257. Gov. and Nâr. assume that they remain householders, while Kull. counts them among the ascetics.

87-93. Âp. II, 23-24 ; Gaut. III, 36 ; Vas. VIII, 14-16 ; X, 30 ; Baudh. II, 11, 9-34 ; Vi. LIX, 27-29.

According to the commentators, the following discussion is introduced in order to show, (1) that there are four orders only, and that the Vedasannyâsika belongs to these, and does not form a fifth order, or stand outside the orders ; (2) that as the order of the householders is the most distinguished, it is proper that a man may continue to live in his house under the protection of his son.

to be superior to all of them; for he supports the other three.

90. As all rivers, both great and small, find a resting-place in the ocean, even so men of all orders find protection with householders.

91. By twice-born men belonging to (any of) these four orders, the tenfold law must be ever carefully obeyed.

92. Contentment, forgiveness, self-control, abstention from unrighteously appropriating anything, (obedience to the rules of) purification, coercion of the organs, wisdom, knowledge (of the supreme Soul), truthfulness, and abstention from anger, (form) the tenfold law.

93. Those Brâhmaṇas who thoroughly study the tenfold law, and after studying obey it, enter the highest state.

94. A twice-born man who, with collected mind, follows the tenfold law and has paid his (three) debts, may, after learning the Vedânta according to the prescribed rule, become an ascetic.

95. Having given up (the performance of) all rites, throwing off the guilt of his (sinful) acts, subduing his organs and having studied the Veda, he may live at his ease under the protection of his son.

92. *Dhṛtīḥ*, 'contentment,' means according to Nâr., Nand., and Râgh. 'firmness of purpose or in the discharge of duties.' *Damaḥ*, 'self-control,' means according to Medh. and Nand. 'humility;' according to Gov. and Nâr. 'patience under sufferings;' according to Kull. and Râgh. 'the subjugation of the internal organ.' *Dhîḥ*, 'wisdom,' means according to Medh. and Gov. 'freedom from doubts and errors;' according to Kull. and Râgh. 'knowledge of the true meaning of the Sâstras.' Nâr. and Nand. read *hrîḥ*, 'modesty or shame.'

94. Vas. X, 26.

95. 'Having studied the Veda,' i.e. 'the Upanishads' (Kull.).

96. He who has thus given up (the performance of) all rites, who is solely intent on his own (particular) object, (and) free from desires, destroys his guilt by his renunciation and obtains the highest state.

97. Thus the fourfold holy law of Brâhmaṇas, which after death (yields) imperishable rewards, has been declared to you ; now learn the duty of kings.

CHAPTER VII.

1. I will declare the duties of kings, (and) show how a king should conduct himself, how he was created, and how (he can obtain) highest success.

2. A Kshatriya, who has received according to the rule the sacrament prescribed by the Veda, must duly protect this whole (world).

3. For, when these creatures, being without a king, through fear dispersed in all directions, the Lord created a king for the protection of this whole (creation),

4. Taking (for that purpose) eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Yama, of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuṇa, of the Moon, and of the Lord of wealth (Kubera).

Gov., Nâr., Nand., Râgh., and K. read *abhyasyan*, 'studying the Veda,' and the same reading is mentioned by Medh. as a var. lect.

96. 'His own object,' i. e. 'final liberation.'

97. According to Medh. the word 'Brâhmaṇa' is not intended to exclude other Âryans ; but according to Gov., Kull., and Nâr. it is meant to prescribe that asceticism is permissible for Brâhmaṇas alone.

VII. 2. 'The sacrament,' i. e. 'the initiation' (Medh., Gov., Nâr., Kull.), or 'the initiation and the rest' (Râgh.), or 'the sacrament of the coronation' (Nand.). The last opinion seems the correct one.

5. Because a king has been formed of particles of those lords of the gods, he therefore surpasses all created beings in lustre ;

6. And, like the sun, he burns eyes and hearts ; nor can anybody on earth even gaze on him.

7. Through his (supernatural) power he is Fire and Wind, he Sun and Moon, he the Lord of justice (Yama), he Kubera, he Varuna, he great Indra.

8. Even an infant king must not be despised, (from an idea) that he is a (mere) mortal ; for he is a great deity in human form.

9. Fire burns one man only, if he carelessly approaches it, the fire of a king's (anger) consumes the (whole) family, together with its cattle and its hoard of property.

10. Having fully considered the purpose, (his) power, and the place and the time, he assumes by turns many (different) shapes for the complete attainment of justice.

11. He, in whose favour resides Padmâ, the goddess of fortune, in whose valour dwells victory, in whose anger abides death, is formed of the lustre of all (gods).

12. The (man), who in his exceeding folly hates him, will doubtlessly perish ; for the king quickly makes up his mind to destroy such (a man).

5. The commentators explain *tegas*, 'lustre,' by 'prowess or valour' (*vîrya*). The next verse, however, shows that at least a play on the word is intended.

10. According to the commentators, the verse is meant as a warning to those who are too confident of possessing a king's favour.

11. 'Padmâ, the goddess of fortune,' must be taken according to Nâr. and Nand. as 'who carries a lotus in her hand,' and according to Râgh. 'whose dwelling is the lotus.' According to Medh., Gov., and Kull., the epithet is added in order to give the idea of greatness.

13. Let no (man), therefore, transgress that law which the king decrees with respect to his favourites, nor (his orders) which inflict pain on those in disfavour.

14. For the (king's) sake the Lord formerly created his own son, Punishment, the protector of all creatures, (an incarnation of) the law, formed of Brahman's glory.

15. Through fear of him all created beings, both the immovable and the movable, allow themselves to be enjoyed and swerve not from their duties.

16. Having fully considered the time and the place (of the offence), the strength and the knowledge (of the offender), let him justly inflict that (punishment) on men who act unjustly.

13. Medh. gives the following instances. If a king orders that during the celebration of a wedding in the house of a minister or other favourite, a public festival is to be held in the town, that everybody is to appear on the occasion, or that during so and so many days no animals are to be killed, no birds to be snared, and no debtors to be imprisoned by their creditors, everybody must obey. The same shall be the case if the king orders with respect to persons in disfavour that they are to be shunned by everybody, that nobody is to enter their houses. Gov., Kull., and Râgh. give the same explanation, and they as well as Medh. add, that this rule refers to lawful orders in worldly matters only. Nâr. seems to have taken the verse differently, in a sense similar to that contained in Sir W. Jones' translation.

14. Yâgñ. I, 353.

15. Bhogâya kalpante, 'allow themselves to be enjoyed' (Medh., Gov., Nâr., Nand., Râgh.), means according to Kull. 'are able to enjoy their own.' Gov. says, *kâledanâdibhayena vrikshâdîstâvarâny api phalapushpâdidvârenopabhogârtham sampadyante niyatakâlam pushpâdidânavyavasthâm nâtikrâmantî*, 'through fear of being cut down and the like immovable things such as trees become fit to be enjoyed by means of their fruit, flowers, and so forth, (i. e.) they transgress not the law according to which they must give flowers, &c. at the appointed time;' see also below, verse 23.

16. Gaut. XII, 51; Vas. XIX, 9; Vi. III, 91; Yâgñ. I, 367.

17. Punishment is (in reality) the king (and) the male, that the manager of affairs, that the ruler, and that is called the surety for the four orders' obedience to the law.

18. Punishment alone governs all created beings, punishment alone protects them, punishment watches over them while they sleep; the wise declare punishment (to be identical with) the law.

19. If (punishment) is properly inflicted after (due) consideration, it makes all people happy; but inflicted without consideration, it destroys everything.

20. If the king did not, without tiring, inflict punishment on those worthy to be punished, the stronger would roast the weaker, like fish on a spit;

21. The crow would eat the sacrificial cake and the dog would lick the sacrificial viands, and ownership would not remain with any one, the lower ones would (usurp the place of) the higher ones.

22. The whole world is kept in order by punishment, for a guiltless man is hard to find; through fear of punishment the whole world yields the enjoyments (which it owes).

23. The gods, the Dānavas, the Gandharvas, the Rākshasas, the bird and snake deities even give the enjoyments (due from them) only, if they are tormented by (the fear of) punishment.

24. All castes (*varṇa*) would be corrupted (by intermixture), all barriers would be broken through,

17. 'That is the male,' i. e. 'compared with him all others are (weak) women' (Kull.).

19. Yāgñ. I, 355.

23. The commentators quote in explanation of this verse a passage from the Yagur-veda, 'Through fear the fire warms, through fear the sun shines, through fear move Indra, the Wind, and Death, as the fifth.'

and all men would rage (against each other) in consequence of mistakes with respect to punishment.

25. But where Punishment with a black hue and red eyes stalks about, destroying sinners, there the subjects are not disturbed, provided that he who inflicts it discerns well.

26. They declare that king to be a just inflicter of punishment, who is truthful, who acts after due consideration, who is wise, and who knows (the respective value of) virtue, pleasure, and wealth.

27. A king who properly inflicts (punishment), prospers with respect to (those) three (means of happiness); but he who is voluptuous, partial, and deceitful will be destroyed, even through the (unjust) punishment (which he inflicts).

28. Punishment (possesses) a very bright lustre, and is hard to be administered by men with unimproved minds; it strikes down the king who swerves from his duty, together with his relatives.

29. Next it will afflict his castles, his territories, the whole world together with the movable and immovable (creation), likewise the sages and the gods, who (on the failure of offerings) ascend to the sky.

30. (Punishment) cannot be inflicted justly by one who has no assistant, (nor) by a fool, (nor) by a covetous man, (nor) by one whose mind is unimproved, (nor) by one addicted to sensual pleasures.

25. Vi. III, 96.

26. Gaut. XI, 2.

27. Vishamaḥ, 'partial' (Nâr.), means according to Gov., Kull., and Râgh. 'wrathful.'

28. 'By men with unimproved minds,' i. e. 'who have not learnt the Sâstras' (Gov., Kull.).

30-31. Gaut. XI, 4; Yâgñ. I, 308-309, 354.

31. By him who is pure (and) faithful to his promise, who acts according to the Institutes (of the sacred law), who has good assistants and is wise, punishment can be (justly) inflicted.

32. Let him act with justice in his own domain, with rigour chastise his enemies, behave without duplicity towards his friends, and be lenient towards Brâhmaṇas.

33. The fame of a king who behaves thus, even though he subsist by gleanings, is spread in the world, like a drop of oil on water.

34. But the fame of a king who acts in a contrary manner and who does not subdue himself, diminishes in extent among men like a drop of clarified butter in water.

35. The king has been created (to be) the protector of the castes (*varṇa*) and orders, who, all according to their rank, discharge their several duties.

36. Whatever must be done by him and by his servants for the protection of his people, that I will fully declare to you in due order.

37. Let the king, after rising early in the morning, worship Brâhmaṇas who are well versed in the threefold sacred science and learned (in polity), and follow their advice.

38. Let him daily worship aged Brâhmaṇas who know the Veda and are pure; for he who always worships aged men, is honoured even by Rākshasas.

31. Pure, i. e. 'with respect to the acquisition of wealth,' or 'not covetous' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). Satyasamdhya, 'faithful to his promise' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. 'who cares for truth alone.'

32. Vi. III, 96; Yâgñ. I, 333.

33. Vi. III, 97.

37-38. Vi. III, 76-77.

39. Let him, though he may already be modest, constantly learn modesty from them; for a king who is modest never perishes.

40. Through a want of modesty many kings have perished, together with their belongings; through modesty even hermits in the forest have gained kingdoms.

41. Through a want of humility Vena perished, likewise king Nahusha, Sudâs, the son of Pigavana, Sumukha, and Nemi.

42. But by humility Prithu and Manu gained sovereignty, Kubera the position of the Lord of wealth, and the son of Gâdhi the rank of a Brâhmaṇa.

43. From those versed in the three Vedas let him learn the threefold (sacred science), the primeval science of government, the science of dialectics, and the knowledge of the (supreme) Soul; from the people (the theory of) the (various) trades and professions.

44. Day and night he must strenuously exert himself to conquer his senses; for he (alone) who has conquered his own senses, can keep his subjects in obedience.

45. Let him carefully shun the ten vices, springing

41. I read with Medh., Gov., Nâr., Râgh., and K., Sudâh paigavanas kaiva, instead of Sudâso yavanas kaiva (Kull.). Nand. has Vaigavana, a mere clerical mistake. As Medh. remarks, the legends regarding the worthies mentioned here occur in the Mahâbhârata.

42. The son of Gâdhi, i.e. Visvâmitra; see Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, I, p. 83 seqq.

43. Gaut. XI, 3; Yâgyñ. I, 310. Nâr. takes ânvikshikîṃ kât-mavidyâm to mean 'and the science of dialectics, i.e. the Nyâya, Sâmkhya, and so forth, which is useful for obtaining final liberation.' Medh. too is not certain if ânvikshikî is to be taken by itself, but proposes 'the science of dialectics which will be useful to him.'

45-48. Vi. III, 50-51.

from love of pleasure, and the eight, proceeding from wrath, which (all) end in misery.

46. For a king who is attached to the vices springing from love of pleasure, loses his wealth and his virtue, but (he who is given) to those arising from anger, (loses) even his life.

47. Hunting, gambling, sleeping by day, censoriousness, (excess with) women, drunkenness, (an inordinate love for) dancing, singing, and music, and useless travel are the tenfold set (of vices) springing from love of pleasure.

48. Tale-bearing, violence, treachery, envy, slandering, (unjust) seizure of property, reviling, and assault are the eightfold set (of vices) produced by wrath.

49. That greediness which all wise men declare to be the root even of both these (sets), let him carefully conquer; both sets (of vices) are produced by that.

50. Drinking, dice, women, and hunting, these four (which have been enumerated) in succession, he must know to be the most pernicious in the set that springs from love of pleasure.

51. Doing bodily injury, reviling, and the seizure of property, these three he must know to be the most pernicious in the set produced by wrath.

52. A self-controlled (king) should know that in this set of seven, which prevails everywhere, each

49. 'Greediness (lobha) is the root of all (these vices), because (the king) acts in some (of these cases) from a desire for money, and in others from a greediness of sensual pleasures' (Gov.).

52. Medh., Nand., and K. read *âtmanaḥ* instead of *âtmavân*, and in that case the translation must be, 'Let him know that in this set . . . each earlier-named vice is more pernicious for him (than . . .).'

earlier-named vice is more abominable (than those named later).

53. (On a comparison) between vice and death, vice is declared to be more pernicious; a vicious man sinks to the nethermost (hell), he who dies, free from vice, ascends to heaven.

54. Let him appoint seven or eight ministers whose ancestors have been royal servants, who are versed in the sciences, heroes skilled in the use of weapons and descended from (noble) families and who have been tried.

55. Even an undertaking easy (in itself) is (sometimes) hard to be accomplished by a single man; how much (harder is it for a king), especially (if he has) no assistant, (to govern) a kingdom which yields great revenues.

56. Let him daily consider with them the ordinary (business, referring to) peace and war, (the four subjects called) sthâna, the revenue, the (manner of) protecting (himself and his kingdom), and the sanctification of his gains (by pious gifts).

54. Vi. III, 71; Yâgñ. I, 311. Labdhalakshân, 'skilled in the use of weapons' (Kull., Nâr.), means according to Medh., Gov., Nand., and Râgh. 'who fail not in their undertakings.' Parîkshitân (Gov., Kull., and K.), or suparîkshitân (Medh., Nâr.), 'who have been tried,' i. e. by tempting them in various ways (Medh.), or 'if they are incorruptible' (Nâr.), or 'who have been examined by spies' (Gov.), or 'who have been bound to fidelity by touching images of the gods, &c.' (Kull., Râgh.). Nand. reads parîkshakân, 'who examine (the state-affairs).'

55. The correct reading is kimu, 'how much harder' (Medh., Gov., sec. manu, Nâr., Nand., Râgh., K.), instead of the kim tu, 'but,' of the editions.

56. Yâgñ. I, 311. Sthâna means according to Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh. 'the army, the treasury, the town, and the kingdom;' according to Medh. either that or 'the loss of his kingdom;' according to Nand. 'halting' (âsana).

57. Having (first) ascertained the opinion of each (minister) separately and (then the views) of all together, let him do what is (most) beneficial for him in his affairs.

58. But with the most distinguished among them all, a learned Brâhmaṇa, let the king deliberate on the most important affairs which relate to the six measures of royal policy.

59. Let him, full of confidence, always entrust to that (official) all business; having taken his final resolution with him, let him afterwards begin to act.

60. He must also appoint other officials, (men) of integrity, (who are) wise, firm, well able to collect money, and well tried.

61. As many persons as the due performance of his business requires, so many skilful and clever (men), free from sloth, let him appoint.

62. Among them let him employ the brave, the skilful, the high-born, and the honest in (offices for the collection of) revenue, (e.g.) in mines, manufactures, and storehouses, (but) the timid in the interior of his palace.

63. Let him also appoint an ambassador who is versed in all sciences, who understands hints, expressions of the face and gestures, who is honest, skilful, and of (noble) family.

58. Yâgñ. I, 311.

60. Nâr. mentions kulodgatân, 'of noble families,' as a var. lect. for avasthitân, 'firm.'

62. Vi. III, 18, 21. Medh. refers karmânta, literally 'management,' to 'sugar-mills, distilleries, and so forth;' Gov. and Kul'. add 'storehouses of grain;' Nâr. explains it by 'manufactories of ornaments and weapons and so forth.' It is, however, not impossible that the compound âkarakarmânta may mean 'for superintending mines and manufactories.' Âkara has very frequently that double meaning.

64. (Such) an ambassador is commended to a king (who is) loyal, honest, skilful, possessing a good memory, who knows the (proper) place and time (for action, who is) handsome, fearless, and eloquent.

65. The army depends on the official (placed in charge of it), the due control (of the subjects) on the army, the treasury and the (government of) the realm on the king, peace and its opposite (war) on the ambassador.

66. For the ambassador alone makes (kings') allies and separates allies; the ambassador transacts that business by which (kings) are disunited or not.

67. With respect to the affairs let the (ambassador) explore the expression of the countenance, the gestures and actions of the (foreign king) through the gestures and actions of his confidential (advisers), and (discover) his designs among his servants.

68. Having learnt exactly (from his ambassador) the designs of the foreign king, let (the king) take such measures that he does not bring evil on himself.

64. Anuraktaḥ, 'loyal' (Medh., Gov., Râgh.), means according to Kull. 'who is beloved among the people.'

66. Instead of bhidyante yena vâ na vâ, 'by which (kings) are disunited or not' (Kull., Râgh.), Medh., Nand., and K. read bhidyante yena mânavâḥ, and Gov. bhidyante yena bândhavâḥ, 'by which men or relatives are disunited.'

67. Nigûdheṅgitakeshaitaiḥ, 'through the gestures and actions of his confidential (advisers),' (Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. and Gov. 'by his own hidden gestures and actions,' or perhaps 'while suppressing all significant gestures and actions on his own part;' according to Nand. 'through men who hide their own gestures and actions.'

68. Medh., Gov., Nand., and Râgh. take the verse differently. 'Having learnt exactly the designs of the foreign king, (the ambassador) shall take such measures that he does not bring evil on himself (and his master).'

69. Let him settle in a country which is open and has a dry climate, where grain is abundant, which is chiefly (inhabited) by Âryans, not subject to epidemic diseases (or similar troubles), and pleasant, where the vassals are obedient and his own (people easily) find their livelihood.

70. Let him build (there) a town, making for his safety a fortress, protected by a desert, or a fortress built of (stone and) earth, or one protected by water or trees, or one (formed by an encampment of armed) men or a hill-fort.

71. Let him make every effort to secure a hill-fort, for amongst all those (fortresses mentioned) a hill-fort is distinguished by many superior qualities.

72. The first three of those (various kinds of fortresses) are inhabited by wild beasts, animals living in holes and aquatic animals, the last three by monkeys, men, and gods respectively.

73. As enemies do not hurt these (beings, when they are) sheltered by (their) fortresses, even so foes (can)not injure a king who has taken refuge in his fort.

74. One bowman, placed on a rampart, is a match in battle for one hundred (foes), one hundred for ten

69. Vi. III, 4-5; Yâgñ. I, 320. The full definition of *gângala*, 'which is open and has a dry climate,' is, according to a verse quoted by Gov., Râgh., and Kull., 'That country is called *gângala*, which has little water and grass, where strong breezes prevail, the heat is great, where grain and the like are abundant.' Anâvila, 'not subject to epidemic diseases (or similar troubles),' (Kull. and Râgh.), means according to Medh. 'where the people are not quarrelsome;' according to Nâr. and Nand. 'free from defilement such as a mixture of the castes.'

70. Vi. III, 6.

thousand; hence it is prescribed (in the *Sâstras* that a king shall possess) a fortress.

75. Let that (fort) be well supplied with weapons, money, grain and beasts of burden, with *Brâhmaṇas*, with artisans, with engines, with fodder, and with water.

76. Let him cause to be built for himself, in the centre of it, a spacious palace, (well) protected, habitable in every season, resplendent (with white-wash), supplied with water and trees.

77. Inhabiting that, let him wed a consort of equal caste (*varṇa*), who possesses auspicious marks (on her body), and is born in a great family, who is charming and possesses beauty and excellent qualities.

78. Let him appoint a domestic priest (*purohita*) and choose officiating priests (*ṛitvigaḥ*); they shall perform his domestic rites and the (sacrifices) for which three fires are required.

79. A king shall offer various (*Srauta*) sacrifices at which liberal fees (are distributed), and in order

75. *Yantraīḥ*, 'with engines,' i. e. 'with catapults and so forth' (*kshepyâdibhiḥ*, *Nâr.*), or 'made of iron and so forth' (*Râgh.*).

76. *Âp.* II, 25, 2-3. *Sarvartukam*, 'habitable in every season' (*Nâr.*, *Nand.*), means according to *Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, and *Râgh.* 'supplied with the produce of every season.'

78. *Gaut.* XI, 12-18; *Vas.* XIX, 3-6; *Baudh.* I, 18, 7-8; *Vi.* III, 70; *Yâgñ.* I, 312-313. *Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Râgh.*, and *K.* read, as the sense requires, *ṛitvigaḥ*, 'officiating priests,' while *Kull.* alone gives the singular.

79. *Âp.* II, 26, 1; *Vi.* III, 81, 84; *Yâgñ.* I, 314. 'Enjoyments,' i. e. 'garlands, perfumes, unguents, and so forth' (*Medh.*), or 'houses, couches, and so forth' (*Gov.*, *Râgh.*), or 'gold, clothes, &c.' (*Kull.*), or 'wives, houses, clothes, and so forth' (*Nâr.*), or 'cows and buffalos' (*Nand.*).

to acquire merit, he shall give to Brāhmanas enjoyments and wealth.

80. Let him cause the annual revenue in his kingdom to be collected by trusty (officials), let him obey the sacred law in (his transactions with) the people, and behave like a father towards all men.

81. For the various (branches of business) let him appoint intelligent supervisors; they shall inspect all (the acts) of those men who transact his business.

82. Let him honour those Brāhmanas who have returned from their teacher's house (after studying the Veda); for that (money which is given) to Brāhmanas is declared to be an imperishable treasure for kings.

83. Neither thieves nor foes can take it, nor can it be lost; hence an imperishable store must be deposited by kings with Brāhmanas.

84. The offering made through the mouth of a Brāhmaṇa, which is neither spilt, nor falls (on the ground), nor ever perishes, is far more excellent than Agnihotras.

85. A gift to one who is not a Brāhmaṇa (yields) the ordinary (reward; a gift) to one who calls himself a Brāhmaṇa, a double (reward); a gift to a well-

80. Yāgñ. I, 321. 'Let him obey the sacred law in (his transactions with his) people,' i. e. 'let him not take higher taxes and duties than the law permits.'

83. Yāgñ. I, 314.

84. Vas. XXX, 7; Yāgñ. I, 315. Na vyathate, 'nor falls (on the ground),' (Gov., Nâr.), means according to Kull. 'nor is dried up.' Medh. reads *kyavate*, 'falls (on the ground),' and Nâr. prefers that reading. Nand. explains na vyadhate (sic) by 'is not spoilt by hairs or insects falling into it.' Râgh. takes it, like *Krishnapandita* in his comm. on Vas. XXX, 7, in the sense of 'nor causes pain.'

85. Gaut. V, 20; Vi. XCIII, 1-4. Samam phalam, 'the ordinary

read Brāhmaṇa, a hundred-thousandfold (reward); (a gift) to one who knows the Veda and the Aṅgas (Vedapāraṅga, a reward) without end.

86. For according to the particular qualities of the recipient and according to the faith (of the giver) a small or a great reward will be obtained for a gift in the next world.

87. A king who, while he protects his people, is defied by (foes), be they equal in strength, or stronger, or weaker, must not shrink from battle, remembering the duty of Kshatriyas.

88. Not to turn back in battle, to protect the people, to honour the Brāhmaṇas, is the best means for a king to secure happiness.

89. Those kings who, seeking to slay each other in battle, fight with the utmost exertion and do not turn back, go to heaven.

90. When he fights with his foes in battle, let him not strike with weapons concealed (in wood), nor with (such as are) barbed, poisoned, or the points of which are blazing with fire.

91. Let him not strike one who (in flight) has

reward,' i.e. 'just as much as the Veda promises for the object given' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh.). Medh. takes samam in the sense of 'middling,' and Nār. explains it by 'a reward equal to the kindness shown.' Instead of prādhīte, 'to a well-read Brāhmaṇa,' Medh., Gov., Nār., and K. read ātārye, 'to the teacher,' and Nand. srotiye, 'to a Srotiya.' Moreover, Gov., K., and Nand. have sahasra-gunam or sahasraṃ . . . dānam, 'a thousandfold reward.'

87-89. Âp. II, 26, 2; Gaut. X, 16; Baudh. I, 18, 9; Vi. III, 43-45; Yâgñ. I, 322-323.

90. Baudh. I, 18, 10. Kâṭaiḥ, 'concealed (in wood),' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nār., Rāgh.), means according to Nand. 'treacherous.'

91-93. Âp. II, 10, 11; Gaut. X, 18; Baudh. I, 18, 11; Yâgñ. I, 325.

91. Sthalârûdham, 'one who (in flight) has climbed on an eminence' (Nār.), means according to Medh., Kull., and Rāgh. 'one

climbed on an eminence, nor a eunuch, nor one who joins the palms of his hands (in supplication), nor one who (flees) with flying hair, nor one who sits down, nor one who says 'I am thine;'

92. Nor one who sleeps, nor one who has lost his coat of mail, nor one who is naked, nor one who is disarmed, nor one who looks on without taking part in the fight, nor one who is fighting with another (foe);

93. Nor one whose weapons are broken, nor one afflicted (with sorrow), nor one who has been grievously wounded, nor one who is in fear, nor one who has turned to flight; (but in all these cases let him) remember the duty (of honourable warriors).

94. But the (Kshatriya) who is slain in battle, while he turns back in fear, takes upon himself all the sin of his master, whatever (it may be);

95. And whatever merit (a man) who is slain in flight may have gained for the next (world), all that his master takes.

96. Chariots and horses, elephants, parasols, money, grain, cattle, women, all sorts of (marketable) goods and valueless metals belong to him who takes them (singly) conquering (the possessor).

97. A text of the Veda (declares) that (the soldiers) shall present a choice portion (of the booty) to the king; what has not been taken singly, must be distributed by the king among all the soldiers.

who has alighted on the ground,' i. e. 'while the assailant stands on his chariot.'

92. Medh. mentions a var. lect. bhagnam, 'who is broken' (?), for nagnam, 'who is naked.'

94-95. Yâgy. I, 324.

96-97. Gaut. X, 20-23. •

97. According to the commentators the Vedic text alluded to is Aitareya-brâhmaṇa III, 21.

98. Thus has been declared the blameless, primeval law for warriors; from this law a Kshatriya must not depart, when he strikes his foes in battle.

99. Let him strive to gain what he has not yet gained; what he has gained let him carefully preserve; let him augment what he preserves, and what he has augmented let him bestow on worthy men.

100. Let him know that these are the four means for securing the aims of human (existence); let him, without ever tiring, properly employ them.

101. What he has not (yet) gained, let him seek (to gain) by (his) army; what he has gained, let him protect by careful attention; what he has protected, let him augment by (various modes of) increasing it; and what he has augmented, let him liberally bestow (on worthy men).

102. Let him be ever ready to strike, his prowess constantly displayed, and his secrets constantly concealed, and let him constantly explore the weaknesses of his foe.

103. Of him who is always ready to strike, the whole world stands in awe; let him therefore make all creatures subject to himself even by the employment of force.

104. Let him ever act without guile, and on no

99. *Yâgñ.* I, 316; *Vas.* XVI, 6.

101. *Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Râgh.*, *Nand.*, and *K.* read at the end of the verse *pâtreshu nikshipet*, 'let him bestow on worthy recipients,' and this may have been *Kull.*'s reading too.

102. *Nityam udyatadandaḥ syât*, 'let him be always ready to strike' (*Nâr.*, *Nand.*), means according to *Medh.*, *Gov.*, and *Kull.* 'let him keep his army always ready or exercised.'

104. I read with *Gov.*, *Nâr.*, *Nand.*, *Râgh.*, and *K.*, *susamvritaḥ*, 'carefully guarding himself.' *Medh.* reads *atandritaḥ*, 'untired.'

account treacherously; carefully guarding himself, let him always fathom the treachery which his foes employ.

105. His enemy must not know his weaknesses, but he must know the weaknesses of his enemy; as the tortoise (hides its limbs), even so let him secure the members (of his government against treachery), let him protect his own weak points.

106. Let him plan his undertakings (patiently meditating) like a heron; like a lion, let him put forth his strength; like a wolf, let him snatch (his prey); like a hare, let him double in retreat.

107. When he is thus engaged in conquest, let him subdue all the opponents whom he may find, by the (four) expedients, conciliation and the rest.

108. If they cannot be stopped by the three first expedients, then let him, overcoming them by force alone, gradually bring them to subjection.

109. Among the four expedients, conciliation and the rest, the learned always recommend conciliation and (the employment of) force for the prosperity of kingdoms.

110. As the weeder plucks up the weeds and preserves the corn, even so let the king protect his kingdom and destroy his opponents.

111. That king who through folly rashly oppresses his kingdom, (will), together with his relatives, ere long be deprived of his life and of his kingdom.

112. As the lives of living creatures are destroyed by tormenting their bodies, even so the lives of kings are destroyed by their oppressing their kingdoms.

106. The position of the second and fourth clauses is interchanged according to Medh., Gov., Nand.

113. In governing his kingdom let him always observe the (following) rules; for a king who governs his kingdom well, easily prospers.

114. Let him place a company of soldiers, commanded (by a trusty officer), in the midst of two, three, five or hundreds of villages, (to be) a protection of the kingdom.

115. Let him appoint a lord over (each) village, as well as lords of ten villages, lords of twenty, lords of a hundred, and lords of a thousand.

116. The lord of one village himself shall inform the lord of ten villages of the crimes committed in his village, and the ruler of ten (shall make his report) to the ruler of twenty.

117. But the ruler of twenty shall report all such (matters) to the lord of a hundred, and the lord of a hundred shall himself give information to the lord of a thousand.

118. Those (articles) which the villagers ought to furnish daily to the king, such as food, drink, and fuel, the lord of one village shall obtain.

114. Kull. says, 'in the midst of two, three, or five hundred villages.' Nâr. remarks that the plural 'hundreds' is used in order to leave the number doubtful. It is, however, not impossible that here, as elsewhere in ancient Sanskrit, *satânâm* means 'a hundred.' Medh. explains *saṃgraha*, 'protection,' by 'an official,' or 'a royal granary.' Gov. states correctly that the pickets mentioned are the so-called *Sthânakas*, the *Thânâs* of modern India.

115-124. Âp. II, 26, 4-5; Vi. III, 7-15; Yâgyñ. I, 337.

116. The rule refers, as Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh. remark, to offences with which the persons who report them, are unable to deal. Nâr. thinks that chiefly refusals to pay the revenue or disputes on such matters are meant.

118. The lord of one village is apparently the modern *Pâñil*, the *Pañakñla* or *Grâmakñla* of the inscriptions, and the articles to be furnished to him the so-called 'haks.' The other officials correspond

119. The ruler of ten (villages) shall enjoy one kula (as much land as suffices for one family), the ruler of twenty five kulas, the superintendent of a hundred villages (the revenues of) one village, the lord of a thousand (the revenues of) a town.

120. The affairs of these (officials), which are connected with (their) villages and their separate business, another minister of the king shall inspect, (who must be) loyal and never remiss;

121. And in each town let him appoint one superintendent of all affairs, elevated in rank, formidable, (resembling) a planet among the stars.

122. Let that (man) always personally visit by turns all those (other officials); let him properly explore their behaviour in their districts through spies (appointed to) each.

123. For the servants of the king, who are appointed to protect (the people), generally become knaves who seize the property of others; let him protect his subjects against such (men).

124. Let the king confiscate the whole property of

to the modern Naib-sûbâs, Sûbâs, or Mahâlkarîs, Mâmlatdârs, and so forth, and to the Vishayapatis, Râshtrapatis, Râgasthâniyas, &c. of the inscriptions.

119. Kulam, '(as much land as suffices for one) family,' is really a technical term which Medh. explains by *ghanta*, a term known 'in some districts.' Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. state that it is the double of a 'middling plough,' i.e. as much as can be cultivated with twelve oxen, while Nand. interprets it by 'the share of one cultivator.'

120. Nâr. explains *prithakkâryâni*, 'separate affairs,' by 'quarrels among each other;' Nand. by 'the separate affairs of the villagers.' Snigdha, 'loyal' (Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. 'impartial.'

121. Graham, 'a planet' (Kull., Râgh.), or 'the planet Mars' (Medh.), or 'the sun' (Gov.), or 'the moon' (Nâr.).

those (officials) who, evil-minded, may take money from suitors, and banish them.

125. For women employed in the royal service and for menial servants, let him fix a daily maintenance, in proportion to their position and to their work.

126. One *pana* must be given (daily) as wages to the lowest, six to the highest, likewise clothing every six months and one *drona* of grain every month.

127. Having well considered (the rates of) purchase and (of) sale, (the length of) the road, (the expense for) food and condiments, the charges of securing the goods, let the king make the traders pay duty.

128. After (due) consideration the king shall always fix in his realm the duties and taxes in such a manner that both he himself and the man who does the work receive (their due) reward.

129. As the leech, the calf, and the bee take their food little by little, even so must the king draw from his realm moderate annual taxes.

130. A fiftieth part of (the increments on) cattle

126. 'One *pana*;' see below, VIII, 136. 'A *drona*,' i.e. 'four *âdhakas*' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.), or '512 *palas*' (Gov.); see below, VIII, 135. Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. state that the highest servants shall receive six times as much grain and clothes as the lowest, and they add that the middle-class servants, of course, receive three times as much as the lowest.

127. 'The food and condiments,' i.e. 'what is consumed by the people employed by the merchants.' According to Kull. and Nâr., *yoga* means 'the net profits,' and *kshema* 'the charges for securing the goods against robbers and so forth.' According to Medh., Gov., and Râgh., the whole compound denotes the latter charges alone.

130-132. Âp. II, 26, 9; Gaut. X, 24-27; Vas. XIX, 26-27; Baudh. I, 18, 1, 13, 15; Vi. III, 22-25, 29-30.

and gold may be taken by the king, and the eighth, sixth, or twelfth part of the crops.

131. He may also take the sixth part of trees, meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, (medical) herbs, substances used for flavouring food, flowers, roots, and fruit ;

132. Of leaves, pot-herbs, grass, (objects) made of cane, skins, of earthen vessels, and all (articles) made of stone.

133. Though dying (with want), a king must not levy a tax on Srotriyas, and no Srotriya, residing in his kingdom, must perish from hunger.

134. The kingdom of that king, in whose dominions a Srotriya pines with hunger, will even, ere long, be afflicted by famine.

135. Having ascertained his learning in the Veda and (the purity of) his conduct, the king shall provide for him means of subsistence in accordance with the sacred law, and shall protect him in every way, as a father (protects) the lawful son of his body.

136. Whatever meritorious acts (such a Brâhmana) performs under the full protection of the king, thereby the king's length of life, wealth, and kingdom increase.

137. Let the king make the common inhabitants of his realm who live by traffic, pay annually some trifle, which is called a tax.

132. Medh. and Kull. add 'from the profits (made on the seventeen articles enumerated).'

133. Âp. II, 26, 10 ; 25, 11 ; Gaut. X, 9 ; Vas. XIX, 23 ; Vi. III, 26, 79.

135-136. Yâgñ. III, 44.

137. *Prithaggaṇam*, 'the common inhabitants,' i.e. small dealers in vegetables, leaves, and so forth (Kull., Râgh.), or in cakes (Gov.).

138. Mechanics and artisans, as well as *Sûdras* who subsist by manual labour, he may cause to work (for himself) one (day) in each month.

139. Let him not cut up his own root (by levying no taxes), nor the root of other (men) by excessive greed; for by cutting up his own root (or theirs), he makes himself or them wretched.

140. Let the king, having carefully considered (each) affair, be both sharp and gentle; for a king who is both sharp and gentle is highly respected.

141. When he is tired with the inspection of the business of men, let him place on that seat (of justice) his chief minister, (who must be) acquainted with the law, wise, self-controlled, and descended from a (noble) family.

142. Having thus arranged all the affairs (of) his (government), he shall zealously and carefully protect his subjects.

143. That (monarch) whose subjects are carried off by robbers (*Dasyu*) from his kingdom, while they loudly call (for help), and he and his servants are (quietly) looking on, is a dead and not a living (king).

144. The highest duty of a *Kshatriya* is to protect his subjects, for the king who enjoys the rewards, just mentioned, is bound to (discharge that) duty.

145. Having risen in the last watch of the night, having performed (the rite of) personal purification,

138. Gaut. X, 31; Vas. XIX, 28; Vi. III, 32.

141. Vi. III, 73-74; *Yâgñ.* II, 1-3. Medh. reads *sântam*, 'of a tranquil disposition,' for *prâgñam*, 'wise.'

142-144. *Âp.* II, 10, 6; Gaut. X, 7-8; Vas. XIX, 1; Baudh. I, 18, 1; Vi. III, 1; *Yâgñ.* I, 334-335.

having, with a collected mind, offered oblations in the fire, and having worshipped Bráhmaṇas, he shall enter the hall of audience which must possess the marks (considered) auspicious (for a dwelling).

146. Tarrying there, he shall gratify all subjects (who come to see him by a kind reception) and afterwards dismiss them; having dismissed his subjects, he shall take counsel with his ministers.

147. Ascending the back of a hill or a terrace, (and) retiring (there) in a lonely place, or in a solitary forest, let him consult with them unobserved.

148. That king whose secret plans other people, (though) assembled (for the purpose), do not discover, (will) enjoy the whole earth, though he be poor in treasure.

149. At the time of consultation let him cause to be removed idiots, the dumb, the blind, and the deaf, animals, very aged men, women, barbarians, the sick, and those deficient in limbs.

150. (Such) despicable (persons), likewise animals, and particularly women betray secret council; for that reason he must be careful with respect to them.

151. At midday or at midnight, when his mental and bodily fatigues are over, let him deliberate, either with himself alone or with his (ministers), on virtue, pleasure, and wealth,

152. On (reconciling) the attainment of these

147-148. Yâgñ. I, 343.

147. Niśśalâke, 'solitary' (Nâr., Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh., Gov., and Nand. 'free from grass and so forth.'

149. 'Animals,' i.e. 'parrots, starlings, and other talking birds' (Kull., Gov., Râgh., Nand.), 'for such creatures divulge secret plans' (Medh.).

(aims) which are opposed to each other, on bestowing his daughters in marriage, and on keeping his sons (from harm),

153. On sending ambassadors, on the completion of undertakings (already begun), on the behaviour of (the women in) his harem, and on the doings of his spies.

154. On the whole eightfold business and the five classes (of spies), on the goodwill or enmity and the conduct of the circle (of neighbours he must) carefully (reflect).

155. On the conduct of the middlemost (prince), on the doings of him who seeks conquest, on the behaviour of the neutral (king), and (on that) of the foe (let him) sedulously (meditate).

154. 'The eightfold business' consists according to Medh. either of 'conciliation, division, employment of force, gifts,' or 'of agriculture, trade, building bridges and embankments, building fortresses or repairing them, catching elephants, digging mines, settling desert districts, cutting down forests,' or 'of collecting revenue, expenditure, dismissing bad servants, prohibiting bad conduct on the part of the castes and orders, deciding difficult points in one's own affairs, deciding legal cases, punishing, and imposing penances.' The second explanation, which is said to belong to Antaka (Yama), is adopted by Nand.; the third, which is taken from the *Nītisāstra* of Uśanas, by Gov., Kull., Nār., and Rāgh. 'The five classes (of spies),' i. e. 'kārpaṭika, a pilgrim or a rogue, an ascetic who has violated his vows, a distressed agriculturist, a decayed merchant, and a fictitious devotee' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.). Nār. and Nand. explain *pañṭavarga* by 'the collection of the five (requisites for an undertaking).' Regarding 'the circle,' see the following verses.

155-159. Vi. III, 38; *Yāgñ.* I, 344.

155. 'The middlemost prince' is he whose territory lies between that of the king seeking conquest and that of his foe, and who, though unable to resist both, may become dangerous to them when they are at war with each other; see *Kāmandaki*, *Nītisāra* VIII, 18, which passage the commentators quote. 'The foe' may be of three

156. These (four) constituents (*prakṛiti*, form), briefly (speaking), the foundation of the circle (of neighbours); besides, eight others are enumerated (in the Institutes of Polity) and (thus) the (total) is declared to be twelve.

157. The minister, the kingdom, the fortress, the treasury, and the army are five other (constituent elements of the circle); for, these are mentioned in connexion with each (of the first twelve; thus the whole circle consists), briefly (speaking, of) seventy-two (constituent parts).

158. Let (the king) consider as hostile his immediate neighbour and the partisan of (such a) foe, as friendly the immediate neighbour of his foe, and as neutral (the king) beyond those two.

159. Let him overcome all of them by means of the (four) expedients, conciliation and the rest, (employed) either singly or conjointly, (or) by bravery and policy (alone).

160. Let him constantly think of the six measures of royal policy (*guṇa*, viz.) alliance, war, marching, halting, dividing the army, and seeking protection.

161. Having carefully considered the business (in hand), let him resort to sitting quiet or marching,

kinds, 'natural,' 'artificial' (i. e. one who has a particular reason for his enmity), and 'an immediate neighbour' (see below, verse 158).

156. 'The eight other constituents' are according to Kāmandaki VIII, 16-17, (a) in front beyond the foe's territory, 1. a friend, 2. the foe's friend, 3. the friend's friend, 4. the foe's friend's friend; (b) in the rear, 1. he who attacks in the rear (*pārshnigrāha*), 2. he who restrains the latter (*ākṛanda*), 3, 4. the supporters of these two. All the commentators except Medh. quote Kāmandaki more or less correctly. Kāmandaki VIII, 24 states that this doctrine, with respect to the constituent parts of the system of states which requires the attention of each king, is peculiar to the Mānavas.

160-161. Vi. III, 39; Yāgñ. I, 345-346.

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alliance or war, dividing his forces or seeking protection (as the case may require).

162. But the king must know that there are two kinds of alliances and of wars, (likewise two) of both marching and sitting quiet, and two (occasions for) seeking protection.

163. An alliance which yields present and future advantages, one must know to be of two descriptions, (viz.) that when one marches together (with an ally) and the contrary (when the allies act separately).

164. War is declared to be of two kinds, (viz.) that which is undertaken in season or out of season, by oneself and for one's own purposes, and (that waged to avenge) an injury done to a friend.

165. Marching (to attack) is said to be twofold, (viz. that undertaken) by one alone when an urgent matter has suddenly arisen, and (that undertaken) by one allied with a friend.

163. Medh. proposes besides the explanation given above another, 'An alliance one must know to be of two kinds, (viz.) that where (the allies) share the danger and the fruits of the expedition and the contrary' (yânaphalasahitau *gakkhâvaḥ* samânaphalabhâgitayâ na ka tvayâham uttambhanîyo yatnato lipsite tatas tava bhâgo bhavishyati). Nâr. thinks that the adjective tadâtvyâtisamyuktaḥ, too, refers to two different cases, and means 'which yields either immediate or future advantages.' Nand. adopts the latter view as well as Medh.'s second explanation of the first part of the verse.

164. Regarding the expression 'in season,' see below, verse 182. Medh. takes 'out of season' with the second clause, 'and (that waged) out of season (in order to avenge) an injury done to a friend.' He also mentions a var. lect. mitrenâpakrîte (which Gov. has adopted), with the following explanation, 'and that waged out of season when the enemy has been weakened by an ally.' Gov. agrees with this latter view except that he takes akâle with the first clause. The other commentators give the explanation adopted in the translation.

166. Sitting quiet is stated to be of two kinds, (viz. that incumbent) on one who has gradually been weakened by fate or in consequence of former acts, and (that) in favour of a friend.

167. If the army stops (in one place) and its master (in another) in order to effect some purpose, that is called by those acquainted with the virtues of the measures of royal policy, the twofold division of the forces.

168. Seeking refuge is declared to be of two kinds, (first) for the purpose of attaining an advantage when one is harassed by enemies, (secondly) in order to become known among the virtuous (as the protégé of a powerful king).

169. When (the king) knows (that) at some future time his superiority (is) certain, and (that) at the time present (he will suffer) little injury, then let him have recourse to peaceful measures.

170. But when he thinks all his subjects to be

166. *Pûrvakṛitena*, 'in consequence of former acts,' i.e. 'in consequence of acts committed in a former existence, or in consequence of former imprudence' (Medh., Gov., Kull.). Nand. and Râgh. give only the second explanation; Nâr. says 'by an enemy whom he formerly made.'

167. The text really mentions only one method of 'division.' Hence Medh. thinks that, in order to obtain the two kinds required, it must be understood that the measure may be resorted to either for one's own sake or for the sake of somebody else. Nâr. makes the two methods out by supposing that in the one case the army stops in front of the enemy under the command of a general, while the king marches with a portion of his forces, and that in the other case the contrary takes place. Gov., after giving the explanation adopted in the translation, quotes Kâmandaki, Nitisâra XI, 24, where a different meaning, 'duplicity,' is attributed to the term *dvaidhîbhâva*. Nand.'s whole explanation consists of this quotation.

170. I read with all the commentators and K., *prahrishâ* instead of *prakṛishâ* (editions).

exceedingly contented, and (that he) himself (is) most exalted (in power), then let him make war.

171. When he knows his own army to be cheerful in disposition and strong, and (that) of his enemy the reverse, then let him march against his foe.

172. But if he is very weak in chariots and beasts of burden and in troops, then let him carefully sit quiet, gradually conciliating his foes.

173. When the king knows the enemy to be stronger in every respect, then let him divide his army and thus achieve his purpose.

174. But when he is very easily assailable by the forces of the enemy, then let him quickly seek refuge with a righteous, powerful king.

175. That (prince) who will coerce both his (disloyal) subjects and the army of the foe, let him ever serve with every effort like a Guru.

176. When, even in that (condition), he sees (that) evil is caused by (such) protection, let him without hesitation have recourse to war.

177. By all (the four) expedients a politic prince must arrange (matters so) that neither friends, nor neutrals, nor foes are superior to himself.

178. Let him fully consider the future and the immediate results of all undertakings, and the good and bad sides of all past (actions).

179. He who knows the good and the evil (which will result from his acts) in the future, is quick in forming resolutions for the present, and understands the consequences of past (actions), will not be conquered.

176. I read with Gov. and K. *sa yuddham* instead of *suyuddham* (Medh., Kull., Râgh., Nand.), 'let him fight bravely.'

180. Let him arrange everything in such a manner that no ally, no neutral or foe may injure him; that is the sum of political wisdom.

181. But if the king undertakes an expedition against a hostile kingdom, then let him gradually advance, in the following manner, against his foe's capital.

182. Let the king undertake his march in the fine month *Mārgaśīrsha*, or towards the months of *Phālguna* and *Kāitra*, according to the (condition of his) army.

183. Even at other times, when he has a certain prospect of victory, or when a disaster has befallen his foe, he may advance to attack him.

184. But having duly arranged (all affairs) in his original (kingdom) and what relates to the expedition, having secured a basis (for his operations) and having duly dispatched his spies;

185. Having cleared the three kinds of roads, and (having made) his sixfold army (efficient), let him leisurely proceed in the manner prescribed for warfare against the enemy's capital.

182. Vi. III, 40; *Yāgñ.* I, 347. 'Fine,' i. e. 'when fodder and grain are abundant and the roads dry' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh.). *Mārgaśīrsha*, i. e. November–December; *Phālguna*, i. e. February–March; *Kāitra*, i. e. March–April.

184. 'Having secured a basis (for his operations),' i. e. 'having won over the servants of his foe who may be at enmity with their master' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.), or 'having established a camp in the country which he intends to attack' (Nār.).

185. 'The three kinds of roads,' i. e. 'through the open country, through marshy ground or such as is cut by watercourses, and through forests' (*gāṅgalānūpāṭavika*), (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh., Nand.). Nār. gives the same explanation, but adds that the proper interpretation is 'through villages, forests, and hills.' 'The sixfold army,' i. e. consisting of 'elephants, horses, chariots, infantry, the

186. Let him be very much on his guard against a friend who secretly serves the enemy and against (deserters) who return (from the enemy's camp); for such (men are) the most dangerous foes.

187. Let him march on his road, arraying (his troops) like a staff (i.e. in an oblong), or like a waggon (i.e. in a wedge), or like a boar (i.e. in a rhombus), or like a Makara (i.e. in two triangles, with the apices joined), or like a pin (i.e. in a long line), or like a Garuḍa (i.e. in a rhomboid with far-extended wings).

188. From whatever (side) he apprehends danger, in that (direction) let him extend his troops, and let him always himself encamp in an array, shaped like a lotus.

189. Let him allot to the commander-in-chief, to the (subordinate) general, (and to the superior officers) places in all directions, and let him turn his front in that direction whence he fears danger.

general, and workmen' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.). Medh. adds that some name as the fifth component 'the treasury,' and that others explain the term by 'the sixfold division, mentioned by Kâmandi,' Nītisâra XVI, 6. The latter view is adopted by Nand. Nâr. enumerates besides elephants, horses, chariots, and infantry, the riders on elephants and sâstropāyâkas (?).

187. The details regarding the various ways of arranging the troops are found in the Kâmandaki, Nītisâra XIX.

188. My translation of the last clause follows Gov., Nâr., and Râgh. Medh. says that the king shall leave the town with his army in the lotus-array, and Kull. speaks of a 'feigned encampment' (kapañanivesanam kuryât). The lotus-array is stated to be 'equally extended on all sides and perfectly circular, the centre being occupied by the king.'

189. Medh. remarks that, as the subordinate general and the commander-in-chief are only two persons, they cannot possibly be stationed 'in all directions,' as the text prescribes, and that hence their servants (i.e. the superior officers) must also be intended.

190. On all sides let him place troops of soldiers, on whom he can rely, with whom signals have been arranged, who are expert both in sustaining a charge and in charging, fearless and loyal.

191. Let him make a small number of soldiers fight in close order, at his pleasure let him extend a large number in loose ranks; or let him make them fight, arranging (a small number) in the needle-array, (and a large number) in the thunderbolt-array.

192. On even ground let him fight with chariots and horses, in water-bound places with boats and elephants, on (ground) covered with trees and shrubs with bows, on hilly ground with swords, targets, (and other) weapons.

193. (Men born in) Kurukshetra, Matsyas, Pañ-
~~āl~~ālas, and those born in Sūrasena, let him cause to fight in the van of the battle, as well as (others who are) tall and light.

194. After arranging his troops, he should encourage them (by an address) and carefully inspect them; he should also mark the behaviour (of the soldiers) when they engage the enemy.

195. When he has shut up his foe (in a town), let him sit encamped, harass his kingdom, and continually spoil his grass, food, fuel, and water.

190. Nār. explains *gulgman*, 'troops of soldiers,' by *gulgma*-*rasthān*, '(soldiers) standing in thickets' (?).

192. *Sthale*, 'on hilly ground' (*nimnonnate*, *Rāgh.*), means according to *Medh.*, *Gov.*, and *Kull.* 'on ground free from stones, trees, creepers, thorns, pits, and the like.'

193. *Kurukshetra*, i. e. the neighbourhood of Delhi; *Matsyas*, i. e. the inhabitants of *Bairāṭa* or *Vairāṭa*, north of *Jepur* (*Bhogapure*, *Medh.*); *Pañālālas*, i. e. the inhabitants of *Kānyakubga* (*Kanog*); *Sūrasenas*, i. e. the inhabitants of the country near *Mathurā* (*Ahiṭātra*, *Gov.*).

196. Likewise let him destroy the tanks, ramparts, and ditches, and let him assail the (foe unawares) and alarm him at night.

197. Let him instigate to rebellion those who are open to such instigations, let him be informed of his (foe's) doings, and, when fate is propitious, let him fight without fear, trying to conquer.

198. He should (however) try to conquer his foes by conciliation, by (well-applied) gifts, and by creating dissension, used either separately or conjointly, never by fighting, (if it can be avoided.)

199. For when two (princes) fight, victory and defeat in the battle are, as experience teaches, uncertain; let him therefore avoid an engagement.

200. (But) if even those three before-mentioned expedients fail, then let him, duly exerting himself, fight in such a manner that he may completely conquer his enemies.

201. When he has gained victory, let him duly worship the gods and honour righteous Brâhmanas, let him grant exemptions, and let him cause promises of safety to be proclaimed.

201-205. Vi. III, 47-49; Yâgñ. I, 342, 348-351.

201. 'The gods,' i.e. of the conquered country. Parihârân, 'exemptions,' i.e. 'from taxes and dues for a year or two' (Medh., Nand.), means according to Gov. 'gifts to Srotriyas and others' (srotriyâdigatâvasyadâneshu mayaitad anugñâtam ity evam); according to Kull. 'gifts to gods and Brâhmanas;' according to Nâr. 'Agrahâras or villages presented to Brâhmanas;' according to Râgh. 'gifts of clothes and ornaments to the inhabitants.' The term parihâra occurs very frequently in the inscriptions (see e.g. Arch. Reports of Western India, vol. iv, p. 104 seq.), and means, as the details adduced there show, 'exemption from taxes and payments as well as other immunities.' These parihâras were regularly attached to all grants to Brâhmanas or temples. In our passage a general temporary remission of the taxes is probably intended.

202. But having fully ascertained the wishes of all the (conquered), let him place there a relative of the (vanquished ruler on the throne), and let him impose his conditions.

203. Let him make authoritative the lawful (customs) of the (inhabitants), just as they are stated (to be), and let him honour the (new king) and his chief servants with precious gifts.

204. The seizure of desirable property which causes displeasure, and its distribution which causes pleasure, are both recommendable, (if they are) resorted to at the proper time.

205. All undertakings (in) this (world) depend both on the ordering of fate and on human exertion ; but among these two (the ways of) fate are unfathomable ; in the case of man's work action is possible.

206. Or (the king, bent on conquest), considering a friend, gold, and land (to be) the triple result (of an expedition), may, using diligent care, make peace with (his foe) and return (to his realm).

207. Having paid due attention to any king in the circle (of neighbouring states) who might attack him in the rear, and to his supporter who opposes

205. *Yâgñ. I, 348.* 'Action,' i. e. 'careful investigation,' hence one should strive to attain one's ends by exertion (Gov., Kull.), or 'remedial action' (*pratikriyâ, Nâr.*), or 'an effort' (*purushakâra, Râgh.*). Nand. takes the last clause differently, 'if there is a human effort, the action of fate takes place' (*mânushe purushakâre sati daivasya kriyâ vidyate*).

206. According to Gov., Kull., and Nâr. the meaning is that, if the foe is willing to make an alliance, to pay tribute, and to cede some territory, the king, bent on conquest, may also make peace with him without actually fighting and return home. In the MSS. of Medh. this and the next verses down to verse 211 are wanting, and the commentary on verse 211 is partly given.

207. The meaning of the verse is according to Gov., Kull., and

the latter, let (the conqueror) secure the fruit of the expedition from (the prince whom he attacks), whether (he may have become) friendly or (remained) hostile.

208. By gaining gold and land a king grows not so much in strength as by obtaining a firm friend, (who), though weak, (may become) powerful in the future.

209. A weak friend (even) is greatly commended, who is righteous (and) grateful, whose people are contented, who is attached and persevering in his undertakings.

210. The wise declare him (to be) a most dangerous foe, who is wise, of noble race, brave, clever, liberal, grateful, and firm.

211. Behaviour worthy of an Âryan, knowledge of men, bravery, a compassionate disposition, and great liberality are the virtues of a neutral (who may be courted).

212. Let the king, without hesitation, quit for his own sake even a country (which is) salubrious, fertile, and causing an increase of cattle.

Râgh. that the king, bent on conquest, shall secure his back before he undertakes an expedition. The prince immediately in his rear, who in the terms of the Nîti is called the *pârshnigrâha*, 'the heel-catcher,' may be supposed to be hostile to him and may be expected to invade his territory during his absence. It is, therefore, essential for the conqueror either to settle matters with him beforehand, or to secure the support of the next neighbour of the *pârshnigrâha*, who is technically called the *âkranda* and may be supposed to be inclined to check the *pârshnigrâha*.

208. *Yâgñ.* I, 351.

211. *Sthaulalakshyam*, 'great liberality' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.), is explained, as Kull. asserts, by Medh. and Gov. 'being not sharp-sighted.' The Government copy of Gov. has, however, just the contrary, *sûkshmadarsitvam*. Medh.'s explanation is not decipherable.

213. For times of need let him preserve his wealth; at the expense of his wealth let him preserve his wife; let him at all events preserve himself even by (giving up) his wife and his wealth.

214. A wise (king), seeing that all kinds of misfortunes violently assail him at the same time, should try all (the four) expedients, be it together or separately, (in order to save himself.)

215. On the person who employs the expedients, on the business to be accomplished, and on all the expedients collectively, on these three let him ponder and strive to accomplish his ends.

216. Having thus consulted with his ministers on all these (matters), having taken exercise, and having bathed afterwards, the king may enter the harem at midday in order to dine.

217. There he may eat food, (which has been prepared) by faithful, incorruptible (servants) who know the (proper) time (for dining), which has been well examined (and hallowed) by sacred texts that destroy poison.

218. Let him mix all his food with medicines (that are) antidotes against poison, and let him always be careful to wear gems which destroy poison.

215. 'The person who employs the expedients,' i.e. 'himself' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.); 'his minister or the like' (Nand.). Âsritya, 'let him ponder on' (manasâ balâbalâdîdvârâ nîskitya, Nâr., Râgh.), means according to Medh., Gov., Kull. 'let him depend on.'

217-220. Vi. III, 85, 87-88; Yâgñ. I, 326.

218. Medh., Gov., Nâr., and Nand. read negayet, and Râgh. so-dhayet, 'let him purify,' instead of yogayet (Kull., K.), 'let him mix.' Nâr. explains niyataḥ (Medh., Nâr., Râgh.) or prayataḥ, 'careful' (yatnavân, Gov., Kull., Râgh.), by 'being pure.'

219. Well-trying females whose toilet and ornaments have been examined, shall attentively serve him with fans, water, and perfumes.

220. In like manner let him be careful about his carriages, bed, seat, bath, toilet, and all his ornaments.

221. When he has dined, he may divert himself with his wives in the harem; but when he has diverted himself, he must, in due time, again think of the affairs of state.

222. Adorned (with his robes of state), let him again inspect his fighting men, all his chariots and beasts of burden, the weapons and accoutrements.

223. Having performed his twilight-devotions, let him, well armed, hear in an inner apartment the doings of those who make secret reports and of his spies.

224. But going to another secret apartment and dismissing those people, he may enter the harem, surrounded by female (servants), in order to dine again.

225. Having eaten there something for the second time, and having been recreated by the sound of music, let him go to rest and rise at the proper time free from fatigue.

226. A king who is in good health must observe these rules; but, if he is indisposed, he may entrust all this (business) to his servants.

223. Yâgñ. I, 329. 'Of those who make secret reports,' i. e. 'of the ministers and the rest' (Nâr.), or 'of citizens who may have come' (Medh.).

225. Yâgñ. I, 330. 'Something,' i. e. 'not too much.'

CHAPTER VIII.

1. A king, desirous of investigating law cases, must enter his court of justice, preserving a dignified demeanour, together with Brâhmaṇas and with experienced councillors.

2. There, either seated or standing, raising his right arm, without ostentation in his dress and ornaments, let him examine the business of suitors,

3. Daily (deciding) one after another (all cases) which fall under the eighteen titles (of the law) according to principles drawn from local usages and from the Institutes of the sacred law.

4. Of those (titles) the first is the non-payment of debts, (then follow), (2) deposit and pledge, (3) sale without ownership, (4) concerns among partners, and (5) resumption of gifts,

5. (6) Non-payment of wages, (7) non-performance of agreements, (8) rescission of sale and purchase, (9) disputes between the owner (of cattle) and his servants,

6. (10) Disputes regarding boundaries, (11) assault and (12) defamation, (13) theft, (14) robbery and violence, (15) adultery,

VIII. 1. Vi. III, 72; Yâgñ. I, 359; II, 1; Gaut. XIII, 26; Vas. XVI, 2.

2. 'Standing,' i.e. 'in important cases' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.). 'Raising his right arm,' i.e. 'keeping it uncovered' (Nâr., Nand., Râgh., Gov.). Regarding the meaning of the action, see above, IV, 58.

3. Gaut. XI, 19-24; Vas. XVI, 4-5. 'Local usages,' i.e. 'the law of custom which is not opposed to the Sâstras' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.).

4. 'Non-payment of debts' (*rinasya adânam*, Nâr., Nand.) may also be translated 'recovery of debts' (*rinasya âdânam*).

7. (16) Duties of man and wife, (17) partition (of inheritance), (18) gambling and betting; these are in this world the eighteen topics which give rise to lawsuits.

8. Depending on the eternal law, let him decide the suits of men who mostly contend on the titles just mentioned.

9. But if the king does not personally investigate the suits, then let him appoint a learned Brāhmaṇa to try them.

10. That (man) shall enter that most excellent court, accompanied by three assessors, and fully consider (all) causes (brought) before the (king), either sitting down or standing.

11. Where three Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas and the learned (judge) appointed by the king sit down, they call that the court of (four-faced) Brahman.

12. But where justice, wounded by injustice, approaches and the judges do not extract the dart, there (they also) are wounded (by that dart of injustice).

13. Either the court must not be entered, or the truth must be spoken; a man who either says nothing or speaks falsely, becomes sinful.

7. Vyavahârasthitau, 'which give rise to lawsuits' (Gov.), means according to Nâr. 'in deciding lawsuits.'

8. The word 'mostly' is intended to show that there are other titles besides, as Nârada declared (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). Nand. omits this verse.

9. Vi. III, 73; Yâgyñ. II, 3; Gaut. XIII, 26; Vas. XVI, 2.

10. Medh. says 'by (at least) three assessors.'

13. 'Must not be entered,' i.e. 'for the purpose of deciding causes' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). But the further details show that the verse is intended as a general maxim, applicable to witnesses also.

14. Where justice is destroyed by injustice, or truth by falsehood, while the judges look on, there they shall also be destroyed.

15. 'Justice, being violated, destroys; justice, being preserved, preserves: therefore justice must not be violated, lest violated justice destroy us.'

16. For divine justice (is said to be) a bull (*vrisha*); that (man) who violates it (*kurute 'lam*) the gods consider to be (a man despicable like) a *Sûdra* (*vrishala*); let him, therefore, beware of violating justice.

17. The only friend who follows men even after death is justice; for everything else is lost at the same time when the body (perishes).

18. One quarter of (the guilt of) an unjust (decision) falls on him who committed (the crime), one quarter on the (false) witness, one quarter on all the judges, one quarter on the king.

19. But where he who is worthy of condemnation is condemned, the king is free from guilt, and the judges are saved (from sin); the guilt falls on the perpetrator (of the crime alone).

20. A *Brâhmana* who subsists only by the name of his caste (*gâti*), or one who merely calls himself a *Brâhmana* (though his origin be uncertain), may, at the king's pleasure, interpret the law to him, but never a *Sûdra*.

15. This admonition must be addressed by the assessors to a judge who acts against the law (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). Nand. reads *vañ*, 'you,' instead of *nañ*, 'us.'

18. Gaut. XIII, 11; Baudh. I, 19, 8. *Sabhâsadañ*, 'the judges,' means according to Gov. 'all those in court who look on.' The judge and his assessors are, however, the persons really intended.

20. 'One who subsists only by the name of his caste,' i.e. 'a man of *Brâhmana* descent, who neither studies nor performs any other

21. The kingdom of that monarch, who looks on while a Sûdra settles the law, will sink (low), like a cow in a morass.

22. That kingdom where Sûdras are very numerous, which is infested by atheists and destitute of twice-born (inhabitants), soon entirely perishes, afflicted by famine and disease.

23. Having occupied the seat of justice, having covered his body, and having worshipped the guardian deities of the world, let him, with a collected mind, begin the trial of causes.

24. Knowing what is expedient or inexpedient, what is pure justice or injustice, let him examine the causes of suitors according to the order of the castes (*varṇa*).

act required by the sacred law' (Kull., Râgh.), or 'one who has not been initiated' (Nâr.). *Brâhmaṇabruvāṣi*, 'one who merely calls himself a Brâhmaṇa (though his origin be doubtful,' Kull., Râgh.), means according to Nâr. 'an initiated Brâhmaṇa who does not study the Veda.' Medh. and Gov. take the two terms as referring to one person only, 'Even a despicable Brâhmaṇa, who subsists merely by the name of his race,' i. e. neither studies the Veda, nor performs the rites, &c. The commentators point out that, as the employment of a Sûdra is emphatically forbidden, Kshatriyas and Vairyas may be employed in cases of necessity.

22. *Sûdrabhūyishāṁ*, 'where Sûdras are very numerous' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. 'where Sûdras mostly decide the law-cases,' according to Nand. 'where Sûdras are mostly employed in high offices.' Nâr. adds that each of the blemishes enumerated is sufficient to cause destruction.

24. Medh. and Râgh. give another optional explanation of the participial clause, 'Understanding that pure justice secures advantages and mere injustice disadvantages.' According to Kull. it means 'Knowing what is expedient and what inexpedient, but paying attention to justice and injustice alone.' Nâr. and Nand. give still more unacceptable interpretations. Gov., who considers the explanation adopted above the only correct one, explains 'what is expedient' by 'what will please the people,' and 'what is inex-

25. By external signs let him discover the internal disposition of men, by their voice, their colour, their motions, their aspect, their eyes, and their gestures.

26. The internal (working of the) mind is perceived through the aspect, the motions, the gait, the gestures, the speech, and the changes in the eye and of the face.

27. The king shall protect the inherited (and other) property of a minor, until he has returned (from his teacher's house) or until he has passed his minority.

28. In like manner care must be taken of barren women, of those who have no sons, of those whose family is extinct, of wives and widows faithful to their lords, and of women afflicted with diseases.

pedient' by 'what will make them angry;' Kull. and Râgh. by 'what will protect the people' and 'what will destroy them.'

25-26. Yâgyñ. II, 15.

25. Gov. omits *svara*, 'voice,' and writes *mukha*, 'by the colour of the face.' *Îṅgita*, 'motions,' i. e. 'trembling, horripilation, &c.' (Medh., Gov., Râgh.), or 'looking down, &c.' (Kull.), or 'unintentionally moving the arms, &c.' (Nâr.). *Âkâra*, 'aspect,' i. e. 'pallor, &c.' (Gov.), or 'sweating, horripilation, &c.' (Kull., Nâr.). Medh. and Râgh. take *âkâra* to mean 'the manner' of the voice, &c., not as a separate class of signs. *Keshhita*, 'gestures,' i. e. 'moving, wringing the hands, &c.' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'intentional movements' (Nâr.).

27-29. Gaut. X, 48; Vas. XVI, 8; Vi. III, 65.

27. 'The minority ends with the sixteenth year' (Kull., Nâr.); see Nârada III, 37. The second term is intended to provide for the case of those who finish their Veda-study before the sixteenth year (Medh., Kull.), or of *Sûdras* (Medh.).

28. 'Those whose family is extinct,' i. e. 'maidens in that condition' (Gov.), or 'those who have quitted their families and become harlots' (Medh. 'others'). 'Wives faithful to their lords,' i. e. 'those whose husbands are absent' (Gov., Râgh.). The conditions

29. A righteous king must punish like thieves those relatives who appropriate the property of such females during their lifetime.

30. Property, the owner of which has disappeared, the king shall cause to be kept as a deposit during three years; within the period of three years the owner may claim it, after (that term) the king may take it.

31. He who says, 'This belongs to me,' must be examined according to the rule; if he accurately describes the shape, and the number (of the articles found) and so forth, (he is) the owner, (and) ought (to receive) that property.

32. But if he does not really know the time and the place (where it was) lost, its colour, shape, and size, he is worthy of a fine equal (in value) to the (object claimed).

33. Now the king, remembering the duty of good men, may take one-sixth part of property lost and afterwards found, or one-tenth, or at least one-twelfth.

of the king's protection are in every case that the relatives are either dead or unable to provide for the females or try to oppress them.

30-34. Âp. II, 28, 7-9; Gaut. X, 36-38; Vas. XVI, 20; Yâgñ. II, 33.

30. 'Property the owner of which has disappeared' means according to the commentators, 'property, found by the royal servants (in a forest or elsewhere, Medh.), the owner of which is not known.' Such property shall be proclaimed by beat of drum (Gov., Kull.). 'Others,' quoted by Medh., think that after three years the king may use it as his own, but has still to restore it, if the owner appears. Nand. points out that the rule does not refer to Brâhmanical property (see Gaut. loc. cit.).

33. The amount to be taken by the king depends according to Medh. on the length of time for which it has been kept (so also

34. Property lost and afterwards found (by the king's servants) shall remain in the keeping of (special) officials; those whom the king may convict of stealing it, he shall cause to be slain by an elephant.

35. From that man who shall truly say with respect to treasure-trove, 'This belongs to me,' the king may take one-sixth or one-twelfth part.

36. But he who falsely says (so), shall be fined in one-eighth of his property, or, a calculation of (the value of) the treasure having been made, in some smaller portion (of that).

37. When a learned Brâhmaṇa has found treasure, deposited in former (times), he may take even the whole (of it); for he is master of everything.

38. When the king finds treasure of old concealed in the ground, let him give one half to Brâhmaṇas and place the (other) half in his treasury.

39. The king obtains one half of ancient hoards and metals (found) in the ground, by reason of

Râgh.), or on the trouble which it gave (so also Gov.) and the king's compassion; according to Kull. and Nâr., on the virtues of the owner. Medh. places this verse after verse 34.

35-39. Gaut. X, 43-45; Vas. III, 13-14; Vi. III, 56-64; Yâgñ. II, 34-35.

35. 'Treasure-trove,' i.e. 'valuables secretly buried in the ground' (Medh.). The amount to be taken depends on the 'virtues' of the finder (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or on his caste (Nâr.), or on the place and time, the caste, &c. (Gov.).

36. The amount of the fine depends on the circumstances of the case or the 'virtues' of the offender (Medh.), or on the 'virtues' of the offender alone (Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

37. Medh., Gov., Nâr. take, as Kull. points out, most improperly *pûrvopanīhitam*, 'deposited in former times,' to mean 'deposited by his ancestors.' The parallel passages of Vishṇu and others are perfectly clear on the point.

39. I take the last clause, which might also be translated '(and)

(his giving) protection, (and) because he is the lord of the soil.

40. Property stolen by thieves must be restored by the king to (men of) all castes (*varṇa*); a king who uses such (property) for himself incurs the guilt of a thief.

41. (A king) who knows the sacred law, must inquire into the laws of castes (*gâti*), of districts, of guilds, and of families, and (thus) settle the peculiar law of each.

42. For men who follow their particular occupations and abide by their particular duty, become dear to people, though they may live at a distance.

43. Neither the king nor any servant of his shall

because he is the lord of the earth,' as a distinct recognition of the principle that the ownership of all land is vested in the king. Medh. says, 'he is the lord of the soil (*bhûmi*); it is just that a share should be given to him of that which is found in the soil belonging to him (*tadiyâyâ bhuvo yallabdham*).'

40. Âp. II, 26, 8; Gaut. X, 46-47; Vi. III, 66-67; Yâgñ. II, 36. I.e. 'if he recovers it' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.). Medh. reads *kaurîhrîtam*, and mentions another reading, *kaurahrîtam*, which Râgh. has, and thinks that it may mean that the king must make good stolen property which is not recovered.

41. Âp. II, 15, 1; Gaut. XI, 20; Vas. XIX, 7; Baudh. I, 2, 1-8; Vi. III, 3; Yâgñ. I, 360. *Gâti*, 'castes,' i.e. 'Brâhmanas and so forth' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.). *Gânapada*, 'the laws of districts, e.g. of the Kuru, Kâsi or Kâsmîra countries' (Medh.), or 'of certain districts' (*dera*, Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'of the inhabitants of one and the same village' (Nâr.). Medh. gives also other explanations of the compound *gâtigânapadân*, 'of local castes' or 'natives of different countries.' *Srenî*, 'guilds,' i.e. 'of merchants, &c.' (Medh. Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), or 'of merchants and husbandmen, &c.' (Gov.), or 'of merchants and actors, &c.' (Nand.). Râgh. reads *paripâlayet*, 'and protect the peculiar law of each.' It must, of course, be understood that the customs are not opposed to the sacred law (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

43. Gaut. XIII, 27. '(Some) other (man),' i.e. 'the plaintiff'

themselves cause a lawsuit to be begun, or hush up one that has been brought (before them) by (some) other (man).

44. As a hunter traces the lair of a (wounded) deer by the drops of blood, even so the king shall discover on which side the right lies, by inferences (from the facts).

45. When engaged in judicial proceedings he must pay full attention to the truth, to the object (of the dispute), (and) to himself, next to the witnesses, to the place, to the time, and to the aspect.

46. What may have been practised by the virtuous, by such twice-born men as are devoted to the law, that he shall establish as law, if it be not

(Medh.), or 'the plaintiff or the defendant' (Kull.), or 'any suitor.' 'Others' explain the second half of the verse according to Medh., as follows, 'and let him not appropriate money brought to him in any other manner than for the suit.'

44. Thus Kull. and Râgh. But Medh. and Gov. take the verse a little differently, 'As the hunter tracks the steps of (a wounded) deer,' &c.

45. 'The truth,' i. e. 'removing all fraud' (Kull., Râgh.), or 'what portion (of this suit) is based on truth' (Nâr., Nand.). Artham, 'the object of the dispute,' i. e. 'if it be not too insignificant, in which case the plaint must not be accepted' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.). Nâr. explains artha by 'the money realised by a fine and the like,' Nand. by 'the aim.' 'Himself,' i. e. 'that he will obtain heaven by a just decision' (Kull., Râgh.). 'The place and the time,' i. e. 'what is befitting the place and the time' (Kull.), or 'the place, e. g. Banâras, and the time (e. g. of a famine) where and when the offence has been committed, and which may make the case lighter or heavier' (Medh., Râgh.), or 'the customs of the country and what is befitting the time' (Nâr.), or 'the place where the offence was committed and the age of the offender' (Gov.). Rûpam, 'the aspect,' i. e. 'the nature of the object' (Medh., Nand.), or 'the nature of the case' (Kull.), or 'the looks of the parties' (Medh. 'others,' Gov., Nâr., Râgh.).

46. Thus Kull., Nâr., Râgh., and Nand. But Medh. takes the verse differently, 'What has been practised by the virtuous and by

opposed to the (customs of) countries, families, and castes (*gâti*).

47. When a creditor sues (before the king) for the recovery of money from a debtor, let him make the debtor pay the sum which the creditor proves (to be due).

48. By whatever means a creditor may be able to obtain possession of his property, even by those means may he force the debtor and make him pay.

49. By moral suasion, by suit of law, by artful management, or by the customary proceeding, a creditor may recover property lent; and fifthly, by force.

50. A creditor who himself recovers his property from his debtor, must not be blamed by the king for retaking what is his own.

51. But him who denies a debt which is proved by good evidence, he shall order to pay that debt

twice-born men . . . that he shall establish as law for countries, families, and castes, if it is not opposed (to texts of the *Sruti* and *Smṛiti*).’ Gov. reads *anurûpam*, ‘conform with,’ instead of *avirud-dham*, ‘not opposed,’ and seems to agree with Medh. He says, ‘And thus let him punish in lawsuits the litigant who acts in a contrary manner; and as here the phrase “what is practised by the virtuous” is used, this (rule) must refer to good conduct.’ But the rule, given in verse 41, must refer to laws other than ‘(those relating to) good conduct.’

49. *Vyavahâreṇa*, ‘by suit of law’ (Gov., Kull., Nâr.), or ‘by threatening a lawsuit’ (Nand.), or ‘by forced labour’ (Medh.), or ‘by a forcible sale of property’ (Râgh.). *Âkârita*, ‘the customary proceeding,’ i. e. ‘by killing one’s wife, children, and cattle, and sitting at the debtor’s door.’ *Bṛihaspati*, quoted by Kull. and Râgh., or ‘by fasting’ (Gov.), or ‘by the creditor’s starving himself to death’ (Nâr.). This custom corresponds to the so-called *prâyopavesana*, or *Dharma*, and to the *Traga* of the bards.

50. Vi. VI, 19; *Yâgyñ.* II, 40.

51. ‘In this case self-help must not be used’ (Medh.). Regarding the amount of the fine, see below, verse 139.

to the creditor and a small fine according to his circumstances.

52. On the denial (of a debt) by a debtor who has been required in court to pay it, the complainant must call (a witness) who was present (when the loan was made), or adduce other evidence.

53. (The plaintiff) who calls a witness not present at the transaction, who retracts his statements, or does not perceive that his statements (are) confused or contradictory ;

54. Or who having stated what he means to prove afterwards varies (his case), or who being questioned on a fact duly stated by himself does not abide by it ;

55. Or who converses with the witnesses in a place improper for such conversation ; or who declines to answer a question, properly put, or leaves (the court) ;

56. Or who, being ordered to speak, does not answer, or does not prove what he has alleged ; or who does not know what is the first (point), and what the second, fails in his suit.

57. Him also who says 'I have witnesses,' and,

52. Instead of *desyam*, '(a witness) who was present (when the loan was made,' K., Râgh., Kull.), Medh., Gov., Nâr., and Nand. read *desam*, '(must point out) the place.'

53-56. Yâgñ. II, 16.

53. Medh., Gov., Nâr., and Nand. read *apadesam*, 'a wrong or impossible place,' instead of *adesyam*, 'a witness not present.' Kull. reads according to the editions, '*adesyam*,' but his explanation agrees with the other reading.

54. *Pravîhitam*, 'duly stated (by himself),' (Kull., Nand.), i. e. 'in the plaint' (Gov.), means according to Râgh. and Nâr. 'duly ascertained.'

56. 'Who does not know what is the first (point) and what is the second,' i. e. 'what is the proof and what the matter to be proved' (Kull., Râgh.), or 'what ought to be said first and what later' (Nâr., Nand.).

being ordered to produce them, produces them not, the judge must on these (same) grounds declare to be non-suited.

58. If a plaintiff does not speak, he may be punished corporally or fined according to the law; if (a defendant) does not plead within three fortnights, he has lost his cause.

59. In the double of that sum which (a defendant) falsely denies or on which (the plaintiff) falsely declares, shall those two (men) offending against justice be fined by the king.

60. (A defendant) who, being brought (into court) by the creditor, (and) being questioned, denies (the debt), shall be convicted (of his falsehood) by at least three witnesses (who must depose) in the presence of the Brâhmana (appointed by) the king.

61. I will fully declare what kind of men may be made witnesses in suits by creditors, and in what manner those (witnesses) must give true (evidence).

62. Householders, men with male issue, and indigenous (inhabitants of the country, be they) Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, or Sûdras, are competent, when called by a suitor, to give evidence, not any persons whatever (their condition may be) except in cases of urgency.

58. 'If a plaintiff does not speak,' i.e. 'after bringing a suit' (Kull.). Corporal punishment is for heavy cases (Kull.).

59. Yâgñ. II, 59.

60. Thus Gov., Kull., Râgh., but the last words may also mean 'in the presence of the king and of the Brâhmanas.'

61-72. Âp. II, 29, 7; Gaut. XIII, 1-4; Vas. XVI, 28-30; Baudh. I, 19, 13; Vi. VIII, 7-9; Yâgñ. II, 68-72.

62. Medh. and Nâr. refer the expression 'not any person whatever (their condition may be),' to such as volunteer to give evidence without being summoned. The 'cases of urgency' are those mentioned below, verse 69.

63. Trustworthy men of all the (four) castes (varṇa) may be made witnesses in lawsuits, (men) who know (their) whole duty, and are free from covetousness; but let him reject those (of an) opposite (character).

64. Those must not be made (witnesses) who have an interest in the suit, nor familiar (friends), companions, and enemies (of the parties), nor (men) formerly convicted (of perjury), nor (persons) suffering under (severe) illness, nor (those) tainted (by mortal sin).

✓ 65. The king cannot be made a witness, nor mechanics and actors, nor a Srotriya, nor a student of the Veda, nor (an ascetic) who has given up (all) connexion (with the world),

66. Nor one wholly dependent, nor one of bad fame, nor a Dasyu, nor one who follows forbidden

64. 'Who have an interest in the suit' (Nâr.) means according to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh. 'connected by money, i. e. creditors or debtors of the parties,' or according to Nand. 'men who have received benefits from one of the parties.' Sahâya, 'companions,' i. e. 'sureties and the like' (Medh.), or 'servants' (Kull., Nâr.). Drîṣṭadosha, 'men formerly convicted (of perjury),' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.), may according to Medh. also mean 'men who have been convicted (of any serious offence).' Men afflicted with serious illnesses must not be made witnesses, because such men are liable to become angry or to forget and thus to give false evidence (Medh.). Dûṣhita, 'tainted,' i. e. by mortal crimes or numerous smaller offences (Medh., Kull., Râgh.), means according to Nâr. and Nand. Abhirastas, 'those accused of such crimes.'

65. Kuṣṭhava, 'actors' (Nâr.), or 'dancers, musicians, and singers' (Medh.), or 'actors and so forth' (Gov., Kull.), or 'singers' (Nand.). A Srotriya, or Brâhmaṇa learned in the Vedas, cannot be made a witness, because he has to attend to his studies and to the Agnihotra (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Gov., Nand.). The same remark applies to the last two classes. Liṅgastha, 'a student,' includes according to Nâr., Gov., Nand., Medh. also 'ascetics.'

66. 'One wholly dependent,' i. e. 'a slave by birth' (Medh., Gov.,

occupations, nor an aged (man), nor an infant, nor one (man alone), nor a man of the lowest castes, nor one deficient in organs of sense,

67. Nor one extremely grieved, nor one intoxicated, nor a madman, nor one tormented by hunger or thirst, nor one oppressed by fatigue, nor one tormented by desire, nor a wrathful man, nor a thief.

68. Women should give evidence for women, and for twice-born men twice-born men (of the) same (kind), virtuous Sûdras for Sûdras, and men of the lowest castes for the lowest.

69. But any person whatsoever, who has personal knowledge (of an act committed) in the interior apartments (of a house), or in a forest, or of (a crime causing) loss of life, may give evidence between the parties.

70. On failure (of qualified witnesses, evidence)

Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). Vaktavya, 'one of bad fame,' may according to Medh. also mean 'one afflicted with leprosy or some other bad disease.' Dasyu, i. e. 'a servant for wages' (Medh., Gov., Râgh.), or 'a hard-hearted man' (Medh.), or 'an angry man' (Kull.), or 'a murderer' (Râgh.), or 'a low-caste man' (Nand.). The term denotes, however, properly the aboriginal robber-tribes, and probably includes all those resembling them. 'One who follows forbidden occupations,' i. e. 'a Brâhmaṇa who has become a warrior or a trader and the like' (Medh.), or 'a butcher and the like' (Nâr.).

68. Vas. XVI, 30. 'Women should give evidence for women only in cases between women or in matters concerning the female sex, which they alone may be supposed to know' (Medh., Gov., Kull.). 'Twice-born men of the same kind,' i. e. 'of the same caste' (Kull., Nâr., Nand.), or 'of the same caste and equally virtuous' (Gov.), or 'of the same place,' or 'of the same caste, occupations, &c.' (Medh.).

69. 'Of (a crime causing) loss of life,' i. e. 'of robberies, murders, and the like' (Medh., Gov., Kull.).

70. The rule refers to the cases mentioned in verse 69 (Gov., Kull.), or to the last only (Nâr.).

may be given (in such cases) by a woman, by an infant, by an aged man, by a pupil, by a relative, by a slave, or by a hired servant.

71. But the (judge) should consider the evidence of infants, aged and diseased men, who (are apt to) speak untruly, as untrustworthy, likewise that of men with disordered minds.

72. In all cases of violence, of theft and adultery, of defamation and assault, he must not examine the (competence of) witnesses (too strictly).

73. On a conflict of the witnesses the king shall accept (as true) the (evidence of the) majority; if (the conflicting parties are) equal in number, (that of) those distinguished by good qualities; on a difference between (equally) distinguished (witnesses, that of) the best among the twice-born.

74. Evidence in accordance with what has actually been seen or heard, is admissible; a witness who speaks truth in those (cases), neither loses spiritual merit nor wealth.

75. A witness who deposes in an assembly of honourable men (Ārya) anything else but what he has seen or heard, falls after death headlong into hell and loses heaven.

73. Vi. VIII, 39; Yāgñ. II, 78, 80. 'The best of the twice-born,' i.e. 'Brāhmaṇas' (Gov., Nār.), or 'particularly distinguished Brāhmaṇas, who fulfil their sacred duties' (Kull., Rāgh.).

74-75. Âp. II, 29, 9-10; Gaut. XIII, 7; Baudh. I, 19, 14-15; Vas. XVI, 36; Vi. VIII, 13-14.

74. 'Nor wealth,' i.e. 'he will not be fined.'

75. 'In an assembly of honourable men,' i.e. in court (Medh.), or 'in an assembly of Brāhmaṇas' (Gov.). 'And loses heaven,' i.e. which he may have earned by good works (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand.), or 'even after passing through hell, he cannot get into heaven, because his merit is extinct' (Nār.).

76. When a man (originally) not appointed to be a witness sees or hears anything and is (afterwards) examined regarding it, he must declare it (exactly) as he saw or heard it.

77. One man who is free from covetousness may be (accepted as) witness; but not even many pure women, because the understanding of females is apt to waver, nor even many other men, who are tainted with sin.

78. What witnesses declare quite naturally, that must be received on trials; (depositions) differing from that, which they make improperly, are worthless for (the purposes of) justice.

79. The witnesses being assembled in the court in the presence of the plaintiff and of the defendant, let the judge examine them, kindly exhorting them in the following manner:

80. 'What ye know to have been mutually transacted in this matter between the two men before us, declare all that in accordance with the truth; for ye are witnesses in this (cause).

81. 'A witness who speaks the truth in his evidence, gains (after death) the most excellent regions (of bliss) and here (below) unsurpassable fame; such testimony is revered by Brahman (himself).

76. '(Originally) not appointed (to be a witness),' i.e. 'not entered as a witness in the document' (Medh.), 'but accidentally present at the transaction' (Kull., Nâr., Nand.).

78. 'Quite naturally,' i.e. 'not out of compassion, in the belief of gaining merit, or depending on women' (Medh.), or 'not out of fear and the like' (Kull.), or 'without hesitation, quickly' (Nâr.). Gov. and Nand. explain it 'in accordance with the truth.'

79. Gaut. XIII, 5.

80-101. Âp. II, 29, 9-10; Gaut. XIII, 14-22; Vas. XVI, 32-34; Bauddh. I, 19, 9-12; Vi. VIII, 19-37; Yâgñ. II, 73-75.

82. 'He who gives false evidence is firmly bound by Varuṇa's fetters, helpless during one hundred existences; let (men therefore) give true evidence.

83. 'By truthfulness a witness is purified, through truthfulness his merit grows; truth must, therefore, be spoken by witnesses of all castes (*varṇa*).

84. 'The Soul itself is the witness of the Soul, and the Soul is the refuge of the Soul; despise not thy own Soul, the supreme witness of men.

85. 'The wicked, indeed, say in their hearts, "Nobody sees us;" but the gods distinctly see them and the male within their own breasts.

86. 'The sky, the earth, the waters, (the male in) the heart, the moon, the sun, the fire, Yama and the wind, the night, the two twilights, and justice know the conduct of all corporeal beings.'

87. The (judge), being purified, shall ask in the forenoon the twice-born (witnesses) who (also have been) purified, (and stand) facing the north or the east, to give true evidence in the presence of (images of) the gods and of Brāhmaṇas.

88. Let him examine a Brāhmaṇa (beginning with) 'Speak,' a Kshatriya (beginning with) 'Speak the truth,' a Vaisya (admonishing him) by (mentioning) his kine, grain, and gold, a Sūdra (threatening

82. 'Varuṇa's fetters,' i. e. 'terrible snake-bonds or dropsy' (Medh., Kull.). Gov. mentions the snake-bonds alone, and Rāgh. says that the verse threatens the punishment of hell. Dropsy is a disease specially attributed to Varuṇa, see Rīg-veda VII, 89, 1, and the story of Sunaśsepha, Ait. Brāhm. VII, 15. The fetters of Varuṇa are mentioned as the punishment of liars, Atharva-veda IV, 16, 6.

86. '(The male in) the heart,' i. e. 'the male or spirit (*puruṣa*) who resides in the human heart, clothed with a rudimentary body' (Medh.), and similarly the other commentators.

88. '(Admonishing him) by (mentioning) his kine, grain, or gold,' i. e. 'threatening him with the guilt of all offences committed against

him) with (the guilt of) every crime that causes loss of caste;

89. (Saying), 'Whatever places (of torment) are assigned (by the sages) to the slayer of a Brâhmaṇa, to the murderer of women and children, to him who betrays a friend, and to an ungrateful man, those shall be thy (portion), if thou speakest falsely.

90. '(The reward) of all meritorious deeds which thou, good man, hast done since thy birth, shall become the share of the dogs, if in thy speech thou departest from the truth.

91. 'If thou thinkest, O friend of virtue, with respect to thyself, "I am alone," (know that) that sage who witnesses all virtuous acts and all crimes, ever resides in thy heart.

92. 'If thou art not at variance with that divine Yama, the son of Vivasvat, who dwells in thy heart, thou needest neither visit the Ganges nor the (land of the) Kurus.

93. 'Naked and shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst, and deprived of sight, shall the man who gives false evidence, go with a potsherd to beg food at the door of his enemy.

94. 'Headlong, in utter darkness shall the sinful man tumble into hell, who being interrogated in a judicial inquiry answers one question falsely.

95. 'That man who in a court (of justice) gives an untrue account of a transaction (or asserts a fact) of which he was not an eye-witness, resembles a blind man who swallows fish with the bones.

96. 'The gods are acquainted with no better man

kine, &c.' (Medh.), or 'with the guilt of the theft of kine, &c.' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'with the loss of his kine, &c.' (Nâr.), or 'by making him touch a cow, &c.' (Nand.).

in this world than him, of whom his conscious Soul has no distrust, when he gives evidence.

97. 'Learn now, O friend, from an enumeration in due order, how many relatives he destroys who gives false evidence in several particular cases.

98. 'He kills five by false testimony regarding (small) cattle, he kills ten by false testimony regarding kine, he kills a hundred by false evidence concerning horses, and a thousand by false evidence concerning men.

99. 'By speaking falsely in a cause regarding gold, he kills the born and the unborn; by false evidence concerning land, he kills everything; beware, therefore, of false evidence concerning land.

100. 'They declare (false evidence) concerning water, concerning the carnal enjoyment of women, and concerning all gems, produced in water, or consisting of stones (to be) equally (wicked) as a lie concerning land.

101. 'Marking well all the evils (which are pro-

97. Hanti, 'destroys or kills,' i. e. 'causes to fall into hell' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.), or 'causes to fall from heaven and to be reborn in the wombs of animals' (Râgh.). Medh. and Kull. (verse 99) give another explanation of this expression, viz. 'incurs a guilt as great as if he had killed them.'

98. 'Men,' i. e. 'slaves.'

99. 'Everything,' i. e. 'everything animated' (Gov., Kull.), or 'even more than a thousand' (Nâr., Râgh.).

100. 'Water,' i. e. 'wells, tanks, &c.' 'Gems produced in water,' i. e. 'pearls, coral, &c.'

Verse 99 is placed by Nand. before verse 100, and some others are inserted between and after them, but the confusion is probably owing merely to clerical errors, as no commentary is given.

101. Añgasâ, 'openly,' means according to Gov. and Kull. 'truly,' according to Nâr. 'quickly.'

duced) by perjury, declare thou openly everything as (thou hast) heard or seen (it).'

102. Brâhmaṇas who tend cattle, who trade, who are mechanics, actors (or singers), menial servants or usurers, the (judge) shall treat like Sûdras.

103. In (some) cases a man who, though knowing (the facts to be) different, gives such (false evidence) from a pious motive, does not lose heaven; such (evidence) they call the speech of the gods.

104. Whenever the death of a Sûdra, of a Vaisya, of a Kshatriya, or of a Brâhmaṇa would be (caused) by a declaration of the truth, a falsehood may be spoken; for such (falsehood) is preferable to the truth.

105. Such (witnesses) must offer to Sarasvatî oblations of boiled rice (*karu*) which are sacred to the goddess of speech, (thus) performing the best penance in order to expiate the guilt of that falsehood.

106. Or such (a witness) may offer according to the rule clarified butter in the fire, reciting the Kûshmânda texts, or the *Rik*, sacred to Varuna, 'Untie, O Varuna, the uppermost fetter,' or the three verses addressed to the Waters.

107. A man who, without being ill, does not give evidence in (cases of) loans and the like within three fortnights (after the summons), shall become respon-

102. Vas. III, 1.

103-104. Gaut. XIII, 24-25; Vas. XVI, 36; Vi. VIII, 15; Yâgñ. II, 83.

103. Nand. omits this verse.

105-106. Baudh. I, 19, 16; Vi. VIII, 16; Yâgñ. II, 83.

106. The Kûshmânda texts are found Taitt. Âr. X, 3-5; the verse addressed to Varuna, Rig-veda I, 24, 15; and the three verses addressed to the Waters, Rig-veda X, 9, 1-3.

107. Yâgñ. II, 76.

sible for the whole debt and (pay) a tenth part of the whole (as a fine to the king).

108. The witness to whom, within seven days after he has given evidence, happens (a misfortune through) sickness, a fire, or the death of a relative, shall be made to pay the debt and a fine.

109. If two (parties) dispute about matters for which no witnesses are available, and the (judge) is unable to really ascertain the truth, he may cause it to be discovered even by an oath.

110. Both by the great sages and the gods oaths have been taken for the purpose of (deciding doubtful) matters; and Vasishtha even swore an oath before king (Sudâs), the son of Pigavana.

111. Let no wise man swear an oath falsely, even in a trifling matter; for he who swears an oath falsely is lost in this (world) and after death.

112. No crime, causing loss of caste, is committed by swearing (falsely) to women, the objects of one's desire, at marriages, for the sake of fodder for a cow, or of fuel, and in (order to show) favour to a Brâhmana.

108. Yâgñ. II, 113.

109. Gaut. XIII, 12-13; Vi. IX, 2-9. According to Medh. sapatha, 'oath,' is used for the whole daiva anumâna, 'divine proof,' and thus includes the ordeals.

110. Medh. and Gov. point out that the seven sages purified themselves by oaths when they mutually accused each other of a theft of lotus-fibres (Mah. XIII, 93, 13 seqq.), and that Indra swore an oath when he was accused of an intrigue with Ahalyâ, the wife of Gautama. Vasishtha finally cleared himself of the accusation which Visvâmitra brought against him before king Sudâs, that he was a Râkshasa and had devoured his hundred sons (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.). See Sâyana on Rig-veda VII, 104, and especially on verse 15, which is considered to contain the oath sworn.

112. Gaut. XXIII, 29; Vas. XVI, 35. 'Fuel,' i.e. 'for a burnt-

113. Let the (judge) cause a Brâhmana to swear by his veracity, a Kshatriya by his chariot or the animal he rides on and by his weapons, a Vaisya by his kine, grain, and gold, and a Sûdra by (imprecating on his own head the guilt) of all grievous offences (pâtaka).

114. Or the (judge) may cause the (party) to carry fire or to dive under water, or severally to touch the heads of his wives and children.

115. He whom the blazing fire burns not, whom the water forces not to come (quickly) up, who meets with no speedy misfortune, must be held innocent on (the strength of) his oath.

116. For formerly when Vatsa was accused by his younger brother, the fire, the spy of the world, burned not even a hair (of his) by reason of his veracity.

117. Whenever false evidence has been given in any suit, let the (judge) reverse the judgment, and whatever has been done must be (considered as) undone.

oblation' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.). In the last cases the sacredness of the purpose excuses the crime.

113. The Kshatriya and Vaisya must touch the things mentioned, and say, 'May they become useless to me!' (Medh., Gov., Kull.)

114. This verse refers, as the commentators assert, to the two ordeals described by Vi. XI-XII, and Yâgñ. II, 103-109. Medh., Gov., and Kull. assert that ordeals are to be used in particularly important cases only; see also Vi. IX, 10-14.

116. Maitreya, the step-brother of Vatsa, accused the latter of being the offspring of a Sûdra woman. In order to prove the falseness of this allegation, Vatsa passed through a fire (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). I read *sparah* instead of *sprisah*.

117. Vi. VIII, 40. 'Fines imposed must be remitted' (Gov., Kull., Nâr.).

118. Evidence (given) from covetousness, distraction, terror, friendship, lust, wrath, ignorance, and childishness is declared (to be) invalid.

119. I will propound in (due) order the particular punishments for him who gives false evidence from any one of these motives.

120. (He who commits perjury) through covetousness shall be fined one thousand (*panas*), (he who does it) through distraction, in the lowest amercement; (if a man does it) through fear, two middling amercements shall be paid as a fine, (if he does it) through friendship, four times the amount of the lowest (amercement).

121. (He who does it) through lust, (shall pay) ten times the lowest amercement, but (he who does it) through wrath, three times the next (or second amercement); (he who does it) through ignorance, two full hundreds, but (he who does it) through childishness, one hundred (*panas*).

122. They declare that the wise have prescribed these fines for perjury, in order to prevent a failure of justice, and in order to restrain injustice.

123. But a just king shall fine and banish (men of) the three (lower) castes (*varṇa*) who have given false evidence, but a Brāhmaṇa he shall (only) banish.

124. Manu, the son of the Self-existent (*Svayambhu*), has named ten places on which punishment

119-123. Yâgñ. II, 81.

120. Regarding the three amercements, see below, verse 138.

123. Vivāsayet, 'he shall (only) banish' (Kull., Nār., Rāgh., Nand.), means according to Medh. 'he shall deprive him of his clothes or of his house.' Gov. gives Medh.'s first explanation only.

124. Âp. II, 27; 8, 17-19; Gaut. XII, 46-47; Vi. V, 2-8.

may be (made to fall) in the cases of the three (lower) castes (*varṇa*); but a Brāhmaṇa shall depart unhurt (from the country).

125. (These are) the organ, the belly, the tongue, the two hands, and fifthly the two feet, the eye, the nose, the two ears, likewise the (whole) body.

126. Let the (king), having fully ascertained the motive, the time and place (of the offence), and having considered the ability (of the criminal to suffer) and the (nature of the) crime, cause punishment to fall on those who deserve it.

127. Unjust punishment destroys reputation among men, and fame (after death), and causes even in the next world the loss of heaven; let him, therefore, beware of (inflicting) it.

128. A king who punishes those who do not deserve it, and punishes not those who deserve it, brings great infamy on himself and (after death) sinks into hell.

129. Let him punish first by (gentle) admonition, afterwards by (harsh) reproof, thirdly by a fine, after that by corporal chastisement.

130. But when he cannot restrain such (offenders) even by corporal punishment, then let him apply to them even all the four (modes conjointly).

131. Those technical names of (certain quantities of) copper, silver, and gold, which are generally used

126. Gaut. XII, 51; Yâgñ. I, 367. Anubandham, 'the motive,' includes according to Gov. and Kull. also 'the frequency of the offence.' Nâr. gives the latter meaning alone. Nand. reads aparâdham, 'the offence.' Instead of sârâparâdhau Nand. reads sârâsâram, 'the strength or weakness (of the offender).'

127-128. Yâgñ. I, 356; Vi. XIX, 43.

129-130. Yâgñ. I, 366.

131-138. Vi. IV, 1-14; Yâgñ. I, 361-365.

on earth for the purpose of business transactions among men, I will fully declare.

132. The very small mote which is seen when the sun shines through a lattice, they declare (to be) the least of (all) quantities and (to be called) a *trasareṇu* (a floating particle of dust).

133. Know (that) eight *trasareṇus* (are equal) in bulk (to) a *likshâ* (the egg of a louse), three of those to one grain of black mustard (*râgasarshapa*), and three of the latter to a white mustard-seed.

134. Six grains of white mustard are one middle-sized barley-corn, and three barley-corns one *kṛishṇala* (*raktikâ*, or *guṇḍa*-berry); five *kṛishṇalas* are one *mâsha* (bean), and sixteen of those one *suvarṇa*.

135. Four *suvarṇas* are one *pala*, and ten *palas* one *dharana*; two *kṛishṇalas* (of silver), weighed together, must be considered one *mâshaka* of silver.

136. Sixteen of those make a silver *dharana*, or *purâna*; but know (that) a *karsha* of copper is a *kârshâpana*, or *pana*.

137. Know (that) ten *dharanas* of silver make one *satamâna*; four *suvarṇas* must be considered (equal) in weight to a *nishka*.

138. Two hundred and fifty *panas* are declared (to be) the first (or lowest) *amercement*, five (hundred) are considered as the mean (or middlemost), but one thousand as the highest.

139. A debt being admitted as due, (the defendant)

134. The *kṛishṇala* or *raktikâ* (*ratti*) is still used by jewellers and goldsmiths. It corresponds to 0.122 grammes, or 1.875 grains.

136. A *karsha* = 16 *mâshas* = 80 *kṛishṇalas*.

139. Vi. VI, 20-21; Yâgy. II, 42. According to Nâr. 'some' only have this verse.

shall pay five in the hundred (as a fine), if it be denied (and proved) twice as much; that is the teaching of Manu.

140. A money-lender may stipulate as an increase of his capital, for the interest, allowed by *Vasishtha*, and take monthly the eightieth part of a hundred.

141. Or, remembering the duty of good men, he may take two in the hundred (by the month), for he who takes two in the hundred becomes not a sinner for gain.

142. Just two in the hundred, three, four, and five (and not more), he may take as monthly interest according to the order of the castes (*varṇa*).

143. But if a beneficial pledge (i.e. one from which profit accrues, has been given), he shall receive no interest on the loan; nor can he, after keeping (such) a pledge for a very long time, give or sell it.

140. Gaut. XII, 29; *Yâgñ.* II, 37. The rule occurs in our *Vâsishtha* *Dharmasâstra* II, 51. The amount is fifteen per cent per annum. According to Kull. (on verse 141), *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*, and *Nand.* this rule refers to a debt secured by a pledge, and the correctness of this view is proved by the parallel passage of *Yâgñ.*

141-142. Vas. II, 48; Vi. VI, 2; *Yâgñ.* II, 37. This rule refers, according to the same commentators, to unsecured loans. A *Brâhmana* is to pay two per cent per month, a *Kshatriya* three, a *Vaisya* four, and a *Sûdra* five. *Med.* and *Gov.* think that the rule refers to cases where the creditor is unable to live on the smaller interest.

143. Gaut. XII, 32; Vi. VI, 5. 'A beneficial pledge,' i.e. 'land, cattle, slaves, &c.' According to *Medh.*, *Gov.*, and *Nâr.*, the last clause refers to pledges which are not used. But Kull. objects that this is contrary to the common practice of the *Sishṭas*, and *Râgh.* refers to *Yâgñ.* II, 58, where it is clearly stated that beneficial pledges only are never lost, while those which are merely kept are lost when the original debt is doubled by unpaid interest.

144. A pledge (to be kept only) must not be used by force, (the creditor), so using it, shall give up his (whole) interest, or, (if it has been spoilt by use) he shall satisfy the (owner) by (paying its) original price; else he commits a theft of the pledge.

145. Neither a pledge nor a deposit can be lost by lapse of time; they are both recoverable, though they have remained long (with the bailee).

146. Things used with friendly assent, a cow, a camel, a riding-horse, and (a beast) made over for breaking in, are never lost (to the owner).

147. (But in general) whatever (chattel) an owner sees enjoyed by others during ten years, while, though present, he says nothing, that (chattel) he shall not recover.

148. If (the owner is) neither an idiot nor a minor and if (his chattel) is enjoyed (by another) before his eyes, it is lost to him by law; the adverse possessor shall retain that property.

149. A pledge, a boundary, the property of infants, an (open) deposit, a sealed deposit, women, the property of the king and the wealth of a Srotريا are not lost in consequence of (adverse) enjoyment.

144. Vi. VI, 5; Yâgñ. II, 59. According to Medh. clothes, &c., are meant; according to Kull. and Râgh. clothes, ornaments, &c.; according to Nâr. beds and so forth. Nâr. thinks that the expression 'the value' refers to the profit made by the use of the pledge.

145. Vi. VI, 7-8; Yâgñ. II, 58. According to Medh. the pledge spoken of here is 'a pledge for keeping which is forcibly used.' Upanidhi, 'a deposit,' means according to Medh., Gov., Kull. (who however refers the term also to deposits), Râgh., and Nand. 'anything lent to another out of friendship;' according to Nâr. 'an additional pledge, given subsequently, in order to complete the security for the loan.'

147-148. Gaut. XII, 37; Vas. XVI, 16-17; Yâgñ. II, 24.

149. Vas. XVI, 18; Gaut. XII, 38-39; Yâgñ. II, 25. 'Women,'

150. The fool who uses a pledge without the permission of the owner, shall remit half of his interest, as a compensation for (such) use.

151. In money transactions interest paid at one time (not by instalments) shall never exceed the double (of the principal); on grain, fruit, wool or hair, (and) beasts of burden it must not be more than five times (the original amount).

152. Stipulated interest beyond the legal rate, being against (the law), cannot be recovered; they call that a usurious way (of lending); (the lender) is (in no case) entitled to (more than) five in the hundred.

153. Let him not take interest beyond the year, nor such as is unapproved, nor compound interest, periodical interest, stipulated interest, and corporal interest.

i. e. 'female slaves and the like.' Râgh. adds that their offspring is not lost to the owner. Upanidhi, 'a sealed deposit' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh.).

150. According to the commentators this is the consequence, resulting from the secret unpermitted use of a pledge in ordinary cases, while the loss of the whole interest ensues in the case of a forcible use in contravention of a special prohibition.

151. Gaut. XII, 31, 36; Vi. VI, 11-15; Yâgñ. II, 39. The interest here intended is such which is not paid by instalments, but becomes due together with the principal. According to the commentators, the whole sum payable, i. e. the interest together with the principal, shall not exceed the double of the sum lent, or, in the special cases mentioned, five times that amount.

152. According to Gov. and Nâr. this verse entitles the money-lender to take five per cent from Âryans, not from Sûdras only.

153. Gaut. XII, 30, 34-35. 'A creditor may take for the term of a year interest which has been settled by the following agreement, "When one, two, or three months have passed, the interest on the (capital) shall be calculated and be paid to me at one time;" but he shall not take the interest according to the agreement after

154. He who, unable to pay a debt (at the fixed time), wishes to make a new contract, may renew the agreement, after paying the interest which is due.

155. If he cannot pay the money (due as interest), he may insert it in the renewed (agreement); he must pay as much interest as may be due.

156. He who has made a contract to carry goods by a wheeled carriage for money and has agreed to a certain place or time, shall not reap that reward, if he does not keep to the place and the time (stipulated).

a year has passed' (Kull., Râgh.). According to Gov. this clause means, 'If (the creditor) does not take the money (due) for two or three years and (the debtor) pays then, (the creditor) shall not take more interest than for one year.' Nâr. says, 'atisâmvatśarīm ("beyond the year") means that (interest) which after the lapse of one year only is redundant,' i. e. 'exceeds that which has been doubled' (see verse 151). *Adṛiṣh/ām*, 'unapproved,' i. e. 'in the law-books' (Kull., Râgh), or 'in the law-books and in daily life' (Nand.), means according to Medh. and Gov. *anupaṭitām*, 'which has not accumulated,' i. e. 'which is taken for one, two, or three days.' Nâr. agrees with the latter view. *Kālavṛiddhiḥ*, 'periodical interest,' i. e. 'monthly interest' (Gov., Nâr.), or 'interest in contravention of verse 151' (Kull., Râgh.). *Kāritā*, 'stipulated interest,' i. e. 'an illegal rate of interest, or interest which runs on after the principal has been doubled, agreed to by the debtor on account of distress' (Medh., Gov., Nâr., Kull., Râgh.). *Kāyikā*, 'corporal interest,' i. e. 'to be paid by bodily labour or by the use of the body of a pledged animal or slave' (Medh.). Kull., Râgh., and Nand. give the second explanation. According to 'some,' quoted by Medh. and Nâr., the last four kinds of interest are not forbidden. Medh. and Gov. think all or some of them are permissible for merchants. See also for the explanation of the terms, Gaut. XII, 34-35, notes; and Colebrooke I, Digest 35-45.

154. *Karāṇa*, 'the agreement,' i. e. 'the written bond' (Kull., Râgh.), or 'the written bond and so forth' (Gov., Nâr.). According to the latter two, with whom Medh. seems to agree, *karāṇa* may also refer to a verbal agreement before witnesses.

155. 'Pay,' i. e. promise to pay in the new agreement.

156. Thus Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh. But Nâr. and Nand.

157. Whatever rate men fix, who are expert in sea-voyages and able to calculate (the profit) according to the place, the time, and the objects (carried), that (has legal force) in such cases with respect to the payment (to be made).

158. The man who becomes a surety in this (world) for the appearance of a (debtor), and produces him not, shall pay the debt out of his own property.

159. But money due by a surety, or idly promised, or lost at play, or due for spirituous liquor, or what remains unpaid of a fine and a tax or duty, the son (of the party owing it) shall not be obliged to pay.

160. This just mentioned rule shall apply to the case of a surety for appearance (only); if a surety for payment should die, the (judge) may compel even his heirs to discharge the debt.

161. On what account then is it that after the death of a surety other than for payment, whose

explain *kakravṛiddhi*, 'a contract to carry goods by a wheeled carriage,' by 'compound interest;' and Medh. on verse 157 mentions this opinion too.

157. The expression 'in sea-voyages' includes voyages by land (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or all voyages (Nâr.). The commentators, who explain the preceding verse as referring to compound interest, explain this to mean that merchants trading by sea must pay any rate of interest for money borrowed which experts may fix (see *Yâgñ.* II, 38). The others, of course, understand by 'the rate' (*vṛiddhi*) the carrier's or shipowner's wages.

158-160. Gaut. XII, 42; Vi. VI, 41; *Yâgñ.* II, 47, 53-54.

159. 'Idly promised,' i.e. 'to clowns and so forth' (Kull.), or 'to bards and the like' (Nâr.), or 'not for a religious purpose, but to singers and the like' (Nand.), or 'in jest, to bards and the like' (Râgh.), or 'a pour-boire and the like' (Gov.).

161. 'Whose affairs are fully known,' i.e. 'the cause for which

affairs are fully known, the creditor may (in some cases) afterwards demand the debt (of the heirs)?

162. If the surety had received money (from him for whom he stood bail) and had money enough (to pay), then (the heir of him) who received it, shall pay (the debt) out of his property; that is the settled rule.

163. A contract made by a person intoxicated, or insane, or grievously disordered (by disease and so forth), or wholly dependent, by an infant or very aged man, or by an unauthorised (party) is invalid.

164. That agreement which has been made contrary to the law or to the settled usage (of the virtuous), can have no legal force, though it be established (by proofs).

165. A fraudulent mortgage or sale, a fraudulent gift or acceptance, and (any transaction) where he detects fraud, the (judge) shall declare null and void.

166. If the debtor be dead and (the money borrowed) was expended for the family, it must be paid by the relatives out of their own estate even if they are divided.

he became a surety (e. g. for appearance or good behaviour) being fully known' (Nâr., Râgh.).

162. *Alamdhanah*, 'had money enough (to pay),' i. e. 'had received a sum equal to the loan contracted by him for whose appearance he stood surety' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.). According to Râgh. the adjective refers to the heir, and means 'if he has money enough to pay.' Nand. reads *alakshita*, 'if a surety who received money be not found' (i. e. has died or disappeared, &c.).

163. *Yâgñ.* II, 32.

164. 'The sale of wife and children, giving away one's whole property, though one may have issue' (Medh.).

166. Vi. VI, 39; *Yâgñ.* II, 45. The meaning is, as Nand. points out, that if a debt was contracted for the benefit of a united family,

167. Should even a person wholly dependent make a contract for the behoof of the family, the master (of the house), whether (living) in his own country or abroad, shall not rescind it.

168. What is given by force, what is enjoyed by force, also what has been caused to be written by force, and all other transactions done by force, Manu has declared void.

169. Three suffer for the sake of others, witnesses, a surety, and judges; but four enrich themselves (through others), a Brâhmaṇa, a money-lender, a merchant, and a king.

170. No king, however indigent, shall take anything that ought not to be taken, nor shall he,

it must be repaid by the members of the family, though they may have separated afterwards.

167. Adhyadhinaḥ, 'a person wholly dependent,' i. e. 'a servant (Nâr.), or 'a slave' (Kull.), or 'the youngest (brother) or one in a similar position' (Râgh.). Gov. reads vâ instead of api, and for viṭâlayet (Medh., Kull., Râgh.) or viṭârayet (Nand.), vilambayet; and with this reading the translation must be, 'or one wholly dependent, who makes a contract for the sake of the family, must wait for (the arrival of) the master of the house, whether he be at home or abroad.'

168. Vi. VII, 6; Yâgñi. II, 89.

169. Kulam, 'the judges' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), has, according to Nâr., Nand., and Râgh., its usual meaning, 'the family.' Nâr. and Nand. say that the undivided relatives have to suffer by paying the debts of a deceased coparcener; and Râgh. explains the sufferings of a family by the ruin caused through a bad son. Medh., Gov., and Kull. state that the object of the verse is to inculcate that men must not be forced to become witnesses and so forth against their will, and that Brâhmaṇas, &c., must not force others to those transactions from which they gain advantages, e. g. to lawsuits. (Râgh. similarly.) Nâr. takes the first half as a warning not to become a witness or surety or to remain undivided.

170. Vas. XIX, 14-15.

however wealthy, decline taking that which he ought to take, be it ever so small.

171. In consequence of his taking what ought not to be taken, or of his refusing what ought to be received, a king will be accused of weakness and perish in this (world) and after death.

172. By taking his due, by preventing the confusion of the castes (*varṇa*), and by protecting the weak, the power of the king grows, and he prospers in this (world) and after death.

173. Let the prince, therefore, like Yama, not heeding his own likings and dislikings, behave exactly like Yama, suppressing his anger and controlling himself.

174. But that evil-minded king who in his folly decides causes unjustly, his enemies soon subjugate.

175. If, subduing love and hatred, he decides the causes according to the law, (the hearts of) his subjects turn towards him as the rivers (run) towards the ocean.

176. (The debtor) who complains to the king that his creditor recovers (the debt) independently (of the court), shall be compelled by the king to pay (as a fine) one quarter (of the sum) and to his (creditor) the money (due).

177. Even by (personal) labour shall the debtor make good (what he owes) to his creditor, if he be of the same caste or of a lower one; but

171. 'For if a king takes from his subjects what he ought not to take, they will say, "He fines us, because he is unable to overcome the vassals, neighbours, and the forest tribes (and to obtain money from them),"' Medh.

176. Vi. VI, 19. See above, verses 49-50.

177. The last clause refers to Brâhmanas (Medh., Kull., Râgh.).

a (debtor) of a higher caste shall pay it gradually (when he earns something).

178. According to these rules let the king equitably decide between men, who dispute with each other the matters, which are proved by witnesses and (other) evidence.

179. A sensible man should make a deposit (only) with a person of (good) family, of good conduct, well acquainted with the law, veracious, having many relatives, wealthy, and honourable (ârya).

180. In whatever manner a person shall deposit anything in the hands of another, in the same manner ought the same thing to be received back (by the owner); as the delivery (was, so must be) the re-delivery.

181. He who restores not his deposit to the depositor at his request, may be tried by the judge in the depositor's absence.

182. On failure of witnesses let the (judge) actually deposit gold with that (defendant) under some pretext or other through spies of suitable age and appearance (and afterwards demand it back).

183. If the (defendant) restores it in the manner and shape in which it was bailed, there is nothing

178. Pratyaya, ' (other) evidence,' i. e. 'by inference and divine proof' (Medh.), or 'by inference, oaths, and so forth' (Gov.), or 'by oaths' (Nâr., Nand.).

180. Yâgñ. II, 65. See also below, verse 195. Nand. omits 184, and places the other verses as follows: 180, 195, 188 b, 185, 186, 189, 194, 187, 188 a, 181, 182, 183, 196, 190, 191, 192, 193.

181. The order of the verses referring to the trial of the bailee, is according to Gov. 181, 183, 184, 182, and according to Nâr. 181, 183, 182, 184.

(of that description) in his hands, for which others accuse him.

184. But if he restores not that gold, as he ought, to those (spies), then he shall be compelled by force to restore both (deposits); that is a settled rule of law.

185. An open or a sealed deposit must never be returned to a near relative (of the depositor during the latter's lifetime); for if (the recipient) dies (without delivering them), they are lost, but if he does not die, they are not lost.

186. But (a depositary) who of his own accord returns them to a near relative of a deceased (depositor), must not be harassed (about them) by the king or by the depositor's relatives.

187. And (in doubtful cases) he should try to obtain that object by friendly means, without (having recourse to) artifice, or having inquired into the (depositary's) conduct, he should settle (the matter) with gentle means.

188. Such is the rule for obtaining back all those open deposits; in the case of a sealed deposit (the depositary) shall incur no (censure), unless he has taken out something.

189. (A deposit) which has been stolen by thieves

185. Pratyantare, 'to a near relative,' i. e. 'to his son, brother, or wife' (Medh.).

187. According to Nâr., this verse refers to cases when one believes a deposit to be with another, but has not made it over oneself; according to Gov. and Kull., to cases where there may be an error. Gov. and Kull. think that the person who should act in the manner described is the king, and they explain *anvikkhet*, 'one should try to obtain,' by 'he should decide.' Nâr. and Râgh., on the other hand, think that the depositor should act thus. The former explanation is perhaps preferable.

189. Yâgñ. II, 66.

or washed away by water or burned by fire, (the bailee) shall not make it good, unless he took part of it (for himself).

190. Him who appropriates a deposit and him (who asks for it) without having made it, (the judge) shall try by all (sorts of) means, and by the oaths prescribed in the Veda.

191. He who does not return a deposit and he who demands what he never bailed shall both be punished like thieves, or be compelled to pay a fine equal (to the value of the object retained or claimed).

192. The king should compel him who does not restore an open deposit, and in like manner him who retains a sealed deposit, to pay a fine equal (to its value).

193. That man who by false pretences may possess himself of another's property, shall be publicly punished by various (modes of) corporal (or capital) chastisement, together with his accomplices.

190. 'By all (sorts of) means,' i. e. 'by the four expedients, kindness and so forth' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'by spies and so forth' (Nâr.), or 'by blows, imprisonment, and so forth' (Medh.). 'By the oaths prescribed in the Veda,' i. e. 'by the ordeals, such as carrying fire' (Gov., Kull., Nâr.). Nâr. quotes a passage of the Veda, in which it is prescribed that the accused shall take hold of a hot axe.

191. Vi. V, 169-171. The former punishment, which consists of mutilation and other corporal punishments (Medh., Nâr., Râgh.), or the highest amercement and the like (Gov.), shall be inflicted on others than Brâhmanas in particularly bad cases and for a repetition of the offence (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.).

192. Medh., Gov., and Kull. refer this rule to first offences. Nâr. takes *aviseshena*, 'in like manner,' to mean 'without making a distinction on account of the caste of the offender.' Medh. explains *upanidhi*, 'a sealed deposit,' by 'an object lent in a friendly manner.'

193. 'By false pretences,' i. e. 'by frightening others with the

194. If a deposit of a particular description or quantity is bailed by anybody in the presence of a number (of witnesses), it must be known to be of that particular (description and quantity; the depositary) who makes a false statement (regarding it) is liable to a fine.

195. But if anything is delivered or received privately, it must be privately returned; as the bailment (was, so should be) the re-delivery.

196. Thus let the king decide (causes) concerning a deposit and a friendly loan (for use) without showing (undue) rigour to the depositary.

197. If anybody sells the property of another man, without being the owner and without the assent of the owner, the (judge) shall not admit him who is a thief, though he may not consider himself as a thief, as a witness (in any case).

198. If the (offender) is a kinsman (of the owner), he shall be fined six hundred *paṇas*; if he is not a kinsman, nor has any excuse, he shall be guilty of theft.

king's anger, by promising to obtain for them favours from the king, or the love of a maiden, and so forth' (Medh.). 'By (various) modes of corporal chastisement,' i. e. 'by cutting off his hands, feet, or his head, &c.' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh.), or 'by decapitating or impaling the offender, or having him trampled to death by elephants, and so forth' (Medh.).

194. I. e. the witnesses must be examined regarding it, and their evidence is conclusive.

196. This conclusion makes it somewhat doubtful if the term *upanidhi*, which occurs verses 185 and 191, and has been translated by 'a sealed deposit' in accordance with the opinion of most commentators, has really that meaning.

198. 'Any excuse,' e. g. 'that he received it as a present, or bought it from the son or other relative of the owner, and so forth' (Gov., Kull.). *Nār.* reads *anavasare*, 'and buys at an improper (time or place).'

199. A gift or sale, made by anybody else but the owner, must be considered as null and void, according to the rule in judicial proceedings.

200. Where possession is evident, but no title is perceived, there the title (shall be) a proof (of ownership), not possession; such is the settled rule.

201. He who obtains a chattel in the market before a number (of witnesses), acquires that chattel with a clear legal title by purchase.

202. If the original (seller) be not producible, (the buyer) being exculpated by a public sale, must be dismissed by the king without punishment, but (the former owner) who lost the chattel shall receive it (back from the buyer).

203. One commodity mixed with another must not be sold (as pure), nor a bad one (as good), nor less (than the proper quantity or weight), nor anything that is not at hand or that is concealed.

199. Nand. omits this verse, and inserts instead, 'He who ignorantly makes a sale without ownership shall be punished according to the above rule (i. e. be fined); but he who does it knowingly shall be punished like a thief.' Nâr. has no trace of verse 199, but quotes the beginning of the verse just translated (anena vidhineti).

200. Nand. places this verse after 202.

201-202. Vi. V, 164-166; Yâgñ. II, 168-170.

202. Thus Medh., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. (Kull., however, taking *sodhita*, 'exculpated,' in the sense of *niskṛita*, 'determined.') But Gov. takes the first part differently. 'If the price cannot be produced by him (the seller)—because he has gone to another country—then the buyer must not be punished by the king, being held to be guiltless on account of the open sale, in accordance with the rule of the preceding verse;' similarly Nand. The difference is caused thereby that Gov. apparently objects to the explanation of *mûlam* (*mûlyam*, Nand.) by 'the original (seller).' According to Kull. the buyer receives half the value from the original owner.

203. Yâgñ. II, 245. 'Concealed,' i. e. 'in a cloth' (Medh., Nâr.), or 'in the earth' (Nand.), or 'covered with paint' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

204. If, after one damsel has been shown, another be given to the bridegroom, he may marry them both for the same price ; that Manu ordained.

205. He who gives (a damsel in marriage), having first openly declared her blemishes, whether she be insane, or afflicted with leprosy, or have lost her virginity, is not liable to punishment.

206. If an officiating priest, chosen to perform a sacrifice, abandons his work, a share only (of the fee) in proportion to the work (done) shall be given to him by those who work with him.

207. But he who abandons his work after the sacrificial fees have been given, shall obtain his full share and cause to be performed (what remains) by another (priest).

208. But if (specific) fees are ordained for the several parts of a rite, shall he (who performs the part) receive them, or shall they all share them?

209. The Adhvaryu priest shall take the chariot, and the Brahman at the kindling of the fires (Agnyâdhâna) a horse, the Hotri priest shall also take a horse, and the Udgâtri the cart, (used) when (the Soma) is purchased.

204. This rule is rather astonishing after what has been said, III, 51-54, regarding the sale of daughters, and it proves that, in spite of all directions to the contrary, wives were purchased in ancient India as frequently as in our days.

207. Yâgñ. II, 265. 'After the sacrificial fees have been given,' i. e. 'at the midday oblation and so forth' (Medh., Kull., Gov.). According to Medh. the sacrificer is to pay the substitute, according to the other commentators the priest who receives the fee.

208. Medh. mentions that specific fees are prescribed at the Râgasûya and similar sacrifices ; see Âsv. Srauta-sûtra IX, 3, 14-15; 4, 7-20.

209. According to Medh. and Kull. all the three first-mentioned gifts are given according to the precepts of some Sâkhâs at the Agnyâdhâna, the kindling of the fires. But Gov. says that the

210. The (four) chief priests among all (the sixteen), who are entitled to one half, shall receive a moiety (of the fee), the next (four) one half of that, the set entitled to a third share, one third, and those entitled to a fourth a quarter.

211. By the application of these principles the allotment of shares must be made among those men who here (below) perform their work conjointly.

212. Should money be given (or promised) for a pious purpose by one man to another who asks for it, the gift shall be void, if the (money is) afterwards not (used) in the manner (stated).

213. But if the (recipient) through pride or greed tries to enforce (the fulfilment of the promise), he shall be compelled by the king to pay one *suvarṇa* as an expiation for his theft.

214. Thus the lawful subtraction of a gift has

Brahman priest receives a swift horse at the Agnyâdhâna, and Nâr. adds that the Hotri receives a horse at the Gyotishṭoma.

210. The four classes of priests, regarding whose functions see Max Müller, *History Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 468 seqq., are: 1. Hotri, Adhvaryu, Brahman, Udgâtri; 2. Maitrâvaruṇa, Pratiprasthâtri, Brâhmanâkṣhamsin, Prastotri; 3. Akṣhâvâka, Neshtri, Agnidhra, Pratihartri; 4. Potri, Subrahmanyâ, Grâvashṭut, Netri. Medh. gives the total as 112, and the shares as 56, 28, 16, 12; Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. the total as 100, and the shares as 48, 24, 16, 8. But Nand. says that the total of the fee, whatever it may be, shall be divided into 25 shares, and the several classes shall receive 12, 6, 4, and 3 such shares respectively. See also Âsv. Srauta-sūtra IX, 4, 3-5. The rule, given in this verse, applies to all ordinary cases.

211. Yâgñ. II, 259, 265. I.e. each is to be paid according to the amount of work which he performs.

212. 'For a pious purpose,' i.e. 'for a sacrifice or a wedding' (Medh.).

213. Samsâdhayet, 'tries to enforce (the fulfilment of the promise),' i.e. 'by a complaint before the king' (Medh.), or 'tries to obtain the money forcibly or refuses to return it' (Kull., Râgh., Gov.).

been fully explained ; I will next propound (the law for) the non-payment of wages.

215. A hired (servant or workman) who, without being ill, out of pride fails to perform his work according to the agreement, shall be fined eight *krishṇālas* and no wages shall be paid to him.

216. But (if he is really) ill, (and) after recovery performs (his work) according to the original agreement, he shall receive his wages even after (the lapse of) a very long time.

217. But if he, whether sick or well, does not (perform or) cause to be performed (by others) his work according to his agreement, the wages for that work shall not be given to him, even (if it be only) slightly incomplete.

218. Thus the law for the non-payment of wages has been completely stated ; I will next explain the law concerning men who break an agreement.

219. If a man belonging to a corporation inhabiting a village or a district, after swearing to an agreement, breaks it through avarice, (the king) shall banish him from his realm,

220. And having imprisoned such a breaker of an agreement, he shall compel him to pay six

215. Âp. II, 28, 2-3 ; Vi. V, 153-154 ; Yâgñ. II, 193. 'Eight *krishṇālas*,' i. e. 'of gold, silver or copper, according to the case' (Medh., Gov.), or 'of gold' (Kull.).

216. I read with Medh., Gov., Nâr., Râgh., and K. *sudîrghasya* for *sa dîrghasya* (Kull., Nand.).

219. Vi. V, 168 ; Yâgñ. II, 192. By 'corporations inhabiting a village or district' are meant according to Medh., village communities and corporations of merchants, mendicants or monks, *Katurvedîs* and so forth, and he mentions regulations regarding the grazing of the cattle on a common as one of the agreements which all must observe.

220. According to others mentioned by Medh. the translation

nishkas, (each of) four suvarṇas, and one satamāna of silver.

221. A righteous king shall apply this law of fines in villages and castes (*gâti*) to those who break an agreement.

222. If anybody in this (world), after buying or selling anything, repent (of his bargain), he may return or take (back) that chattel within ten days.

223. But after (the lapse of) ten days he may neither give nor cause it to be given (back); both he who takes it (back) and he who gives it (back, except by consent) shall be fined by the king six hundred (*panas*).

224. But the king himself shall impose a fine of ninety-six *panas* on him who gives a blemished damsel (to a suitor) without informing (him of the blemish).

225. But that man who, out of malice, says of a maiden, 'She is not a maiden,' shall be fined one hundred (*panas*), if he cannot prove her blemish.

226. The nuptial texts are applied solely to virgins, (and) nowhere among men to females who have lost their virginity, for such (females) are excluded from religious ceremonies.

should be 'four suvarṇas or six nishkas or one satamāna.' Kull. and Râgh. also think it possible that three separate fines may be inflicted according to the circumstances of the case.

222. *Yâgñ.* II, 177. According to Medh., Gov., Kull., the rule refers to things which are not easily spoilt, such as land, copper, &c., not to flowers, fruit, and the like; according to Nâr., to grain and seeds, 'because in other *Smṛitis* different periods are mentioned for other objects' (see *Yâgñ.* loc. cit.).

224-225. *Yâgñ.* I, 66.

224. Regarding the blemishes, see above, verse 205.

226. K. omits this verse.

227. The nuptial texts are a certain proof (that a maiden has been made a lawful) wife ; but the learned should know that they (and the marriage-ceremony) are complete with the seventh step (of the bride around the sacred fire).

228. If anybody in this (world) repent of any completed transaction, (the king) shall keep him on the road of rectitude in accordance with the rules given above.

229. I will fully declare in accordance with the true law (the rules concerning) the disputes, (arising) from the transgressions of owners of cattle and of herdsmen.

230. During the day the responsibility for the safety (of the cattle rests) on the herdsman, during the night on the owner, (provided they are) in his house ; (if it be) otherwise, the herdsman will be responsible (for them also during the night).

231. A hired herdsman who is paid with milk, may milk with the consent of the owner the best (cow) out of ten ; such shall be his hire if no (other) wages (are paid).

232. The herdsman alone shall make good (the loss of a beast) strayed, destroyed by worms, killed by dogs or (by falling) into a pit, if he did not duly exert himself (to prevent it).

227. Nand. omits this verse and the next. After the seventh step has been made the marriage cannot be rescinded (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.).

228. I. e. he may be allowed to rescind a contract for wages and the like within ten days, but not later (Gov., Kull.).

231. Nand. omits this verse.

232. Vi. V, 137-138 ; Yâgñ. I, 164-165. 'By worms,' i. e. according to Medh. by a kind called Ârohakas, who enter the sexual parts of the cows and destroy them ; Râgh. says, 'by snakes and the like.' 'By dogs,' the word is according to Medh. merely intended as an instance for any wild animal.

233. But for (an animal) stolen by thieves, though he raised an alarm, the herdsman shall not pay, provided he gives notice to his master at the proper place and time.

234. If cattle die, let him carry to his master their ears, skin, tails, bladders, tendons, and the yellow concrete bile, and let him point out their particular marks.

235. But if goats or sheep are surrounded by wolves and the herdsman does not hasten (to their assistance), he shall be responsible for any (animal) which a wolf may attack and kill.

236. But if they, kept in (proper) order, graze together in the forest, and a wolf, suddenly jumping on one of them, kills it, the herdsman shall bear in that case no responsibility.

237. On all sides of a village a space, one hundred dhanus or three samyâ-throws (in breadth), shall be reserved (for pasture), and thrice (that space) round a town.

238. If the cattle do damage to unfenced crops on that (common), the king shall in that case not punish the herdsmen.

239. (The owner of the field) shall make there a hedge over which a camel cannot look, and stop

234. I read with Medh. and Gov. *āṅkāms ka*, 'their particular marks,' instead of *āṅgāni*, 'their (other) limbs' (*Râgh.*, *Nand.*, *K.*, and the editions). To judge from the commentary, Kull. must have had the same reading as Medh. and Gov.

235. *Vi. V.*, 137.

237. *Yâgñ. II*, 167. Dhanus, literally 'a bow's length' = 4 hastas or about 6 feet. The samyâ is a short, thick piece of wood, used at sacrifices. A samyâ-throw is mentioned as a measure also by *Âp. I*, 9, 6.

every gap through which a dog or a boar can thrust his head.

240. (If cattle do mischief) in an enclosed field near a highway or near a village, the herdsman shall be fined one hundred (*panas*); (but cattle), unattended by a herdsman, (the watchman in the field) shall drive away.

241. (For damage) in other fields (each head of) cattle shall (pay a fine of) one (*pana*) and a quarter, and in all (cases the value of) the crop (destroyed) shall be made good to the owner of the field; that is the settled rule.

242. But Manu has declared that no fine shall be paid for (damage done by) a cow within ten days after her calving, by bulls and by cattle sacred to the gods, whether they are attended by a herdsman or not.

243. If (the crops are destroyed by) the husbandman's (own) fault, the fine shall amount to ten times as much as (the king's) share; but the fine (shall be) only half that amount if (the fault lay) with the servants and the farmer had no knowledge of it.

240-242. Âp. II, 28, 5; Gaut. XII, 19-26; Vi. V, 140-150; Yâgñ. II, 161-163.

241. 'The cattle,' i.e. 'the herdsman shall pay for the cattle.' 'In all cases,' i.e. 'whether the cattle were attended by a herdsman or not' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

242. A cow is, according to Nâr., during the first days after calving utterly unmanageable. 'Bulls,' i.e. 'those set at liberty (see Vi. LXXXVI) are meant' (Nâr., Kull.), which may be met with near many Indian villages and in many towns. 'Cattle sacred to the gods,' i.e. either 'such as are set apart for sacrifices,' or 'such as are dedicated to temples' (Medh.). The other commentators prefer the second explanation.

243. Âp. II, 28, 1. 'The husbandman's (own) fault,' i.e. 'if he

244. To these rules a righteous king shall keep in (all cases of) transgressions by masters, their cattle, and herdsmen.

245. If a dispute has arisen between two villages concerning a boundary, the king shall settle the limits in the month of *Gyaishtha*, when the landmarks are most distinctly visible.

246. Let him mark the boundaries (by) trees, (e.g.) Nyagrodhas, Arvatthas, Kimsukas, cotton-trees, Sâlas, Palmyra palms, and trees with milky juice,

247. By clustering shrubs, bamboos of different kinds, Samls, creepers and raised mounds, reeds, thickets of Kubgaka; thus the boundary will not be forgotten.

248. Tanks, wells, cisterns, and fountains should be built where boundaries meet, as well as temples,

249. And as he will see that through men's ignorance of the boundaries trespasses constantly occur in the world, let him cause to be made other hidden marks for boundaries,

250. Stones, bones, cow's hair, chaff, ashes, potsherds, dry cowdung, bricks, cinders, pebbles, and sand,

has allowed his crops to be eaten by cattle, or has not sown the field in proper time, &c.' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.).

245. *Gyaishtha*, i.e. May-June, 'when the grass has been dried up by the heat' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.).

246. *Yâgñ.* II, 151. Nyagrodha, *Ficus Indica*; Arvattha, *Ficus Religiosa*; Kimsuka, *Butea Frondosa*; Sâla, *Shorea Robusta*. 'Trees with milky juice,' i.e. 'Arka (*Calatropis Gigantea*), Udumbara (*Ficus Glomerata*), &c.'

247. Samî, *Acacia Suma*; 'mounds,' i.e. the heaps of earth are meant which now are used generally as landmarks in British districts. Instead of Kubgaka Nand. reads Kulyaka.

251. And whatever other things of a similar kind the earth does not corrode even after a long time, those he should cause to be buried where one boundary joins (the other).

252. By these signs, by long continued possession, and by constantly flowing streams of water the king shall ascertain the boundary (of the land) of two disputing parties.

253. If there be a doubt even on inspection of the marks, the settlement of a dispute regarding boundaries shall depend on witnesses.

254. The witnesses, (giving evidence) regarding a boundary, shall be examined concerning the landmarks in the presence of the crowd of the villagers and also of the two litigants.

255. As they, being questioned, unanimously decide, even so he shall record the boundary (in writing), together with their names.

256. Let them, putting earth on their heads, wearing chaplets (of red flowers) and red dresses, being sworn each by (the rewards for) his meritorious deeds, settle (the boundary) in accordance with the truth.

257. If they determine (the boundary) in the

251. According to Kull., who relies on a passage of *Bṛihaspati*, these objects are to be placed in jars.

254. According to the commentators the verse refers to a dispute between two villages, and the two litigants are persons deputed by each village to conduct the case (see also below, verse 261).

255. All the commentators explain *nibadhnīyāt* by 'he shall record in writing,' and as it is specially mentioned that the names of the witnesses shall be given, it seems impossible to take the word in any other sense. Medh. says that, if the witnesses disagree, the opinion of the majority shall be taken.

256-260. *Yāgñ.* II, 150-152.

manner stated, they are guiltless (being) veracious witnesses; but if they determine it unjustly, they shall be compelled to pay a fine of two hundred (panas).

258. On failure of witnesses (from the two villages, men of) the four neighbouring villages, who are pure, shall make (as witnesses) a decision concerning the boundary in the presence of the king.

259. On failure of neighbours (who are) original inhabitants (of the country and can be) witnesses with respect to the boundary, (the king) may hear the evidence even of the following inhabitants of the forest,

260. (Viz.) hunters, fowlers, herdsman, fishermen, root-diggers, snake-catchers, gleaners, and other foresters.

261. As they, being examined, declare the marks for the meeting of the boundaries (to be), even so the king shall justly cause them to be fixed between the two villages.

262. The decision concerning the boundary-marks of fields, wells, tanks, of gardens and houses depends upon (the evidence of) the neighbours.

263. Should the neighbours give false evidence,

258. Men from the four surrounding villages are meant, as Kull. suggests. The correctness of this opinion is proved by the fact that the land-grants usually mention 'the four boundaries' (taturâghâ/anâni) of the villages given away. Medh. and Nand. read gramasâmântavâsinaḥ, 'four men living in, &c.'

259. Maulânâm, 'original inhabitants,' i.e. 'whose ancestors have lived there since the settlement of the village' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

260. 'Other foresters,' i.e. 'those who collect flowers, fruit, and fuel' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or 'Sabaras and the rest' (Nâr.).

262. Vas. XVI, 13-15; Yâgñ. II, 154.

263. Yâgñ. I, 153.

when men dispute about a boundary-mark, the king shall make each of them pay the middlemost amercement as a fine.

264. He who by intimidation possesses himself of a house, a tank, a garden, or a field, shall be fined five hundred (*panas*); (if he trespassed) through ignorance, the fine (shall be) two hundred (*panas*).

265. If the boundary cannot be ascertained (by any evidence), let a righteous king with (the intention of) benefiting them (all), himself assign (his) land (to each); that is the settled rule.

266. Thus the law for deciding boundary (disputes) has been fully declared, I will next propound the (manner of) deciding (cases of) defamation.

267. A Kshatriya, having defamed a Brâhmana, shall be fined one hundred (*panas*); a Vaisya one hundred and fifty or two hundred; a Sûdra shall suffer corporal punishment.

268. A Brâhmana shall be fined fifty (*panas*) for defaming a Kshatriya; in (the case of) a Vaisya the fine shall be twenty-five (*panas*); in (the case of) a Sûdra twelve.

269. For offences of twice-born men against those of equal caste (*varna*, the fine shall be) also twelve (*panas*); for speeches which ought not to be uttered, that (and every fine shall be) double.

270. A once-born man (a Sûdra), who insults a

265. Yâgñ. II, 153.

267-277. Âp. II, 27, 14; Gaut. XII, 1, 8-14; Vas. IX, 9; Vi. V, 23-39; Yâgñ. II, 204-211.

269. 'Speeches that ought not to be uttered,' i.e. 'insinuations against the honour of another's female relatives, especially mothers and sisters' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.), with which the Hindus, like other Orientals, are very ready.

270. The last clause refers, according to the commentators, to the

twice-born man with gross invective, shall have his tongue cut out; for he is of low origin.

271. If he mentions the names and castes (*gâti*) of the (twice-born) with contumely, an iron nail, ten fingers long, shall be thrust red-hot into his mouth.

272. If he arrogantly teaches *Brâhmanas* their duty, the king shall cause hot oil to be poured into his mouth and into his ears.

273. He who through arrogance makes false statements regarding the learning (of a caste-fellow), his country, his caste (*gâti*), or the rites by which his body was sanctified, shall be compelled to pay a fine of two hundred (*panas*).

274. He who even in accordance with the true facts (contemptuously) calls another man one-eyed, lame, or the like (names), shall be fined at least one *kârshâpana*.

275. He who defames his mother, his father, his wife, his brother, his son, or his teacher, and he who gives not the way to his preceptor, shall be compelled to pay one hundred (*panas*).

276. (For mutual abuse) by a *Brâhmana* and a

origin of the *Sûdra* from Brahman's feet; see above, I, 31. According to Medh. the expression 'once-born' includes men born from high-caste fathers and low-caste mothers.

271. I.e. if he says 're *Yagñadatta*,' or 'thou scum of the *Brâhmanas*.'

273. '(Of a caste-fellow),' (Kull., *Râgh.*), Gov. too states that the rule cannot refer to *Sûdras*, because the punishment is too light. Medh. explains karma by 'occupation,' and *sârîram* by 'bodily (deficiencies),' while the others refer karma *sârîram* to a denial of the initiation.

275. *Âkshârayati*, 'defames,' i.e. 'accuses them of a mortal sin' (Gov., Kull., *Râgh.*), or 'of incest' (*Nâr.*), or 'causes dissensions between them and others' (Medh.), or 'makes them angry' (Nand.).

Kshatriya a fine must be imposed by a discerning (king), on the Brâhmaṇa the lowest amercement, but on the Kshatriya the middlemost.

277. A Vaisya and a Sûdra must be punished exactly in the same manner according to their respective castes, but the tongue (of the Sûdra) shall not be cut out; that is the decision.

278. Thus the rules for punishments (applicable to cases) of defamation have been truly declared; I will next propound the decision (of cases) of assault.

279. With whatever limb a man of a low caste does hurt to (a man of the three) highest (castes), even that limb shall be cut off; that is the teaching of Manu.

280. He who raises his hand or a stick, shall have his hand cut off; he who in anger kicks with his foot, shall have his foot cut off.

281. A low-caste man who tries to place himself on the same seat with a man of a high caste, shall be branded on his hip and be banished, or (the king) shall cause his buttock to be gashed.

282. If out of arrogance he spits (on a superior), the king shall cause both his lips to be cut off; if he urines (on him), the penis; if he breaks wind (against him), the anus.

277. I.e. if a Sûdra defames a Vaisya his tongue is not cut out, but he pays the middlemost amercement.

279-280. Vi. V, 19; Yâgyñ. II, 215.

280. Praharet, 'kicks,' i.e. 'lifts his foot in order to kick' (Medh., Nâr., Nand.).

281. Âp. II, 27, 15; Gaut. XII, 7; Vi. V, 20. According to Medh., Gov., Kull., the rule refers to a Brâhmaṇa and a Sûdra; according to Râgh., to the latter and an Âryan; according to Nâr., to a Kshatriya, Vaisya, or Sûdra offending against a Brâhmaṇa.

282. Vi. V, 21-22.

283. If he lays hold of the hair (of a superior), let the (king) unhesitatingly cut off his hands, likewise (if he takes him) by the feet, the beard, the neck, or the scrotum.

284. He who breaks the skin (of an equal) or fetches blood (from him) shall be fined one hundred (panas), he who cuts a muscle six nishkas, he who breaks a bone shall be banished.

285. According to the usefulness of the several (kinds of) trees a fine must be inflicted for injuring them; that is the settled rule.

286. If a blow is struck against men or animals in order to (give them) pain, (the judge) shall inflict a fine in proportion to the amount of pain (caused).

287. If a limb is injured, a wound (is caused), or blood (flows, the assailant) shall be made to pay (to the sufferer) the expenses of the cure, or the whole (both the usual amercement and the expenses of the cure as a) fine (to the king).

284. Vi. V, 66-70; Yâgñ. II, 218. '(Of an equal),' (Medh., Kull., Nand.) According to Râgh., the rule refers to Sûdras assaulting Sûdras. According to Nâr., the last offender's property shall be confiscated.

285. Vi. V, 55-59; Yâgñ. II, 227-228. The expression 'trees' includes all plants (Medh., Kull.). According to Gov., the fine for injuring trees which give shade only is to be very small; in the case of flower-bearing trees, middling; in the case of fruit-trees, high (see Vi. loc. cit.). Medh. remarks that the position of the trees, e.g. whether they are boundary-marks, or stand on a cross-road, in a hermitage, &c., has to be taken into account (see Yâgñ. loc. cit.).

286-287. Vi. V, 75-76; Yâgñ. II, 219, 222.

287. Instead of *vraṇa*, 'a wound' (Kull., Nâr.), Medh., Gov., Râgh., Nand., and K. read *prâṇa*. Medh. explains the latter reading by 'if the vital strength is injured,' and Gov. and Râgh. by 'if the breathing power is injured by gagging.' 'Or the whole (as a) fine,' i. e. if the person injured refuses the compensation. Nâr. says, 'and shall pay the whole fine, mentioned above.'

288. He who damages the goods of another, be it intentionally or unintentionally, shall give satisfaction to the (owner) and pay to the king a fine equal to the (damage).

289. In the case of (damage done to) leather, or to utensils of leather, of wood, or of clay, the fine (shall be) five times their value; likewise in the case of (damage to) flowers, roots, and fruit.

290. They declare with respect to a carriage, its driver and its owner, (that there are) ten cases in which no punishment (for damage done) can be inflicted; in other cases a fine is prescribed.

291. When the nose-string is snapped, when the yoke is broken, when the carriage turns sideways or back, when the axle or a wheel is broken,

292. When the leather-thongs, the rope around the neck or the bridle are broken, and when (the driver) has loudly called out, 'Make way,' Manu has declared (that in all these cases) no punishment (shall be inflicted).

293. But if the cart turns off (the road) through the driver's want of skill, the owner shall be fined, if damage (is done), two hundred (paṇas).

294. If the driver is skilful (but negligent), he alone shall be fined; if the driver is unskilful, the occupants of the carriage (also) shall be each fined one hundred (paṇas).

295. But if he is stopped on his way by cattle or

288. 'The goods,' i.e. 'such objects as are not mentioned specially' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.).

291-295. Yāgñ. II, 298-299.

291. 'When the carriage turns sideways or backwards,' i.e. 'off the road owing to its badness, to the animals taking fright, &c.' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.).

295. There are two readings, *aviṭāritaḥ*, 'without doubt' (lit. 'not

by (another) carriage, and he causes the death of any living being, a fine shall without doubt be imposed.

296. If a man is killed, his guilt will be at once the same as (that of) a thief; for large animals such as cows, elephants, camels or horses, half of that.

297. For injuring small cattle the fine (shall be) two hundred (*panas*); the fine for beautiful wild quadrupeds and birds shall amount to fifty (*panas*).

298. For donkeys, sheep, and goats the fine shall be five *māshas*; but the punishment for killing a dog or a pig shall be one *māsha*.

299. A wife, a son, a slave, a pupil, and a (younger) brother of the full blood, who have committed faults, may be beaten with a rope or a split bamboo,

300. But on the back part of the body (only), never on a noble part; he who strikes them otherwise will incur the same guilt as a thief.

301. Thus the whole law of assault (and hurt) has been declared completely; I will now explain the rules for the decision (in cases) of theft.

302. Let the king exert himself to the utmost to

considered'), and *viârita*, 'is considered (to be just).' Medh. gives besides the explanation, adopted in the translation according to Kull., another one, 'is not considered (just).' He mentions also the second reading, which Gov., Râgh., Nâr., and Nand. have, and explains it with them by 'is considered (to be just).'

296. 'The same as that of a thief,' i. e. 'he must pay the highest amercement, or 1000 *panas*' (Medh., Gov., Nâr., Kull., Râgh., Nand.).

297-298. Vi. V, 50-54.

299-300. Âp. I, 8, 31; Gaut. II, 43-44.

300. 'Not on a noble part,' i. e. 'not on the chest or the head, &c.' (Medh., Kull.).

punish thieves; for, if he punishes thieves, his fame grows and his kingdom prospers.

303. That king, indeed, is ever worthy of honour who ensures the safety (of his subjects); for the sacrificial session (*sattra*, which he, as it were, performs thereby) ever grows in length, the safety (of his subjects representing) the sacrificial fee.

304. A king who (duly) protects (his subjects) receives from each and all the sixth part of their spiritual merit; if he does not protect them, the sixth part of their demerit also (will fall on him).

305. Whatever (merit a man gains by) reading the Veda, by sacrificing, by charitable gifts, (or by) worshipping (Gurus and gods), the king obtains a sixth part of that in consequence of his duly protecting (his kingdom).

306. A king who protects the created beings in accordance with the sacred law and smites those worthy of corporal punishment, daily offers (as it were) sacrifices at which hundred thousands (are given as) fees.

307. A king who does not afford protection, (yet) takes his share in kind, his taxes, tolls and duties, daily presents and fines, will (after death) soon sink into hell.

303-311. Âp. II, 25, 15; Vas. I, 42-44; Vi. V, 196; Yâgñ. I, 335-336, 358; see also below, IX, 252 seqq.

307. 'The share in kind,' i.e. 'the sixth part of the harvest' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), or 'the choice portions of fruit, grain, &c. to be given to the king.' 'Taxes,' i.e. *gaṅghādāna* (Medh.), or the land-tax paid in money (Nâr.), 'monthly taxes, or taxes payable in certain months by the villagers' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). *Sulka*, i.e. 'the tolls and duties payable by merchants and traders' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). For *pratibhāgam*, i.e. 'the daily presents of fruit, vegetables, &c.,' the so-called *Dālīs* (Medh., Kull.),

308. They declare that a king who affords no protection, (yet) receives the sixth part of the produce, takes upon himself all the foulness of his whole people.

309. Know that a king who heeds not the rules (of the law), who is an atheist, and rapacious, who does not protect (his subjects, but) devours them, will sink low (after death).

310. Let him carefully restrain the wicked by three methods,—by imprisonment, by putting them in fetters, and by various (kinds of) corporal punishments.

311. For by punishing the wicked and by favouring the virtuous, kings are constantly sanctified, just as twice-born men by sacrifices.

312. A king who desires his own welfare must always forgive litigants, infants, aged and sick men, who inveigh against him.

313. He who, being abused by men in pain, pardons (them), will in reward of that (act) be exalted in heaven; but he who, (proud) of his kingly state,

Nâr. and Râgh. read *pratibhogam*, Gov. *bhûtibhogam*, and Nand. *prîtibhogam*, but the explanation of the first two var. lect. is the same. *Prîtibhoga* would however denote all 'benevolences,' which usually are called *prîtîdâna* and are levied on particular occasions.

308. Medh. and Nâr. read *arakshitâram attâram*, '(a king) who affords no protection, (yet) devours (his subjects and) takes, &c.'

309. Nand. reads at the end of the verse *asatyam ka nrîpam tyaget*, 'Let him forsake a king who heeds not the rules . . . and is untruthful.' This var. lect. is mentioned by Medh. *Vipralumpakam* (or 'lopakam'), 'rapacious,' means according to Nâr., Nand., and Râgh. 'who takes the goods of *Brâhmanas* or injures them.'

310. 'The wicked,' i.e. 'thieves, because the topic (is theft),' (Medh.).

311. 'Twice-born men,' i.e. '*Brâhmanas*' (Medh., Nâr.).

forgives them not, will for that (reason) sink into hell.

314. A thief shall, running, approach the king, with flying hair, confessing that theft (and saying), 'Thus have I done, punish me;'

315. (And he must) carry on his shoulder a pestle, or a club of Khadira wood, or a spear sharp at both ends, or an iron staff.

316. Whether he be punished or pardoned, the thief is freed from the (guilt of) theft; but the king, if he punishes not, takes upon himself the guilt of the thief.

317. The killer of a learned Brāhmaṇa throws his guilt on him who eats his food, an adulterous wife on her (negligent) husband, a (sinning) pupil or sacrificer on (their negligent) teacher (or priest), a thief on the king (who pardons him).

318. But men who have committed crimes and have been punished by the king, go to heaven, being pure like those who performed meritorious deeds.

319. He who steals the rope or the water-pot from a well, or damages a hut where water is distri-

314-316. Âp. I, 25, 4-5; Gaut. XII, 43-45; Vas. XX, 41; Baudh. II, 1, 16-17; Vi. LII, 1-2; Yâgñ. III, 257.

314. Medh. and Nand. read instead of dhāvata, 'running,' dhīmatā, (shall approach the king) 'with firm determination.' But Medh. mentions the other reading too, the correctness of which is attested by Vas. loc. cit. According to the commentators and the parallel passages, a repentant thief is meant who has stolen gold belonging to a Brāhmaṇa; see also below, XI, 199-201.

317. Vas. XIX, 44. Medh. gives verse 317 after 318, but remarks that the order ought to be inverted. He says that a priest must leave a disobedient sacrificer; else the guilt of irregularities committed by the latter will fall upon the priest.

319. 'Damages,' i.e. 'takes away the wood belonging to it' (Nâr.).

buted, shall pay one mâsha as a fine and restore the (article abstracted or damaged) in its (proper place).

320. On him who steals more than ten kumbhas of grain corporal punishment (shall be inflicted); in other cases he shall be fined eleven times as much, and shall pay to the (owner the value of his) property.

321. So shall corporal punishment be inflicted for stealing more than a hundred (palas) of articles sold by the weight, (i. e.) of gold, silver, and so forth, and of most excellent clothes.

322. For (stealing) more than fifty (palas) it is enacted that the hands (of the offender) shall be cut off; but in other cases, let him inflict a fine of eleven times the value.

323. For stealing men of noble family and especially women and the most precious gems, (the offender) deserves corporal (or capital) punishment.

324. For stealing large animals, weapons, or medicines, let the king fix a punishment, after considering the time and the purpose (for which they were destined).

'One mâsha,' i. e. 'of copper' (Medh.), 'of gold' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.).

320. Vi. V, 12. 'A kumbha is equal to 20 or 22 prasthas of 32 palas each' (Medh.), or 'to 20 droṇas of 200 palas each' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'to 200 palas' (Nâr.). Vadhaḥ, 'corporal punishment,' i. e. 'flogging, mutilation, or even capital punishment, according to the quality of the person robbed' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

321. Vi. V, 13. According to Nâr. and Râgh., other things than gold and silver are to be understood by dharima, 'sold by the weight.' But Medh., Gov., and Kull. explain as above.

322. Vi. V, 81-82. Nâr. thinks that this rule refers to copper and the like metals of small value. But it is also possible to remove the seeming inconsistency, by explaining the term vadhaḥ in the preceding verse by 'capital punishment.'

324-325. Vi. V, 77-78.

324. 'The purpose for which the object was destined,' i. e. 'whether

325. For (stealing) cows belonging to Brâhmanas, for piercing (the nostrils of) a barren cow, and for stealing (other) cattle (belonging to Brâhmanas, the offender) shall forthwith lose half his feet.

326. (For stealing) thread, cotton, drugs causing fermentation, cowdung, molasses, sour milk, sweet milk, butter-milk, water, or grass,

327. Vessels made of bamboo or other cane, salt of various kinds, earthen (vessels), earth and ashes,

328. Fish, birds, oil, clarified butter, meat, honey, and other things that come from beasts,

329. Or other things of a similar kind, spirituous liquor, boiled rice, and every kind of cooked food, the fine (shall be) twice the value (of the stolen article).

330. For flowers, green corn, shrubs, creepers, trees, and other unhusked (grain) the fine (shall be) five *krishnalas*.

weapons were stolen during a combat, or medicines from a very sick man' (Medh., Gov., Râgh.).

325. Instead of the reading of the editions, '*sthûrikâyâs ka bhêdane*,' Medh., Nâr., Râgh., Nand., and K. have '*sthûrikâyâs ka bhedane*,' which is no doubt the correct version, the vulgata being caused by a mislecture of the old form of the letter 'tha.' Kull. and Râgh. explain the phrase in the manner given above, and Gov., who reads '*nâsa[si]kâyâs ka bhedane*,' agrees with them. Medh., on the other hand, says that *sthûrikâ* means 'an ox' (*balîvardaḥ*), and the phrase must be taken 'for pricking with a goad (and using for one's purpose) the ox (of another man).' Nâr. finally asserts that *sthûrikâ* means 'a load placed on an ox,' and interprets the words by 'for cutting open a sack carried by an ox and abstracting its contents.'

326-331. Vi. V, 83-86.

328. 'Other things that come from beasts,' i. e. 'skins, horns, *goroṭanâ*, &c.' (Gov., Nâr., Kull., Râgh.).

329. 'Other things of a similar kind,' i. e. 'red arsenic, red lead, &c.' (Gov., Kull.), or 'other eatables' (Nand.).

330. Gaut. XII, 18. Gov. reads *alpeshu*, 'for a little unhusked

331. For husked grain, vegetables, roots, and fruit the fine (shall be) one hundred (*panas*) if there is no connexion (between the owner and the thief), fifty (*panas*) if such a connexion exists.

332. An offence (of this description), which is committed in the presence (of the owner) and with violence, will be robbery; if (it is committed) in his absence, it will be theft; likewise if (the possession of) anything is denied after it has been taken.

333. On that man who may steal (any of) the above-mentioned articles, when they are prepared for (use), let the king inflict the first (or lowest) amercement; likewise on him who may steal (a sacred) fire out of the room (in which it is kept).

334. With whatever limb a thief in any way commits (an offence) against men, even of that (the king) shall deprive him in order to prevent (a repetition of the crime).

(grain),’ instead of anyeshu, ‘other.’ ‘Five *krishṇa*las,’ i. e. ‘of gold’ (Medh.), ‘of gold or silver’ (Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

331. Niranvaye, ‘if there be no connexion (between the owner and the thief),’ means according to Medh. either ‘if there be no connexion by friendly mutual leading,’ or ‘if there be no connexion such as residence in the same village,’ or ‘if there was no watchman in the field.’ Gov. and Nâr. agree with the first explanation, Kull. and Râgh. with the second; but see above, verse 198.

332. *Yâgñ.* II, 230. Medh. and Nâr. place this verse after the next.

333. ‘Prepared for use,’ i. e. ‘for eating’ (Medh., Nâr.), or ‘thread worked into cloth’ (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.). ‘Fire,’ i. e. either the sacred fire (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), or also the common fire (Gov.). Medh. and Nand. read *satam*, ‘one hundred *panas*,’ instead of *âdya*m, ‘the lowest amercement,’ which latter reading Medh. mentions too.

334. *Pratyâdesâya*, ‘in order to prevent (a repetition of the offence),’ (Gov., Kull., Râgh., Nand.), means according to Medh. and Nâr. ‘in order to deter (others).’

335. Neither a father, nor a teacher, nor a friend, nor a mother, nor a wife, nor a son, nor a domestic priest must be left unpunished by a king, if they do not keep within their duty.

336. Where another common man would be fined one *kârshâpana*, the king shall be fined one thousand; that is the settled rule.

337. In (a case of) theft the guilt of a *Sûdra* shall be eightfold, that of a *Vaisya* sixteenfold, that of a *Kshatriya* two-and-thirtyfold,

338. That of a *Brâhmaṇa* sixty-fourfold, or quite a hundredfold, or (even) twice four-and-sixtyfold; (each of them) knowing the nature of the offence.

339. (The taking of) roots and of fruit from trees, of wood for a (sacrificial) fire, and of grass for feeding cows, *Manu* has declared (to be) no theft.

340. A *Brâhmaṇa*, seeking to obtain property from a man who took what was not given to him, either by sacrificing for him or by teaching him, is even like a thief.

341. A twice-born man, who is travelling and whose provisions are exhausted, shall not be fined, if he takes two stalks of sugar-cane or two (esculent) roots from the field of another man.

335. *Yâgñ.* I, 357.

336. The king shall throw the money, due as a fine for an offence he may have committed, into the water or give it to *Brâhmaṇas* (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*), in accordance with IX, 245.

337-338. *Gaut.* XII, 15-17.

337. 'The guilt' means of course that the offender has to pay a fine in proportion.

339. *Âp.* I, 28, 3; *Gaut.* XII, 28; *Yâgñ.* II, 166. According to *Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Nâr.*, and *Râgh.*, the condition is that the things taken were unenclosed.

341. *Gaut.* XII, 49-50; see also below, IX, 239, 241.

342. He who ties up unbound or sets free tied up (cattle of other men), he who takes a slave, a horse, or a carriage will have incurred the guilt of a thief.

343. A king who punishes thieves according to these rules, will gain fame in this world and after death unsurpassable bliss.

344. A king who desires to gain the throne of Indra and imperishable eternal fame, shall not, even for a moment, neglect (to punish) the man who commits violence.

345. He who commits violence must be considered as the worst offender, (more wicked) than a defamer, than a thief, and than he who injures (another) with a staff.

346. But that king who pardons the perpetrator of violence quickly perishes and incurs hatred.

347. Neither for friendship's sake, nor for the sake of great lucre, must a king let go perpetrators of violence, who cause terror to all creatures.

348. Twice-born men may take up arms when (they are) hindered (in the fulfilment of) their duties, when destruction (threatens) the twice-born castes (*varṇa*) in (evil) times,

342. 'Takes a slave, &c.,' i. e. 'makes them do his work' (*Nâr.*). The other commentators think of actual theft.

344. *Sâhasa*, 'violence,' comprises according to *Medh.* robbery (see also above, verse 332), rape, arson, cutting clothes, or forcibly destroying property.

348-351. *Gaut.* VII, 25; *Vas.* III, 15-18, 24; *Baudh.* I, 18-23; *Vi. V.* 189-192.

348. I. e. when robbers and so forth do not allow the twice-born to offer sacrifices or to fulfil other sacred duties (*Medh.*), or when in times of a foreign invasion (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*), or of a famine (*Nâr.*), the twice-born castes are threatened by an improper intermixture (*saṃkara*).

349. In their own defence, in a strife for the fees of officiating priests, and in order to protect women and Brāhmanas; he who (under such circumstances) kills in the cause of right, commits no sin.

350. One may slay without hesitation an assassin who approaches (with murderous intent), whether (he be one's) teacher, a child or an aged man, or a Brāhmaṇa deeply versed in the Vedas.

351. By killing an assassin the slayer incurs no guilt, whether (he does it) publicly or secretly; in that case fury recoils upon fury.

352. Men who commit adultery with the wives of others, the king shall cause to be marked by punishments which cause terror, and afterwards banish. +

353. For by (adultery) is caused a mixture of the castes (varṇa) among men; thence (follows) sin, which cuts up even the roots and causes the destruction of everything. L.

354. A man formerly accused of (such) offences, who secretly converses with another man's wife, shall pay the first (or lowest) amercement.

355. But a man, not before accused, who (thus) speaks with (a woman) for some (reasonable) cause, shall not incur any guilt, since in him there is no transgression.

350. According to Kull. the condition is that one must be unable to save oneself by flight, according to Nār. one must not wound such a man 'excessively.'

351. 'Secretly,' i. e. 'by incantations or spells' (Gov., Nār., Nand.).

353. I. e. if a mixture of the castes takes place, the sacrifices cannot be offered properly, because duly qualified sacrificers are wanting. If sacrifices are not duly offered, no rain will fall (see above, III, 76), and everything will perish (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.).

354-358. Âp. II, 26, 18-19; Yâgñ. II, 284.

356. He who addresses the wife of another man at a Tīrtha, outside the village, in a forest, or at the confluence of rivers, shall suffer (the punishment for) adulterous acts (*saṁgrahana*).

357. Offering presents (to a woman), romping (with her), touching her ornaments and dress, sitting with her on a bed, all (these acts) are considered adulterous acts (*saṁgrahana*).

358. If one touches a woman in a place (which ought) not (to be touched) or allows (oneself to be touched in such a spot), all (such acts done) with mutual consent are declared (to be) adulterous (*saṁgrahana*).

✓ 359. A man who is not a Brāhmaṇa ought to suffer death for adultery (*saṁgrahana*); for the wives of all the four castes even must always be carefully guarded.

360. Mendicants, bards, men who have performed the initiatory ceremony of a Vedic sacrifice, and artisans are not prohibited from speaking to married women.

356. 'A Tīrtha,' i. e. 'a place on the river-bank where the women fetch water' (Medh., Nār., Rāgh.). The punishment is the highest amercement (Kull.). Nand. places this verse after 357.

358. Nand. says, 'If one touches a woman in a lonely place.' Gov. also mentions this explanation.

359. According to Gov., Kull., Rāgh. this rule refers to adultery committed by a Sūdra with a Brāhmaṇī (Rāgh.) or to the violation of a Brāhmaṇī by a Sūdra (Gov., Kull.). Medh., too, thinks that a Sūdra alone is to suffer capital punishment for adultery with an Āryan woman. Nand., finally, says that Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sūdras are meant, who offend with a female of a higher caste. Possibly the correct explanation of *prāṇāntam dandam*, 'death,' may, however, be 'a punishment, even death.' This rendering at least removes all the difficulties created by the parallel passages and the following verses.

361. Let no man converse with the wives of others after he has been forbidden (to do so); but he who converses (with them), in spite of a prohibition, shall be fined one *suvarṇa*.

362. This rule does not apply to the wives of actors and singers, nor (of) those who live on (the intrigues of) their own (wives); for such men send their wives (to others) or, concealing themselves, allow them to hold criminal intercourse.

363. Yet he who secretly converses with such women, or with female slaves kept by one (master), and with female ascetics, shall be compelled to pay a small fine.

364. He who violates an unwilling maiden shall instantly suffer corporal punishment; but a man who enjoys a willing maiden shall not suffer corporal punishment, if (his caste be) the same (as hers).

365. From a maiden who makes advances to a (man of) high (caste), he shall not take any fine; but her, who courts a (man of) low (caste), let him force to live confined in her house.

361. *Yāgñ.* II, 285.

362. *Baudh.* II, 4, 3. I translate *kāraṇa* according to the commentators by 'actors and singers,' but it may also be the name of a caste which is well known in Western India.

363. 'Female ascetics,' i. e. 'Rakshakās (?)', *Sīlamitrās* (?), and so forth' (*Medh.*), or 'Buddhist nuns' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Rāgh.*). *Nār.* says 'female mendicants.' It deserves to be noted that according to a passage attributed by *Gov.* and *Nār.* to *Baudhāyana*, but not found in our text, 'some' permitted even orthodox females to become ascetics. Female ascetics were probably in ancient India as common as they are now, and were considered equally disreputable.

364-368. *Yāgñ.* II, 288.

365. 'From a maiden,' i. e. 'from her relatives or guardians' (*Medh.*). According to *Kull.* and *Nār.* the girl is to be fettered, according to *Medh.* to be guarded by her relatives. The confinement is to last until she is cured of her attachment.

366. A (man of) low (caste) who makes love to a maiden (of) the highest (caste) shall suffer corporal punishment; he who addresses a maiden (of) equal (caste) shall pay the nuptial fee, if her father desires it.

367. But if any man through insolence forcibly contaminates a maiden, two of his fingers shall be instantly cut off, and he shall pay a fine of six hundred (paṇas).

368. A man (of) equal (caste) who defiles a willing maiden shall not suffer the amputation of his fingers, but shall pay a fine of two hundred (paṇas) in order to deter him from a repetition (of the offence).

369. A damsel who pollutes (another) damsel must be fined two hundred (paṇas), pay the double of her (nuptial) fee, and receive ten (lashes with a) rod.

370. But a woman who pollutes a damsel shall instantly have (her head) shaved or two fingers cut off, and be made to ride (through the town) on a donkey.

371. If a wife, proud of the greatness of her relatives or (her own) excellence, violates the duty which she owes to her lord, the king shall cause

366. The meaning of the second clause is that if the father wishes it, the offender is to marry the girl, after paying the nuptial fee (Kull., Nâr.). If the father does not wish to receive the fee, the offender is to pay an equal sum as a fine to the king (Medh., Gov., Râgh.).

370. According to Medh. and Nâr. the verse prescribes three different punishments, and a Brâhmaṇ offender is to be shaved, a Kshatriyâ to be led through the streets on a donkey, while women of other castes are to lose two fingers. According to Gov., Kull., and Râgh. the punishment is to be regulated by the circumstances.

371-372. Gaut. XXIII, 14-15; Vi. V, 18.

her to be devoured by dogs in a place frequented by many.

372. Let him cause the male offender to be burnt on a red-hot iron bed ; they shall put logs under it, (until) the sinner is burned (to death).

373. On a man (once) convicted, who is (again) accused within a year, a double fine (must be inflicted); even thus (must the fine be doubled) for (repeated) intercourse with a Vrâtyâ and a *Kandâli*.

374. A Sûdra who has intercourse with a woman of a twice-born caste (*varna*), guarded or unguarded, (shall be punished in the following manner): if she was unguarded, he loses the part (offending) and all his property; if she was guarded, everything (even his life).

375. (For intercourse with a guarded Brâhman, a Vaisya shall forfeit all his property after imprisonment for a year; a Kshatriya shall be fined one thousand (*panas*) and be shaved with the urine (of an ass).

376. If a Vaisya or a Kshatriya has connexion with an unguarded Brâhman, let him fine the Vaisya five hundred (*panas*) and the Kshatriya one thousand.

377. But even these two, if they offend with a

373. 'A Vrâtyâ,' i.e. 'the wife of an Âryan who has not been initiated' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.); see above, II, 39; or 'one not married in proper time' (Nâr. and Medh.), which latter attempts also another explanation, 'a public woman' or 'one common to several men.' The fine intended is two thousand *panas* (Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

374. Âp. II, 26, 20; 27, 9; Gaut. XII, 2-3; Vas. XXI, 5, 5; Baudh. II, 3, 52; Yâgñ. II, 286, 294. 'Guarded,' i.e. 'by her husband or relatives' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.).

377. Âp. II, 26, 20; Vas. XXI, 2-3; Yâgñ. II, 286. 'Like a Sûdra,' see verse 374.

Brâhmanî (not only) guarded (but the wife of an eminent man), shall be punished like a Sûdra or be burnt in a fire of dry grass.

378. A Brâhmana who carnally knows a guarded Brâhmanî against her will, shall be fined one thousand (*panas*); but he shall be made to pay five hundred, if he had connexion with a willing one.

379. Tonsure (of the head) is ordained for a Brâhmana (instead of) capital punishment; but (men of) other castes shall suffer capital punishment.

380. Let him never slay a Brâhmana, though he have committed all (possible) crimes; let him banish such an (offender), leaving all his property (to him) and (his body) unhurt.

381. No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brâhmana; a king, therefore, must not even conceive in his mind the thought of killing a Brâhmana.

382. If a Vaisya approaches a guarded female of the Kshatriya caste, or a Kshatriya a (guarded) Vaisya woman, they both deserve the same punishment as in the case of an unguarded Brâhmana female.

383. A Brâhmana shall be compelled to pay a fine of one thousand (*panas*) if he has intercourse with guarded (females of) those two (castes); for (offending with) a (guarded) Sûdra female a fine of one thousand (*panas* shall be inflicted) on a Kshatriya or a Vaisya.

384. For (intercourse with) an unguarded Kshatriyâ a fine of five hundred (*panas* shall fall) on a

382. According to the commentators the rule of verse 376 applies.

Vaisya; but (for the same offence) a Kshatriya shall be shaved with the urine (of a donkey) or (pay) the same fine.

385. A Brâhmana who approaches unguarded females (of the) Kshatriya or Vaisya (castes), or a Sûdra female, shall be fined five hundred (*panas*); but (for intercourse with) a female (of the) lowest (castes), one thousand.

386. That king in whose town lives no thief, no adulterer, no defamer, no man guilty of violence, and no committer of assaults, attains the world of Sakra (Indra).

387. The suppression of those five in his dominions secures to a king paramount sovereignty among his peers and fame in the world.

388. A sacrificer who forsakes an officiating priest, and an officiating priest who forsakes a sacrificer, (each being) able to perform his work and not contaminated (by grievous crimes), must each be fined one hundred (*panas*).

389. Neither a mother, nor a father, nor a wife, nor a son shall be cast off; he who casts them off, unless guilty of a crime causing loss of caste, shall be fined by the king six hundred (*panas*).

390. If twice-born men dispute among each other

385. 'A female of the lowest castes,' i.e. 'a *Kandâli*' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'belonging to the castes of washermen, leather-workers, actors, basket-makers, fishermen, Medas, or Bhillas' (Nâr.).

386. Vi. V, 196.

388. 'An officiating priest,' i.e. 'one who has sacrificed for his family since many generations' (Gov., Nâr.).

389. Vi. V, 163; Yâgñ. II, 237. 'Shall not be cast off,' i.e. 'shall not be refused maintenance or the due respect' (Medh., Gov., Kull.).

390. 'Of the orders,' i.e. 'of the four orders' (Nâr., Râgh.), or 'of the householders' (Gov., Kull.). Medh. and Nand. take âsrama

concerning the duty of the orders, a king who desires his own welfare should not (hastily) decide (what is) the law.

391. Having shown them due honour, he should, with (the assistance of) Brâhmanas, first soothe them by gentle (speech) and afterwards teach them their duty.

392. A Brâhmana who does not invite his next neighbour and his neighbour next but one, (though) both (be) worthy (of the honour), to a festival at which twenty Brâhmanas are entertained, is liable to a fine of one mâsha.

393. A Srotriya who does not entertain a virtuous Srotriya at auspicious festive rites, shall be made to pay him twice (the value of) the meal and a mâsha of gold (as a fine to the king).

394. A blind man, an idiot, (a cripple) who moves with the help of a board, a man full seventy years old, and he who confers benefits on Srotriyas, shall not be compelled by any (king) to pay a tax.

not in the sense of 'order,' but of 'hermitage,' and 'twice-born men' in the sense of 'hermits.' Nâr. explains na vibrûyât, 'shall not (hastily) decide,' by 'shall not wrongly decide by himself.'

392. Vi. V, 94; Yâgñ. II, 263. 'A festival,' i.e. 'a wedding and so forth' (Medh.), or 'at which a dinner is given' (Nand.). Anuversya, 'his next neighbour but one' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), means according to Medh., Gov., and Nand. 'he who lives at the back of his house,' while the neighbour living opposite is the prâtiversitya. 'Twenty,' i.e. 'twenty or more other Brâhmanas' (Gov.). 'A mâsha,' i.e. 'of silver' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'of gold' (Medh., Nâr.).

393. 'A virtuous Srotriya,' i.e. 'a neighbour' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'living in the same village' (Nâr.). Medh. says, 'one who is not a neighbour.'

394. Âp. II, 26, 10-15; Vas. XIX, 23-24. '(A cripple) who moves with the help of a board' is not an uncommon sight in the streets of Indian towns. 'By any (king),' i.e. 'even by one whose treasury is empty.'

395. Let the king always treat kindly a Srotriya, a sick or distressed man, an infant and an aged or an indigent man, a man of high birth, and an honourable man (Ārya).

396. A washerman shall wash (the clothes of his employers) gently on a smooth board of Sālmalt-wood ; he shall not return the clothes (of one person) for those (of another), nor allow anybody (but the owner) to wear them.

397. A weaver (who has received) ten palas (of thread), shall return (cloth weighing) one pala more ; he who acts differently shall be compelled to pay a fine of twelve (paṇas).

398. Let the king take one-twentieth of that (amount) which men, well acquainted with the settlement of tolls and duties (and) skilful in (estimating the value of) all kinds of merchandise, may fix as the value for each saleable commodity.

399. Let the king confiscate the whole property of (a trader) who out of greed exports goods of which the king has a monopoly or (the export of which is) forbidden.

396. Yāgñ. II, 238. Sālmali, or cotton-tree wood, is naturally soft (Medh.).

397. Yāgñ. II, 179. Instead of 'twelve (paṇas),' (Kull., Rāgh.), Medh. proposes 'twelve (palas),' Gov. 'twelve (times the value of the thread),' and Nār. 'one-twelfth (of the value of the thread).' Nand. reads daraphalam and ekaphalādhikam, and says that the weaver is to pay to the king the profit of each eleventh piece of work which he performs.

398. Yāgñ. II, 261. Instead of 'of that (amount),' (Medh., Nār.), Gov., Kull., and Rāgh. say 'of the profit on that.'

399. Yāgñ. II, 261. Medh. gives as instances of monopolies, elephants ; in Kasmīr, saffron ; in the east, fine cloth and wool ; in the west, horses ; in the south, precious stones and pearls. Saffron is still a royal monopoly in Kasmīr.

400. He who avoids a custom-house (or a toll), he who buys or sells at an improper time, or he who makes a false statement in enumerating (his goods), shall be fined eight times (the amount of duty) which he tried to evade.

401. Let (the king) fix (the rates for) the purchase and sale of all marketable goods, having (duly) considered whence they come, whither they go, how long they have been kept, the (probable) profit and the (probable) outlay.

402. Once in five nights, or at the close of each fortnight, let the king publicly settle the prices for the (merchants).

403. All weights and measures must be duly marked, and once in six months let him re-examine them.

404. At a ferry an (empty) cart shall be made to pay one *pana*, a man's (load) half a *pana*, an animal and a woman one quarter of a (*pana*), an unloaded man one-half of a quarter.

405. Carts (laden) with vessels full (of merchandise) shall be made to pay toll at a ferry according to the value (of the goods), empty vessels and men without luggage some trifle.

400. *Yâgñ.* II, 262. 'At an improper time,' i. e. 'at night and so forth' (Medh., Gov., Nâr., Kull., Râgh.).

402. *Yâgñ.* II, 251. Gov. and Kull. say, 'let the king settle the price in the presence of those (experts,' see verse 398). The translation follows Râgh. The length of the periods depends thereon, whether the goods vary much in price. Medh. omits this and the next four verses.

403. Vas. XIX, 13.

405. 'Empty vessels,' i. e. such as serve for the transport of merchandise, jars, leather-bags, baskets, &c. *Aparikkhadâh*, 'men without luggage,' may also be translated 'men without attendants.' Kull. and Râgh. say, 'poor men.'

406. For a long passage the boat-hire must be proportioned to the places and times; know that this (rule refers) to (passages along) the banks of rivers; at sea there is no settled (freight).

407. But a woman who has been pregnant two months or more, an ascetic, a hermit in the forest, and Brâhmanas who are students of the Veda, shall not be made to pay toll at a ferry.

408. Whatever may be damaged in a boat by the fault of the boatmen, that shall be made good by the boatmen collectively, (each paying) his share.

409. This decision in suits (brought) by passengers (holds good only) in case the boatmen are culpably negligent on the water; in the case of (an accident) caused by (the will of) the gods, no fine can be (inflicted on them).

410. (The king) should order a Vaisya to trade, to lend money, to cultivate the land, or to tend cattle, and a Sûdra to serve the twice-born castes.

411. (Some wealthy) Brâhmana shall compassionately support both a Kshatriya and a Vaisya, if they are distressed for a livelihood, employing them on work (which is suitable for) their (castes).

412. But a Brâhmana who, because he is powerful, out of greed makes initiated (men of the) twice-born (castes) against their will do the work of slaves, shall be fined by the king six hundred (panas).

407. Vi. V, 132. According to Medh., heterodox monks must pay, because the word Brâhmana (taken above with students) refers to all the persons mentioned.

408. 'Whatever,' i. e. 'merchandise' (Medh., Nâr.), or 'luggage' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

411. I. e. he shall employ a poor Kshatriya as watchman, and a Vaisya as herdsman (Medh.). If he employs them in this way, he is not punishable (Gov., Kull.).

413. But a *Sûdra*, whether bought or unbought, he may compel to do servile work; for he was created by the Self-existent (*Svayambhû*) to be the slave of a *Brâhmana*.

414. A *Sûdra*, though emancipated by his master, is not released from servitude; since that is innate in him, who can set him free from it?

415. There are slaves of seven kinds, (*viz.*) he who is made a captive under a standard, he who serves for his daily food, he who is born in the house, he who is bought and he who is given, he who is inherited from ancestors, and he who is enslaved by way of punishment.

416. A wife, a son, and a slave, these three are declared to have no property; the wealth which they earn is (acquired) for him to whom they belong.

413. 'Whether bought or unbought,' i. e. 'whether maintained in consideration of service or not' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Ragh.*), or 'whether bought or hired' (*Nâr.*).

414. *Medh.* says that the last clause is 'an *arthavâda*, because further on it will be shown that a slave can be emancipated.' *Kull.* thinks that an emancipated *Sûdra* must still serve *Brâhmaṇas* or other *Âryans* in order to gain spiritual merit.

415. *Medh.* rejects the notion that a captive *Kshatriya* can be made a slave, and thinks that a captured *Sûdra* must be meant; but see *Yâgñ.* II, 183, where it is laid down that *Kshatriyas* may become the slaves of *Brâhmaṇas* and *Vaisyas* of *Brâhmaṇas* and *Kshatriyas*. *Nâr.* explains *dhvagâhrîtaḥ*, 'one made a captive under a standard,' by 'one who has become a slave by marrying a female slave.' 'Enslaved by way of punishment,' i. e. 'because he cannot pay a debt or a fine' (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*), or 'also because he left a religious order' (see *Vi. V.*, 152), (*Nâr.*, *Nand.*)

416. According to *Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*, the verse means only that these persons are unable to dispose of their property independently. *Nâr.*'s short note (*adhigakṣhamti parakarmakara-nâdinâ*) seems to indicate that he took it to refer to their incapacity to earn money by working for others.

417. A Brāhmaṇa may confidently seize the goods of (his) Sūdra (slave); for, as that (slave) can have no property, his master may take his possessions.

418. (The king) should carefully compel Vaisyas and Sūdras to perform the work (prescribed) for them; for if these two (castes) swerved from their duties, they would throw this (whole) world into confusion.

419. Let him daily look after the completion of his undertakings, his beasts of burden, and carriages, (the collection of) his revenues and the disbursements, his mines and his treasury.

420. A king who thus brings to a conclusion all the legal business enumerated above, and removes all sin, reaches the highest state (of bliss).

CHAPTER IX.

1. I will now propound the eternal laws for a husband and his wife who keep to the path of duty, whether they be united or separated.

2. Day and night women must be kept in depend-

417. 'Confidently' means according to Medh., Nār., and Nand. 'without fearing that he commits the sin of accepting a present from a Sūdra.'

419. Karmântân, 'the completion of his undertakings' (Kull, Râgh.), means according to Medh., Gov., and Nand. 'the works,' i. e. 'agriculture, offices for collecting tolls and duties, and so forth' (Medh., Gov.), according to Nār. 'the workshops, e. g. for making arms.' The last explanation is perhaps the best.

IX. 1. According to Medh., Gov., and Kull. the duties of husband and wife are placed in the section on civil and criminal law, because the king can and even is bound to enforce their observance by punishments, if either of the two raises a complaint. 'Separated,' i. e. 'when the husband is absent or dead' (Nār., Râgh.).

2-3. Gaut. XVIII, 1; Vas. V, 1-2; Baudh. II, 3, 44-45; Vi. V, 1-2; Yâgñ. I, 85.

ence by the males (of) their (families), and, if they attach themselves to sensual enjoyments, they must be kept under one's control.

3. Her father protects (her) in childhood, her husband protects (her) in youth, and her sons protect (her) in old age; a woman is never fit for independence.

4. Reprehensible is the father who gives not (his daughter in marriage) at the proper time; reprehensible is the husband who approaches not (his wife in due season), and reprehensible is the son who does not protect his mother after her husband has died.

5. Women must particularly be guarded against evil inclinations, however trifling (they may appear); for, if they are not guarded, they will bring sorrow on two families.

6. Considering that the highest duty of all castes, even weak husbands (must) strive to guard their wives.

7. He who carefully guards his wife, preserves (the purity of) his offspring, virtuous conduct, his family, himself, and his (means of acquiring) merit.

2. 'Must be kept under one's control,' i. e. 'they must be restrained from their vicious attachment' (âtmano vâse sthâpyâ yathâ na sa-gyante), (Nâr.)

4. Yâgñ. I, 64. 'At the proper time,' i. e. before she is marriageable; see Gaut. XVIII, 21; Vas. XVII, 67-71. 'The husband,' see Baudh. IV, 1, 17-19, and above, III, 45. After this verse K. inserts another, not mentioned by the commentators, 'If the wife is guarded, the (purity of the) offspring is secured thereby; if the (purity of the) offspring is secured, oneself is secure.'

6. Yâgñ. I, 81. 'Weak husbands,' i. e. 'blind, lame, or poor ones, &c.' (Kull., Râgh.).

7. 'His family,' i. e. 'his ancestors,' because legitimate sons alone can offer the Srâddhas (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or 'his relatives,' because adultery brings dishonour (Medh., Râgh.), or 'the position of the

8. The husband, after conception by his wife, becomes an embryo and is born again of her ; for that is the wifehood of a wife (*gâyâ*), that he is born (*gâyate*) again by her.

9. As the male is to whom a wife cleaves, even so is the son whom she brings forth ; let him therefore carefully guard his wife, in order to keep his offspring pure.

10. No man can completely guard women by force ; but they can be guarded by the employment of the (following) expedients :

11. Let the (husband) employ his (wife) in the collection and expenditure of his wealth, in keeping (everything) clean, in (the fulfilment of) religious duties, in the preparation of his food, and in looking after the household utensils.

12. Women, confined in the house under trustworthy and obedient servants, are not (well) guarded ; but those who of their own accord keep guard over themselves, are well guarded.

13. Drinking (spirituous liquor), associating with wicked people, separation from the husband, rambling abroad, sleeping (at unseasonable hours), and dwelling in other men's houses, are the six causes of the ruin of women.

family' (*Nâr.*), or 'his property' (*Râgh.*). 'Himself,' i. e. 'because legitimate children alone can offer the *Śrâddhas*' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*), or 'because an adulteress and her paramour are likely to attempt his life' (*Medh.*). 'His (means of acquiring) merit,' i. e. 'because the husband of an adulteress is not entitled to kindle the sacred fire' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*). *Nâr.* says, 'his duty (as a householder).'

8. *Yâgñ.* I, 56. The idea is taken from the Veda ; see e.g. *Aitareya-brâhmaṇa* VII, 13, to which *Kull.* refers.

13. 'Associating with wicked people,' i. e. 'with other unfaithful wives' (*Nâr.*), or 'with adulterers' (*Râgh.*).

✓ 14. Women do not care for beauty, nor is their attention fixed on age; (thinking), '(It is enough that) he is a man,' they give themselves to the handsome and to the ugly.

15. Through their passion for men, through their mutable temper, through their natural heartlessness, they become disloyal towards their husbands, however carefully they may be guarded in this (world).

16. Knowing their disposition, which the Lord of creatures laid in them at the creation, to be such, (every) man should most strenuously exert himself to guard them.

17. (When creating them) Manu allotted to women (a love of their) bed, (of their) seat and (of) ornament, impure desires, wrath, dishonesty, malice, and bad conduct.

18. For women no (sacramental) rite (is performed) with sacred texts, thus the law is settled; women (who are) destitute of strength and destitute of (the knowledge of) Vedic texts, (are as impure as) falsehood (itself), that is a fixed rule.

19. And to this effect many sacred texts are sung also in the Vedas, in order to (make) fully known the true disposition (of women); hear (now those texts which refer to) the expiation of their (sins).

20. 'If my mother, going astray and unfaithful, conceived illicit desires, may my father keep that seed from me,' that is the scriptural text.

18. The sacramental rites meant are the birth-ceremony and so forth; see also above, II, 66. 'Destitute of strength' (Gov.), i. e. 'of firmness, intelligence, bodily strength, &c.' (Medh., Nand.). The second half verse is closely allied to that quoted Baudh. II, 3, 46, and, like the latter, probably a modification of a Vedic passage.

20. The verse is a slightly altered Mantra which occurs in the

21. If a woman thinks in her heart of anything that would pain her husband, the (above-mentioned text) is declared (to be a means for) completely removing such infidelity.

22. Whatever be the qualities of the man with whom a woman is united according to the law, such qualities even she assumes, like a river (united) with the ocean.

23. Akshamâlâ, a woman of the lowest birth, being united to Vasishtha and Sâraṅgî, (being united) to Mandapâla, became worthy of honour.

24. These and other females of low birth have

Sâṅkhâya *Grihya-sûtra* III, 13, and in the *Kâturmâsya* portion of the *Kâṭhaka* recension of the Black Yagur-veda. According to the former work it is to be recited by an *Anyatrakarava*, 'the son of a paramour.' But the *Kaṭhas* prescribe its use by every sacrificer who offers a *Kâturmâsya* sacrifice. Medh., Gov., and Kull. probably allude to the custom of the latter school when they say that the Mantra must be recited by every sacrificer, and that its *viniyoga* or destination is to be repeated at the *Kâturmâsya* and at the *Anvash-takâ-srâddha*. Gov., Kull., Râgh., Nâr., and Nand. explain *retah*, 'seed,' by *mâtriragorûpam skannam*, and *vriṅktâm*, 'may he keep away,' either by *bhagatâm (svîkarotu, Nâr., Nand.)*, 'may he take for himself,' or by *sodhayatu*, 'may he purify' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). Medh. likewise knows the last explanation. But he gives also another, *retah pituh sambandhi yad retah sukram*, and *vriṅktâm*, *apanudatu*, which comes nearer to that given above. *Nidarshanam*, 'a scriptural text,' means according to Medh., *drishântah*, 'an example,' and the other commentators explain it similarly.

22. I.e. as a river becomes salt after uniting with the ocean. It must be borne in mind that, according to the Indian poets, the rivers are the wives of the ocean.

23. Akshamâlâ or Arundhatî was a *Kândâlî* (Gov., Râgh.), and became, as the *Śruti* states (Râgh.), with the permission of the *Rishis*, the wife of the sage Vasishtha. The story of Mandapâla is told in the *Mahâbhârata* I, 8335 seq. (Adhy. 229). Medh., Gov., and K. read *Sârṅgî* instead of *Sâraṅgî* or *Sârāṅgî*.

attained eminence in this world by the respective good qualities of their husbands.

25. Thus has been declared the ever pure popular usage (which regulates the relations) between husband and wife; hear (next) the laws concerning children which are the cause of happiness in this world and after death.

26. Between wives (*striyaḥ*) who (are destined) to bear children, who secure many blessings, who are worthy of worship and irradiate (their) dwellings, and between the goddesses of fortune (*śriyaḥ*, who reside) in the houses (of men), there is no difference whatsoever.

27. The production of children, the nurture of those born, and the daily life of men, (of these matters) woman is visibly the cause.

28. Offspring, (the due performance of) religious rites, faithful service, highest conjugal happiness and heavenly bliss for the ancestors and oneself, depend on one's wife alone.

29. She who, controlling her thoughts, speech, and acts, violates not her duty towards her lord, dwells with him (after death) in heaven, and in this world is called by the virtuous a faithful (wife, *sādhvī*).

30. But for disloyalty to her husband a wife is censured among men, and (in her next life) she is born in the womb of a jackal and tormented by diseases, the punishment of her sin.

27. Instead of *pratyaham*, 'the daily (life of men),' Medh. and Nār. read *pratyartham*, '(the life of men) in all its details,' and Gov. *prītyartham*, 'the friendly intercourse of men,' because he who has no wife cannot entertain others (Gov., Kull., Rāgh.). Medh. mentions also another reading, *pratyardham*.

29. Identical with V, 165.

30. Vas. XXI, 14; see also above, V, 164.

31. Listen (now) to the following holy discussion, salutary to all men, which the virtuous (of the present day) and the ancient great sages have held concerning male offspring.

32. They (all) say that the male issue (of a woman) belongs to the lord, but with respect to the (meaning of the term) lord the revealed texts differ; some call the begetter (of the child the lord), others declare (that it is) the owner of the soil.

33. By the sacred tradition the woman is declared to be the soil, the man is declared to be the seed; the production of all corporeal beings (takes place) through the union of the soil with the seed.

34. In some cases the seed is more distinguished, and in some the womb of the female; but when both are equal, the offspring is most highly esteemed.

35. On comparing the seed and the receptacle (of the seed), the seed is declared to be more important; for the offspring of all created beings is marked by the characteristics of the seed.

36. Whatever (kind of) seed is sown in a field, prepared in due season, (a plant) of that same kind,

32. Âp. II, 13, 6-7; Gaut. XVIII, 9-14; Vas. XVII, 6-9, 63-64. Thus Gov., Kull., Râgh., and Nand. But Medh., Nâr., and K. (prima manu) read kartari instead of bhartari, and with this reading the verse has to be translated as follows: 'They (all) declare that a (lawfully begotten) son belongs to the husband, but with respect to the begetter (of a child on another's wife) there is a conflict between the revealed texts; some declare the begetter (to be the owner of the son), others that (he belongs to the) owner of the soil.'

34. The commentators point out the cases of Vyâsa and Rîshya-sringa as instances of the truth of the first proposition, and of Dhṛitarâshṭra and other Kshetragas as instances of the second. 'Equal,' i. e. 'belonging to the same owner and to the same class' (Medh.).

marked with the peculiar qualities of the seed, springs up in it.

37. This earth, indeed, is called the primeval womb of created beings; but the seed develops not in its development any properties of the womb.

38. In this world seeds of different kinds, sown at the proper time in the land, even in one field, come forth (each) according to its kind.

39. The rice (called) *vr̥hi* and (that called) *sāli*, mudga-beans, sesamum, *māsha*-beans, barley, leeks, and sugar-cane, (all) spring up according to their seed.

40. That one (plant) should be sown and another be produced cannot happen; whatever seed is sown, (a plant of) that kind even comes forth.

41. Never therefore must a prudent well-trained man, who knows the Veda and its *Āṅgas* and desires long life, cohabit with another's wife.

42. With respect to this (matter), those acquainted with the past recite some stanzas, sung by *Vāyu* (the Wind, to show) that seed must not be sown by (any) man on that which belongs to another.

43. As the arrow, shot by (a hunter) who afterwards hits a wounded (deer) in the wound (made by

37. 'Develops not any properties of the womb,' i.e. 'shows no properties such as being composed of earth' (Medh., Gov., Kull.).

39. *vr̥hi*, i.e. such rice as ripens in sixty days (*shashāikā*); *sāli*, i.e. 'red rice, which ripens in the cold season' (Gov., Nār.). Mudga, i.e. *Phaseolus Mungo* (*mūg*); *māsha*, i.e. *Phaseolus Radiatus*.

41. *Vigñāna*, 'the knowledge of the *Āṅgas*' (Kull.), means according to Medh. and Nār., 'profane knowledge;' according to Rāgh., 'the tradition.' Nand. inverts the order, and says, 'profane and sacred learning.'

43. Or, according to a second explanation offered by Medh., 'As the arrow of the hunter who hits a wounded deer is shot into the air (as it were) and becomes useless.'

another), is shot in vain, even so the seed, sown on what belongs to another, is quickly lost (to the sower).

44. (Sages) who know the past call this earth (*prithivī*) even the wife of *Prithu*; they declare a field to belong to him who cleared away the timber, and a deer to him who (first) wounded it.

45. He only is a perfect man who consists (of three persons united), his wife, himself, and his offspring; thus (says the Veda), and (learned) *Brāhmaṇas* propound this (maxim) likewise, 'The husband is declared to be one with the wife.'

46. Neither by sale nor by repudiation is a wife released from her husband; such we know the law to be, which the Lord of creatures (*Pragâpati*) made of old.

47. Once is the partition (of the inheritance) made, (once is) a maiden given in marriage, (and) once does (a man) say, 'I will give;' each of those three (acts is done) once only.

44. 'Though the earth, after she belonged to *Prithu*, was possessed by many kings, yet she is called *Prithivī*, or *Prithvī*, after her first owner *Prithu*' (*Medh.*, *Nâr.*).

45. In confirmation of the first maxim the commentators adduce a passage of the *Vâgasaneyi-brâhmaṇa*; see also *Âp.* II, 14, 16.

46. The meaning is that a wife, sold or repudiated by her husband, can never become the legitimate wife of another who may have bought or received her after she was repudiated (*Medh.*).

47. *Yâgñ.* I, 65. 'A partition (of the inheritance),' i. e. 'one which has been made in accordance with the law, not one made unjustly' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*). *Medh.* mentions two other explanations: 1. 'if one of the coparceners complains afterwards that he has received too little, he is entitled only to have the particular point readjusted, not to annul the whole division;' 2. 'if after the division it appears that one of the coparceners was disqualified by bodily defects and ought not to have received a share, the portion

48. As with cows, mares, female camels, slave-girls, buffalo-cows, she-goats, and ewes, it is not the begetter (or his owner) who obtains the offspring, even thus (it is) with the wives of others.

49. Those who, having no property in a field, but possessing seed-corn, sow it in another's soil, do indeed not receive the grain of the crop which may spring up.

50. If (one man's) bull were to beget a hundred calves on another man's cows, they would belong to the owner of the cows; in vain would the bull have spent his strength.

51. Thus men who have no marital property in women, but sow their seed in the soil of others, benefit the owner of the woman; but the giver of the seed reaps no advantage.

52. If no agreement with respect to the crop has been made between the owner of the field and the owner of the seed, the benefit clearly belongs to the owner of the field; the receptacle is more important than the seed.

53. But if by a special contract (a field) is made over (to another) for sowing, then the owner of the seed and the owner of the soil are both considered in this world as sharers of the (crop).

54. If seed be carried by water or wind into

made over to him cannot be resumed by the others.' Nâr. refers the phrase 'I will give' to a verbal promise to give a girl, made without a libation of water. I read with Medh., Gov., Râgh., Nand., and K. *sakṛit sakṛit*, instead of *satâm sakṛit*, 'those three (acts are done) once among good men.' The object of the verse is to show that a marriage is indissoluble, because a girl can be given once only (Kull., Nand.).

50. Vas. XVII, 8.

54. I read with Gov., Râgh., and K. *bîḡt*, 'the owner of the

somebody's field and germinates (there), the (plant sprung from that) seed belongs even to the owner of the field, the owner of the seed does not receive the crop.

55. Know that such is the law concerning the offspring of cows, mares, slave-girls, female camels, she-goats, and ewes, as well as of females of birds and buffalo-cows.

56. Thus the comparative importance of the seed and of the womb has been declared to you; I will next propound the law (applicable) to women in times of misfortune.

57. The wife of an elder brother is for his younger (brother) the wife of a Guru; but the wife of the younger is declared (to be) the daughter-in-law of the elder.

58. An elder (brother) who approaches the wife of the younger, and a younger (brother who approaches) the wife of the elder, except in times of misfortune, both become outcasts, even though (they were duly) authorised. →

59. On failure of issue (by her husband) a woman who has been authorised, may obtain, (in the) proper (manner prescribed), the desired offspring by (cohabitation with) a brother-in-law or (with some other) *Sapinda* (of the husband). 4

seed,' instead of *vaptâ*, 'the sower of the seed' (Medh., Kull., Nand.).

55. 'Such is the law,' i.e. what has been stated in verses 48-54.

56. 'In times of misfortune,' i.e. 'when there is no male offspring.'

57. Guru means here, according to Râgh., 'the father.' As the younger brother's wife is called 'the daughter-in-law' of the elder, the explanation is probably correct.

58-63. Gaut. XVIII, 4-8; Vas. XVII, 56-61; Baudh. II, 4, 9-10; Yâgñ. I, 68-69.

59. A woman can be authorised by her husband, or after his

60. He (who is) appointed to (cohabit with) the widow shall (approach her) at night anointed with clarified butter and silent, (and) beget one son, by no means a second.

61. Some (sages), versed in the law, considering the purpose of the appointment not to have been attained by those two (on the birth of the first), think that a second (son) may be lawfully procreated on (such) women.

62. But when the purpose of the appointment to (cohabit with) the widow has been attained in accordance with the law, those two shall behave towards each other like a father and a daughter-in-law.

63. If those two (being thus) appointed deviate from the rule and act from carnal desire, they will both become outcasts, (as men) who defile the bed of a daughter-in-law or of a Guru.

64. By twice-born men a widow must not be appointed to (cohabit with) any other (than her husband); for they who appoint (her) to another (man), will violate the eternal law.

death by his relatives. 'On failure of issue,' i.e. 'of sons' (Gov., Râgh., Nand.), or 'of sons and of an appointed daughter' (Medh.). If the son born is not fit to offer the Srâddhas, a second may be begot (Medh., Kull., Nâr.).

60. According to the commentators, the expression 'the widow' is not intended to prohibit an appointment by a diseased or impotent husband.

61. 'Because the Sish/as say, "He who has one son only, has no son"' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

62. 'Those two,' i.e. 'the elder brother and the female appointed.'

63. 'Those two,' i.e. 'an elder or younger brother.' 'The rule,' see verse 60. For the last clause, compare verse 57.

64-68. These verses flatly contradict the rules given in the preceding ones. But it by no means follows that they are a modern

65. In the sacred texts which refer to marriage the appointment (of widows) is nowhere mentioned, nor is the re-marriage of widows prescribed in the rules concerning marriage.

66. This practice which is reprehended by the learned of the twice-born castes as fit for cattle is said (to have occurred) even among men, while Vena ruled.

67. That chief of royal sages who formerly possessed the whole world, caused a confusion of the castes (*varṇa*), his intellect being destroyed by lust.

68. Since that (time) the virtuous censure that (man) who in his folly appoints a woman, whose husband died, to (bear) children (to another man).

69. If the (future) husband of a maiden dies after troth verbally plighted, her brother-in-law shall wed her according to the following rule.

70. Having, according to the rule, espoused her (who must be) clad in white garments and be intent

addition. For the same view is expressed by Âp. II, 27, 2-6, and was held, according to Baudh. II, 3, 34, by Aupagandhani. Moreover the *Bṛhaspati Smṛiti* states expressly (Colebrooke IV, Dig. CLVII) that the contradictory statement occurred in the *Mānava Dharmasāstra*, known to its author.

65. In his commentary on verse 66 Medh. points out that in other sacred texts, *Rig-veda* X, 40, 2, the *Niyoga* is mentioned.

66. According to the epic and Paurāṇic tradition Vena was the father of *Prithu*, and a godless king, who demanded that the sacrifices should be offered to himself, not to the gods. He was, therefore, cut to pieces by the *Brāhmanas* with blades of *Kusa* grass. But hitherto no other passage has been found where it is stated that he introduced the practice of *Niyoga*. Possibly the assertion of the *Mānava* may have grown out of the etymological import of the word *vena*, 'full of desire or lust.'

70. The child born by a female thus married belongs, as the commentators point out, to her deceased betrothed.

on purity, he shall approach her once in each proper season until issue (be had).

71. Let no prudent man, after giving his daughter to one (man), give her again to another; for he who gives (his daughter) whom he had before given, incurs (the guilt of) speaking falsely regarding a human being.

72. Though (a man) may have accepted a damsel in due form, he may abandon (her if she be) blemished, diseased, or deflowered, and (if she have been) given with fraud.

73. If anybody gives away a maiden possessing blemishes without declaring them, (the bridegroom) may annul that (contract) with the evil-minded giver.

74. A man who has business (abroad) may depart after securing a maintenance for his wife; for a wife, even though virtuous, may be corrupted if she be distressed by want of subsistence.

75. If (the husband) went on a journey after providing (for her), the wife shall subject herself to restraints in her daily life; but if he departed without providing (for her), she may subsist by blameless manual work.

71. *Yâgñ.* I, 65; Vi. XXV, 9-10. Regarding the guilt incurred, see above, VIII, 98. Medh. and Nand. say that the verse is meant to forbid the marriage of a girl whose betrothed died. But Kull. thinks that it refers to all cases where a betrothal has taken place, and that it removes a doubt which might arise through a too strict interpretation of VIII, 227.

72. 'In due form,' i. e. 'with a libation of water and in the presence of *Brâhmanas*' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.). 'Blemished,' i. e. 'by evil bodily marks' (Medh., Kull., Râgh., Nand.), or 'by being of a base family' (Nâr.).

73. See above, VIII, 205, 224.

74. Nand. inserts verses 95-96 after this.

75. *Yâgñ.* I, 84. 'Shall subject herself to restraints in her daily

76. If the husband went abroad for some sacred duty, (she) must wait for him eight years, if (he went) to (acquire) learning or fame six (years), if (he went) for pleasure three years.

77. For one year let a husband bear with a wife who hates him ; but after (the lapse of) a year let him deprive her of her property and cease to cohabit with her.

78. She who shows disrespect to (a husband) who is addicted to (some evil) passion, is a drunkard, or diseased, shall be deserted for three months (and be) deprived of her ornaments and furniture.

79. But she who shows aversion towards a mad or outcast (husband), a eunuch, one destitute of manly strength, or one afflicted with such diseases as punish crimes, shall neither be cast off nor be deprived of her property.

80. She who drinks spirituous liquor, is of bad life,' i.e. 'shall not adorn herself, nor visit the houses of strangers, or go to festivals' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.).

76. Gaut. XVIII, 15, 17; Vas. XVII, 75-80. Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. declare that after the expiration of the terms mentioned the wife shall go to seek her husband. Nand. says, 'the meaning is that no sin is committed if she afterwards takes another husband.' Medh. holds that she shall support herself, as before, by blameless occupations and remain chaste. He mentions the opinion of others, according to which she may take another husband in accordance with Nârada's and Parâsara's precepts, but rejects it. 'For pleasure,' i.e. 'in order to gain the favours of another woman whom he prefers' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.).

77. 'Her property,' i.e. 'the ornaments and other wealth given to her by himself' (Kull., Râgh., Nand.), or 'her separate property, which he may have given to her' (stridhana, Nâr.). The commentators add that she must, however, be maintained.

78. 'Addicted to (some evil) passion,' i.e. 'to gambling and so forth' (Kull., Nâr.), or 'to avarice' (Râgh.).

80-81. Baudh. II, 4, 6; Yâgyñ. I, 73.

80. 'Diseased,' i.e. 'afflicted with leprosy or the like' (Kull.);

conduct, rebellious, diseased, mischievous, or wasteful, may at any time be superseded (by another wife).

81. A barren wife may be superseded in the eighth year, she whose children (all) die in the tenth, she who bears only daughters in the eleventh, but she who is quarrelsome without delay.

82. But a sick wife who is kind (to her husband) and virtuous in her conduct, may be superseded (only) with her own consent and must never be disgraced.

83. A wife who, being superseded, in anger departs from (her husband's) house, must either be instantly confined or cast off in the presence of the family.

84. But she who, though having been forbidden, drinks spirituous liquor even at festivals, or goes to public spectacles or assemblies, shall be fined six *krishṇālas*.

85. If twice-born men wed women of their own and of other (lower castes), the seniority, honour, and habitation of those (wives) must be (settled) according to the order of the castes (*varṇa*).

86. Among all (twice-born men) the wife of equal caste alone, not a wife of a different caste by any means, shall personally attend her husband and assist him in his daily sacred rites.

87. But he who foolishly causes that (duty) to be

'mischievous,' i.e. 'who beats or ill-treats her children, servants, &c.' (Medh., Nâr., Kull.).

83. 'Of the family,' i.e. 'of her own and the husband's family' (Medh.), or 'of her own family' (Kull., Nâr.).

86. Vi. XXVI, 1; Yâgñ. I, 88. 'Personally attend,' i.e. 'prepare and bring his food, &c.' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.).

87. Vi. XXVI, 2. Instead of 'by the ancients' (Kull., Râgh.,

performed by another, while his wife of equal caste is alive, is declared by the ancients (to be) as (despicable) as a *Kāṇḍāla* (sprung from the) *Brāhmaṇa* (caste).

88. To a distinguished, handsome suitor (of) equal (caste) should (a father) give his daughter in accordance with the prescribed rule, though she have not attained (the proper age).

89. (But) the maiden, though marriageable, should rather stop in (the father's) house until death, than that he should ever give her to a man destitute of good qualities.

90. Three years let a damsel wait, though she be marriageable; but after that time let her choose for herself a bridegroom (of) equal (caste and rank).

91. If, being not given in marriage, she herself seeks a husband, she incurs no guilt, nor (does) he whom she weds.

92. A maiden who chooses for herself, shall not take with her any ornaments, given by her father or her mother, or her brothers; if she carries them away, it will be theft.

93. But he who takes (to wife) a marriageable

Nand.), Medh. says, 'since olden times,' *Nār.* 'in the *Purāṇa.*' Regarding the origin of the *Kāṇḍālas*, see below, X, 12.

88-92. Gaut. XVIII, 20-23; Vas. XVII, 69-71; Baudh. IV, 1, 11-14; Vi. XXIV, 40-41; *Yāgñ.* I, 64.

88. 'Though she have not attained (the proper age),' i.e. 'the age of eight years' (*Kull.*, *Nār.*, *Rāgh.*), or 'before she is bodily fit for marriage' (*Medh.*, *Nand.*). *Medh.* specially objects to the first opinion, 'because men greedy of money give even an infant in marriage.'

92. I read with *Medh.* and *Nand.*, *steyam syāt*, instead of *stenā syāt*, 'she will be a thief' (*Kull.*, *Rāgh.*, *K.*). *Medh.* mentions another reading, *stenaḥ syāt*, 'he, i.e. the bridegroom, will be a thief.'

93. *Medh.* says that this verse, according to 'some,' does not belong to *Manu* (*keḍid āhuḥ amānavo 'yam slokaḥ*).

damsel, shall not pay any nuptial fee to her father; for the (latter) will lose his dominion over her in consequence of his preventing (the legitimate result of the appearance of) her menses.

94. A man, aged thirty years, shall marry a maiden of twelve who pleases him, or a man of twenty-four a girl eight years of age; if (the performance of) his duties would (otherwise) be impeded, (he must marry) sooner.

95. The husband receives his wife from the gods, (he does not wed her) according to his own will; doing what is agreeable to the gods, he must always support her (while she is) faithful.

96. To be mothers were women created, and to be fathers men; religious rites, therefore, are ordained in the Veda to be performed (by the husband) together with the wife.

97. If, after the nuptial fee has been paid for a maiden, the giver of the fee dies, she shall be given in marriage to his brother, in case she consents.

94. Medh. and Kull. point out that this verse is not intended to lay down a hard and fast rule, but merely to give instances of suitable ages. 'If (the performance of) his duties would be impeded, &c.,' i. e. 'if he has finished his studentship earlier, he must marry at once in order to be able to fulfil his duties as a householder' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh.).

95. 'From the gods,' i. e. 'from those mentioned in the Mantras recited at the wedding, e. g. from Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitri, &c.' (Kull., Râgh.), or 'from Agni' (Nâr.), or 'from Soma, the Gandharva, and Agni' (Medh., Nand.). Medh. reads *vindetânikkayâ*, 'shall wed without a wish on his part,' but mentions the other reading, *vindate nekhhayâ*, too. According to Medh., Kull., and Râgh., a faithful wife must be supported, even if she does not love her husband.

97. 'His brother,' i. e. 'his full brother, who is even (as) the deceased himself' (Nâr.). Regarding the nuptial fee, and the

98. Even a Sûdra ought not to take a nuptial fee, when he gives away his daughter ; for he who takes a fee sells his daughter, covering (the transaction by another name).

99. Neither ancients nor moderns who were good men have done such (a deed) that, after promising (a daughter) to one man, they gave her to another ;

100. Nor, indeed, have we heard, even in former creations, of such (a thing as) the covert sale of a daughter for a fixed price, called a nuptial fee.

101. 'Let mutual fidelity continue until death,' this may be considered as the summary of the highest law for husband and wife.

102. Let man and woman, united in marriage, constantly exert themselves, that (they may not be) disunited (and) may not violate their mutual fidelity.

103. Thus has been declared to you the law for a husband and his wife, which is intimately connected with conjugal happiness, and the manner of raising offspring in times of calamity ; learn (now the law concerning) the division of the inheritance.

104. After the death of the father and of the mother, the brothers, being assembled, may divide among themselves in equal shares the paternal (and the maternal) estate ; for, they have no power (over it) while the parents live.

contradiction between this and the next verses, see note on VIII, 204.

99. Nand. places this verse after the next.

104. Gaut. XXVIII, 1 ; Baudh. II, 3, 8 ; Yâgyñ. II, 117. The father's estate is to be divided after the father's death, and the mother's estate after the mother's death (Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.). The mother's estate devolves on the sons only on failure of daughters (Nâr.). The word *ârdhvam*, 'after,' indicates by implication that the rule holds good in the case of the (father's)

105. (Or) the eldest alone may take the whole paternal estate, the others shall live under him just as (they lived) under their father.

106. Immediately on the birth of his first-born a man is (called) the father of a son and is freed from the debt to the manes; that (son), therefore, is worthy (to receive) the whole estate.

107. That son alone on whom he throws his debt and through whom he obtains immortality, is begotten for (the fulfilment of) the law; all the rest they consider the offspring of desire.

108. As a father (supports) his sons, so let the eldest support his younger brothers, and let them also in accordance with the law behave towards their eldest brother as sons (behave towards their father).

109. The eldest (son) makes the family prosperous or, on the contrary, brings it to ruin; the eldest (is considered) among men most worthy of honour, the eldest is not treated with disrespect by the virtuous.

110. If the eldest brother behaves as an eldest brother (ought to do), he (must be treated) like a

turning ascetic (Râgh.). The equal division takes place if the eldest does not desire to receive an additional share (Kull.). The last clause shows that a division of the property may take place with the parents' permission during their lifetime (Kull., Nâr., Râgh.).

105. Gaut. XXVIII, 3; Baudh. II, 3, 13. I. e. if the eldest son is virtuous (Kull., Râgh.), or possesses particularly eminent qualities, while the others are less distinguished (Nâr.).

106. Regarding the debt, see Vas. XI, 48.

107. This verse alludes to the Vedic text quoted, Vas. XVII, 1; Vi. XV, 45.

108. I. e. if they make no division and the eldest takes the whole estate (Kull.). Nand. places this verse after the next.

110. 'Behaves as an eldest brother (ought to do),' i. e. 'duly protects and educates the younger ones' (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.).

mother and like a father; but if he behaves in a manner unworthy of an eldest brother, he should yet be honoured like a kinsman.

111. Either let them thus live together, or apart, if (each) desires (to gain) spiritual merit; for (by their living) separate (their) merit increases, hence separation is meritorious.

112. The additional share (deducted) for the eldest shall be one-twentieth (of the estate) and the best of all chattels, for the middlemost half of that, but for the youngest one-fourth.

113. Both the eldest and the youngest shall take (their shares) according to (the rule just) stated; (each of) those who are between the eldest and the youngest, shall have the share (prescribed for the) middlemost.

114. Among the goods of every kind the eldest shall take the best (article), and (even a single chattel) which is particularly good, as well as the best of ten (animals).

'Like a kinsman,' i.e. 'like a maternal or paternal uncle' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.); see also below, verse 213.

111. Gaut. XXVIII, 4. '(Their) merit increases,' i.e. 'each of them has to kindle the sacred fire, to offer separately the Agni-hotra, the five great sacrifices and so forth, and hence each gains separately merit' (Medh., Kull.).

112. Gaut. XXVIII, 5-7; Baudh. II, 3, 9; Vi. XVIII, 37; Yâgñ. II, 114. 'The remainder shall be divided equally,' see verse 116 (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). Medh. says that 'some' declare that the rules on the unequal partition refer to past times, and have no authority for the Kaliyuga. But he rejects this view.

113. The object of the verse is to show that no difference shall be made between sons intervening between the eldest and the youngest, however great their number may be (Kull., Râgh.).

114. Gaut. XXVIII, 11-13; Baudh. II, 3, 6. '(Even a single chattel) which is particularly good,' i.e. 'a dress or an ornament' (Medh.), or 'something impartible like an idol' (Nand.).

115. But among (brothers) equally skilled in their occupations, there is no additional share, (consisting of the best animal) among ten; some trifle only shall be given to the eldest as a token of respect.

116. If additional shares are thus deducted, one must allot equal shares (out of the residue to each); but if no deduction is made, the allotment of the shares among them shall be (made) in the following manner.

117. Let the eldest son take one share in excess, the (brother) born next after him one (share) and a half, the younger ones one share each; thus the law is settled.

118. But to the maiden (sisters) the brothers shall severally give (portions) out of their shares, each out of his share one-fourth part; those who refuse to give (it), will become outcasts.

'The best of ten animals,' thus Kull., Nâr., Râgh., according to Gaut. XXVIII, 12, where they read *darataḥ paśūnām*, instead of *daratam*. Medh. gives the same explanation, but applies the rule also to clothes and ornaments. He adds, that 'others' explain the text in accordance with Vas. XVII, 43, 'And a tithe (of the cattle and horses).' Nand. nearly agrees with Medh.'s opinion, as he says that everything shall be divided into ten shares, and the eldest shall take one in excess. All the commentators agree that this additional share belongs to an eldest brother only, if he is endowed with particularly good qualities and the rest are inferior to him.

115. Âp. II, 13, 13. 'Their occupations,' i. e. 'reciting the Veda and so forth' (Kull., Râgh.). According to Nâr., the phrase 'no additional share (consisting of the best animals) among ten' indicates that none of the other additions, mentioned in verse 114, shall be given. Nand. omits this verse.

116. Gaut. XXVIII, 8.

117. Gaut. XXVIII, 9-10; Vas. XVII, 42. 'One share in excess,' i. e. 'two shares' (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.). The latter four point out that this division is to be made when the eldest and the second brothers are more eminent than the rest.

118. Vi. XVIII, 35; Yâgñ. II, 124. According to all the com-

119. Let him never divide (the value of) a single goat or sheep, or a (single beast) with uncloven hoofs; it is prescribed (that) a single goat or sheep (remaining after an equal division, belongs) to the eldest alone.

120. If a younger brother begets a son on the wife of the elder, the division must then be made equally; thus the law is settled.

mentators the meaning is that, if a man leaves children by wives of different castes, the brothers are to provide for the dowry of the unmarried sisters of the same caste, i.e. a Brāhmaṇa's sons by a Brāhmaṇa wife for the daughters of the latter, the sons by a Kshatriya wife for the daughters of the latter, &c. This meaning is more clearly expressed by Medh.'s reading, *svābhyaḥ svābhyaḥ tu kanyābhaḥ*, 'But the brothers shall give (portions) to the maiden (sisters), each to those of his own (caste).' Kull. adds, that the duty of providing for sisters devolves in the first instance on brothers of the full blood, and in default of such on half-brothers.

As regards the expression 'a fourth share,' Medh. says that a brother shall receive three-fourths and the sister one-fourth, and that, if there are many sisters, they shall receive one-fourth of the share of a brother of equal caste. Kull. agrees with the first part of the explanation, but adds, 'Hence it must be understood that even if there are many brothers and sisters of the same caste, but born of different mothers, one-fourth part must be given to the sisters of the full blood' (i.e. by their full brothers). Nār. says, 'They shall give each one-fourth part of their share, and take three parts; and the same division must be made if there are many daughters. But if there are many sons and one daughter, they must deduct from their several shares as much money as will be equal to a fourth part of one brother's share and give that.' Medh. censures those commentators who think that one-fourth share need not be actually given, but only as much as will suffice to defray the marriage expenses.

119. I.e. such an animal is not to be sold and the proceeds to be divided; nor shall its value be made good to the other brothers by giving them other objects (Medh., Kull., Nār., Rāgh.).

120. I.e. the Kshetrāga receives no preferential share, as his father would have done. Kull. infers from this verse that, though

121. The representative (the son begotten on the wife) is not invested with the right of the principal (the eldest brother to an additional share); the principal (became) a father on the procreation (of a son by his younger brother); hence one should give a share to the (son begotten on the wife of the elder brother) according to the rule (stated above).

122. If there be a doubt, how the division shall be made, in case the younger son is born of the elder wife and the elder son of the younger wife,

123. (Then the son) born of the first wife shall

above, verse 104, brothers (i.e. sons of the deceased) only are named, grandsons inherit, also according to Manu, just like sons and with sons; see also below, verse 186.

121. Thus Kull.; Nand. agrees with respect to the first half-verse, but explains the second as follows, 'The father is the principal in the procreation of children; hence one must give a share to the (son begotten on the wife of the eldest) according to the law (declared above).' Nâr. also differs, 'The subsidiary (son) does not by law take the place of the principal, (and cannot for that reason receive an additional share); his father (the eldest was) the principal for continuing the line; hence one should give a share (to his subsidiary son) in accordance with the law.' Râgh. goes off still further, 'The principal (the eldest) must according to the law not be treated like the substitute (i.e. not be deprived of an additional share, yet as) the father is the chief person in the procreation (of children), one should give a share to the (son of the wife) in accordance with the law (applicable to his real father).' Medh. has a similar explanation, '(To say) that the substitute (i.e. the Kshetrâga) is equal to the principal is not proper according to the sacred law; the father (i.e. the begetter) is the principal in the procreation of children, hence one must give a share (to the Kshetrâga) in accordance (with the law declared above).'

122. The point to be decided is, if the seniority is to be according to the mothers or according to actual birth. The eldest wife is, of course, the one married first.

123. Gaut. XXVIII, 14.

take as his additional share one (most excellent) bull; the next best bulls (shall belong) to those (who are) inferior on account of their mothers.

124. But the eldest (son, being) born of the eldest wife, shall receive fifteen cows and a bull, the other sons may then take shares according to (the seniority of) their mothers; that is a settled rule.

125. Between sons born of wives equal (in caste) (and) without (any other) distinction no seniority in right of the mother exists; seniority is declared (to be) according to birth.

126. And with respect to the Subrahmanyâ (texts) also it is recorded that the invocation (of Indra shall be made) by the first-born, of twins likewise, (conceived at one time) in the wombs (of their mothers) the seniority is declared (to depend) on (actual) birth.

124. Gaut. XXVIII, 15. 'May take shares,' i. e. 'may divide the (other) cows' (Medh., Kull.), or 'shall each receive one bull, a very good one, a less excellent one, in due order, according to the seniority of their mothers' (Nâr.).

125. As this verse and the following one contradict the rules given in verses 123-124, the commentators try to reconcile them in various ways. Medh. thinks that verses 123-124 are an arthavâda and have no legal force, and Râgh. inclines to the same opinion. Nâr. and Nand. hold that the seniority according to the mother's marriage is of importance for the law of inheritance (verses 123-124), but that it has no value with respect to salutations and the like or to prerogatives at sacrifices (verses 125-126). Kull., finally relying on Gov.'s opinion, thinks that the rules leave an option, and that their application depends on the existence of good qualities and the want of such. It is, however, probable that, according to the custom of Hindu writers, the two conflicting opinions are placed side by side, and that it is intended that the learned should find their way out of the difficulty as they can.

126. The Subrahmanyâ texts contain an invitation, addressed to Indra, to partake of the Soma; see Aitareya-brâhmana VI, 3. Nand. reads *yamayor kaikagarbhe* 'pi.

127. He who has no son may make his daughter in the following manner an appointed daughter (putrikâ, saying to her husband), 'The (male) child, born of her, shall perform my funeral rites.'

128. According to this rule Daksha, himself, lord of created beings, formerly made (all his female offspring) appointed daughters in order to multiply his race.

129. He gave ten to Dharma, thirteen to Kasyapa, twenty-seven to King Soma, honouring (them) with an affectionate heart.

130. A son is even (as) oneself, (such) a daughter is equal to a son; how can another (heir) take the estate, while such (an appointed daughter who is even) oneself, lives?

131. But whatever may be the separate property of the mother, that is the share of the unmarried daughter alone; and the son of an (appointed) daughter shall take the whole estate of (his maternal grandfather) who leaves no son.

127. Gaut. XXVIII, 18; Vas. XVII, 17; Baudh. II, 3, 15; Vi. XV, 5.

128. The story of Daksha's fifty, sixty, or twenty-four daughters occurs in the Mahâbhârata and the Purânas. The twenty-seven given to King Soma, the moon, are the lunar mansions or Nakshatras.

130. 'A son is even (as) oneself;' see the verse quoted, Baudh. II, 3, 14. The commentators state that the word *duhitâ*, 'daughter,' means here *putrikâ*, 'an appointed daughter.' Medh. adds that in accordance with this verse, an appointed daughter who has no son, when her father dies, does not inherit his property(?).

131. Gaut. XXVIII, 24; Vi. XVII, 21. The correctness of the translation of the term *yautakam* by 'separate property' (Medh.), follows from its being used below, verse 214, to denote the separate hoard made by an elder brother. According to Medh., Kull., and Nâr. all *strîdhana* is meant; according to 'others' mentioned by Medh., Nand., and Râgh., the so-called *saudâyikam* or property derived from the

132. The son of an (appointed) daughter, indeed, shall (also) take the estate of his (own) father, who leaves no (other) son; he shall (then) present two funeral cakes to his own father and to his maternal grandfather.

133. Between a son's son and the son of an (appointed) daughter there is no difference, neither with respect to worldly matters nor to sacred duties; for their father and mother both sprang from the body of the same (man).

134. But if, after a daughter has been appointed, a son be born (to her father), the division (of the inheritance) must in that (case) be equal; for there is no right of primogeniture for a woman.

135. But if an appointed daughter by accident dies without (leaving) a son, the husband of the appointed daughter may, without hesitation, take that estate.

father's family. Kumârî, 'an unmarried daughter' (Medh., Kull.), means according to Nâr. 'a daughter who has no sons.' Dauhitraḥ, literally 'the son of a daughter,' means according to the commentators 'the son of an appointed daughter,' putrikâputraḥ. The first rule is, according to Kull., Nâr., and Nand., a general maxim, which refers not merely to the case of a putrikâ. The second rule shows, according to Nand., that the appointed daughter herself does not inherit her father's estate, if she has a son.

132. Medh. mentions a var. lect., aputrasya hared yadi, 'If the son of an (appointed) daughter takes the entire estate of (his maternal grandfather), &c.,' which is also found in Gov.'s text, but considers it to be wrong.

133. Yâgñ. II, 128. Loke dharmataḥ, 'neither with respect to worldly affairs nor to sacred duties' (Kull.), means according to Râgh. and Nand. 'with respect to sacred duties, according to the law.'

135. 'That estate,' i.e. 'what the appointed daughter received from her father either during his lifetime or after his death' (Nâr.). Kull. adds that the verse is intended to forbid the father's inheriting his pre-deceased daughter's property, on the plea that she was like a son (see verse 185). Nand. says that the paternal uncles &c. shall not take the putrikâ's estate.

136. Through that son whom (a daughter), either not appointed or appointed, may bear to (a husband) of equal (caste), his maternal grandfather (has) a son's son; he shall present the funeral cake and take the estate.

137. Through a son he conquers the worlds, through a son's son he obtains immortality, but through his son's grandson he gains the world of the sun.

138. Because a son delivers (trâyate) his father from the hell called Put, he was therefore called put-tra (a deliverer from Put) by the Self-existent (Svayambhû) himself.

139. Between a son's son and the son of a daughter there exists in this world no difference; for even the son of a daughter saves him (who has no sons) in the next world, like the son's son.

136. Kull. explains *akṛitâ vâ kṛitâ vâpi* by '(a daughter) either appointed not (explicitly but by a mental reservation), or appointed (explicitly, at the betrothal, according to verse 127).' He adds that Gov. takes the word *akṛitâ* in its usual sense, and asserts that the verse allows the son of a daughter not appointed to inherit his maternal grandfather's estate. The latter opinion is held also by Nâr., who remarks that the son of a daughter not appointed inherits on failure of a wife or of daughters of his grandfather; and by Nand. Râgh. and Medh. side with Kull., whose explanation is supported by Gaut. XXVIII, 20, and still more by Vi. XV, 6. The latter passage clearly prescribes that the daughter of a man who has no sons is in every case 'an appointed daughter.'

137. Vas. XVII, 5; Vi. XV, 46; Yâgñ. I, 78. 'The worlds,' i. e. 'the ten, called *visoka* (free from sorrow), the first of which is *svarga*' (Medh.). 'Immortality, i. e. a very long residence in those same (worlds),' (Medh., Kull.) 'The sun,' i. e. '*Hiranyagarbha*' (Nâr.). The verse shows that sons and grandsons inherit, though a wife and the rest may be living (Kull.).

138. Vi. XV, 44.

139. Vi. XV, 47. According to Medh. and Kull., *dauhitra*, 'the

140. Let the son of an appointed daughter first present a funeral cake to his mother, the second to her father, the third to his father's father.

141. Of the man who has an adopted (Datrima) son possessing all good qualities, that same (son) shall take the inheritance, though brought from another family.

142. An adopted son shall never take the family (name) and the estate of his natural father; the funeral cake follows the family (name) and the estate, the funeral offerings of him who gives (his son in adoption) cease (as far as that son is concerned).

son of a daughter,' means here also 'the son of an appointed daughter.' Nand. reads putravat, 'like a son;' Gov. pûrvagân, '(and) the ancestors.'

140. Baudh. II, 3, 16. Medh. mentions a var. lect., pitus tasya, 'the second to his father,' which he, however, justly considers to be bad.

141. Vas. XV, 9-10; Baudh. Parishva 16. Medh., Kull., and Râgh. refer this rule to the case where a man has a legitimate son and an adopted son, and think that in such a case the latter, being eminently virtuous, shall receive, like a Kshetrâga (see verse 146), a fifth or sixth part of the estate. Medh. remarks that some think he is to have half, but that their opinion is improper, and finally that Upâdhyâya, i.e. his teacher, allots to the adopted son less than to the Kshetrâga. Kull. and Râgh. state that Gov. took the verse to mean that an eminently virtuous adopted son shall inherit on failure of a legitimate son and of the son of the wife, but that this explanation is inadmissible on account of verse 165. Nevertheless Râgh. reproduces Gov.'s opinion. Nâr. says, 'It has been declared that an adopted son receives a share like the chief son, when he is eminently virtuous.' Nand. reads at the end of the second line, samprâpto 'sya na putrakâh, 'shall take the inheritance, (provided) the (adoptive father) has no son.'

142. Medh. mentions another 'improper' explanation, according to which haret, 'shall take,' is to mean hârayet, 'shall allow to be taken,' and the purport of the verse is that 'he is to benefit both (fathers) like a Dvyâmushyâyâna.'

143. The son of a wife, not appointed (to have issue by another), and he whom (an appointed female, already) the mother of a son, bears to her brother-in-law, are both unworthy of a share, (one being) the son of an adulterer and (the other) produced through (mere) lust.

144. Even the male (child) of a female (duly) appointed, not begotten according to the rule (given above), is unworthy of the paternal estate; for he was procreated by an outcast.

145. A son (legally) begotten on such an appointed female shall inherit like a legitimate son of the body; for that seed and the produce belong, according to the law, to the owner of the soil.

146. He who takes care of his deceased brother's estate and of his widow, shall, after raising up a son for his brother, give that property even to that (son).

147. If a woman (duly) appointed bears a son to her brother-in-law or to another (*Sapinda*), that (son, if he is) begotten through desire, they declare (to be) incapable of inheriting and to be produced in vain.

148. The rules (given above) must be understood (to apply) to a distribution among sons of women of the same (caste); hear (now the law) concerning

144. 'The rule (given above),' i. e. that given above, verse 60. Nand. omits this verse.

145. Medh. and Kull. state that the object of this verse is to teach that a Kshetraga, if endowed with good qualities, may even receive (against verse 120) the additional share of an eldest son, because it is said that he inherits 'like a legitimate son.' Nâr. says, '(the expression) like a legitimate son (is used) in order to establish (the title to) an equal share.' Nand. omits this verse.

146. 'This rule refers to the case where the two brothers are divided, while verse 120 refers to those who live in union' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.). Nand. places this verse after 147.

those begotten by one man on many wives of different (castes).

149. If there be four wives of a Brâhmana in the direct order of the castes, the rule for the division (of the estate) among the sons born of them is as follows :

150. The (slave) who tills (the field), the bull kept for impregnating cows, the vehicle, the ornaments, and the house shall be given as an additional portion to the Brâhmana (son), and one most excellent share.

151. Let the son of the Brâhmanî (wife) take three shares of the (remainder of the) estate, the son of the Kshatriyâ two, the son of the Vaisyâ a share and a half, and the son of the Sûdrâ may take one share.

152. Or let him who knows the law make ten shares of the whole estate, and justly distribute them according to the following rule :

149-156. Gaut. XXVIII, 35-39 ; Vas. XVII, 48-50 ; Baudh. II, 3, 10 ; Vi. XVIII, 1-33, 38-40 ; Yâgyñ. II, 125.

150. 'The ornaments,' i. e. 'the ring which the father used to wear, and the like' (Medh., Kull.). 'The house,' i. e. 'the principal mansion' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.). *Ekâmsas ka pradhânatah*, 'one most excellent share' (Medh., Kull.), means according to Nâr., with whom Nand. agrees, 'and one share consisting of the chief, i. e. best property' (*pradhânato mukhyadhanâd utkrîṣhṭâd ity arthaḥ*), and according to Râgh. 'and one share, because he is the chief person.' According to Nâr. this 'one share' must be equal in value to one of the three shares mentioned in the next verse.

151. Medh. and Kull. remark that the rule holds good also if there are more sons than one in each class.

152. According to Nâr. this rule refers to the case when each of the wives has several sons, while the preceding one is applicable when each wife has one son only. Râgh. thinks that the first rule shall be followed when the son of the Brâhmanî possesses good qualities, the second when he is destitute of them.

153. The Brâhmana (son) shall take four shares, the son of the Kshatriyâ (wife) three, the son of the Vaisyâ shall have two parts, the son of the Sûdrâ may take one share.

154. Whether (a Brâhmana) have sons or have no sons (by wives of the twice-born castes), the (heir) must, according to the law, give to the son of a Sûdra (wife) no more than a tenth (part of his estate).

155. The son of a Brâhmana, a Kshatriya, and a Vaisya by a Sûdra (wife) receives no share of the inheritance; whatever his father may give to him, that shall be his property.

156. All the sons of twice-born men, born of wives of the same caste, shall equally divide the estate, after the others have given to the eldest an additional share.

157. For a Sûdra is ordained a wife of his own caste only (and) no other; those born of her shall have equal shares, even if there be a hundred sons.

153. Medh. points out that according to other Smṛitis the Brâhmana son alone receives land, given to his father, and that the Sûdra son receives no share in land, if there is other property.

154. Hence on failure of other sons the other heirs, the Sapindas (Medh.), or the widow and the rest (Nâr.), shall take the rest of the estate. Nâr. adds that he may obtain more than a tenth, if his father give it to him.

155. The son of a Sûdra wife receives no share of his father's estate in case the mother was not legally married (Medh. 'others,' Kull.), or in case he is destitute of good qualities (Kull., Râgh.). According to Medh. and Nâr., na rikthabhâk, 'receives no share of the inheritance,' means 'receives no (larger) share (than one-tenth, except if the father himself has given more to him).' But it seems more probable, that the verse is intended to inculcate the maxim that a son by a Sûdra wife cannot claim any fixed portion of the inheritance from his father who divides his estate.

156. Medh., Gov., and K. read vâ, 'or,' instead of ye (gâtâh), but this gives no good sense, as Medh. remarks.

158. Among the twelve sons of men whom Manu, sprung from the Self-existent (Svayambhū), enumerates, six are kinsmen and heirs, and six not heirs, (but) kinsmen.

159. The legitimate son of the body, the son begotten on a wife, the son adopted, the son made, the son secretly born, and the son cast off, (are) the six heirs and kinsmen.

160. The son of an unmarried damsel, the son received with the wife, the son bought, the son begotten on a re-married woman, the son self-given, and the son of a Sûdra female, (are) the six (who are) not heirs, (but) kinsmen.

161. Whatever result a man obtains who (tries to) cross a (sheet of) water in an unsafe boat, even that result obtains he who (tries to) pass the gloom (of the next world) with (the help of) bad (substitutes for a real) son.

162. If the two heirs of one man be a legitimate

158-159. Gaut. XXVIII, 31-33; Vas. XVII, 25, 38; Baudh. II, 3, 31-32.

158. I.e. the first six inherit the family estate and offer the funeral oblations, the last six do not inherit, but offer libations of water and so forth as remoter kinsmen (Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand. 'some'). Medh., Nâr., and Nand. take *adâyâdabândhavâh* to mean 'not heirs nor kinsmen.' But Kull. rightly objects that the parallel passage of Baudh. proves this explanation to be wrong. Nâr. finally interprets *bandhudâyâdâh*, 'heirs and kinsmen,' as 'heirs to the kinsmen,' i.e. 'inheritors of the estate of kinsmen, such as paternal uncles, on failure of sons, wives, and so forth.' Nâr. and Nand., as well as Medh. in his commentary on verse 166, add that the son of an appointed daughter is not mentioned, because he has been declared above to be equal to a legitimate son.

161. Medh. mentions another explanation of the expression *kuputraiḥ*, 'by bad (substitutes for a real) son,' according to which 'sons of a wife or widow not duly appointed' are meant.

162. According to Medh. and Gov. (quoted by Kull. and Râgh.),

son of his body and a son begotten on his wife, each (of the two sons), to the exclusion of the other, shall take the estate of his (natural) father.

163. The legitimate son of the body alone (shall be) the owner of the paternal estate; but, in order to avoid harshness, let him allow a maintenance to the rest.

164. But when the legitimate son of the body divides the paternal estate, he shall give one-sixth or one-fifth part of his father's property to the son begotten on the wife.

the rule refers to the case where a legitimate son and the son of a wife not appointed both claim the inheritance. But 'óthers,' quoted by Medh., Kull., and Râgh., think that it applies to the case where a wife first was appointed by her husband to procreate a son with his brother, and afterwards a legitimate son was born. The difficulty which under this explanation arises with respect to verse 164, is removed by assuming that the latter applies to the case where the natural father of the Kshetrâga has likewise sons, while verse 162 presupposes that he has none. Nâr. and Nand. say that the case which the rule contemplates, is that two brothers were undivided, and when the one died, the other, who himself had sons, begat with the widow a Kshetrâga son. On the death of the second brother, the Kshetrâga is entitled to receive only the share of the husband of his mother, not to claim a portion of the estate of his natural father. Under this supposition the translation would be, 'If a legitimate son (of one brother) and the son of the wife (of another) have a claim to one (undivided) estate, each shall receive the share of his father.'

163-165. Vi. XV, 28-30; Yâgñ. II, 132.

163. This rule refers to the case where one man leaves several substitutes for sons and a legitimate son (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). 'To the rest,' i.e. 'to all except the son begotten on the wife' (which latter is exempted by verses 164-165; Medh., Kull., Râgh., Nand.). 'He who does not maintain them, commits sin' (Medh., Kull.); but not, if they have other means of subsistence (Nand.).

164. This rule refers to the case where a Kshetrâga was begotten before the legitimate son, and received no property from his natural father (Râgh.); see also Kull.'s notes on verses 162-163. According

165. The legitimate son and the son of the wife (thus) share the father's estate ; but the other ten become members of the family, and inherit according to their order (each later named on failure of those named earlier).

166. Him whom a man begets on his own wedded wife, let him know to be a legitimate son of the body (Aurasa), the first in rank.

167. He who was begotten according to the peculiar law (of the Niyoga) on the appointed wife of a dead man, of a eunuch, or of one diseased, is called a son begotten on a wife (Kshetrāga).

168. That (boy) equal (by caste) whom his mother or his father affectionately give, (confirming the gift)

to Nâr. it refers, however, to the case where a man died, leaving several widows, and one was appointed to bear a son by her brother-in-law, while another afterwards proved to be pregnant and bore a legitimate son. 'The Kshetrāga receives one-fifth, if he is endowed with good qualities, else one-sixth' (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.).

165. Vas. XVII, 39. Gotrarikthâmsabhâginah, 'become members of the family (i. e. succeed to the family rights and duties) and inherit' (Medh., Kull., Nand.), may also be translated, 'share the family estate,' as Nâr. proposes. But his suggestion that the family estate is here mentioned in order to exclude them from their father's self-acquired property is doubtlessly wrong. Equally inadmissible seems another explanation, mentioned by Nâr. and Nand., according to which *amsabhâginah*, 'they share,' is to mean 'they obtain (such) a share (as will suffice for their maintenance).'

166. Âp. II, 18, 1 ; Vas. XVII, 13 ; Baudh. II, 3, 14 ; Vi. XV, 2 ; Yâgñ. II, 128. I read prâthamakalpikam with Medh., Gov., Nâr., and K. Râgh. gives prathamakalpikam. Kull. and Nâr. think that the wife must be of equal caste, while Medh. says that *sva* means 'his own,' not 'of his own caste.' Medh. mentions Kull.'s opinion as that of 'others.'

167. Vas. XVII, 14 ; Baudh. II, 3, 18 ; Vi. XV, 3 ; Yâgñ. I, 69, II, 127-128.

168. Vas. XVII, 29 ; Baudh. II, 3, 20 ; Vi. XV, 18-19 ; Yâgñ.

with (a libation of) water, in times of distress (to a man) as his son, must be considered as an adopted son (Dātrima).

169. But he is considered a son made (*Kṛitrīma*) whom (a man) makes his son, (he being) equal (by caste), acquainted with (the distinctions between) right and wrong, (and) endowed with filial virtues.

170. If (a child) be born in a man's house and his father be not known, he is a son born secretly in the house (*Gūdhōtpanna*), and shall belong to him of whose wife he was born.

171. He whom (a man) receives as his son, (after he has been) deserted by his parents or by either of them, is called a son cast off (*Apaviddha*).

II, 130. *Sadrīsam*, 'equal (by caste),' (Kull., Nār., Rāgh., Nand.), means according to Medh. 'equal by virtues, not by caste.' 'His mother or his father,' i.e. 'after mutually agreeing' (Kull.), 'the mother, if there is no father' (Rāgh.). Medh. and Nand. read *mâtâ pitâ ka*, 'his mother and his father,' but Medh. adds that *vâ* is the proper reading. 'Affectionately,' i.e. 'not out of avarice' (Medh.), or 'not out of fear and so forth' (Kull., Nand.), or 'not by force or fraud' (Rāgh.). 'In times of distress,' i.e. 'if the adopter has no son' (Kull., Rāgh.), or 'if the adoptee's parents are in distress' (Nār.).

169. Baudh. II, 3, 21; *Yâgñ.* II, 131. Medh. again says, 'equal by qualities.' 'Acquainted with (the distinctions between) right and wrong,' i.e. 'by performing or not performing *Śrāddhas* and other sacred rites merit or sin will follow' (Kull.), or 'I am now the son of so and so, and if I do not serve him I shall become an outcast' (Rāgh.), or 'not an infant' (Medh. 'some,' Nār.). Nār. adds that some read *gunādashavīṭakṣhaṇaḥ*, and refer the adjective to the adopter, who is thereby warned not to take an outcast or the like.

170. Vas. XVII, 24; Baudh. II, 3, 22; Vi. XV, 13-14; *Yâgñ.* II, 129. According to the commentators the condition is that there is no suspicion that the wife had intercourse with a man of lower caste. Nār. says that the case contemplated is, that a wife had intercourse with several men of equal caste.

171. Vas. XVII, 37; Baudh. II, 3, 23; Vi. XV, 24-25; *Yâgñ.*

172. A son whom a damsel secretly bears in the house of her father, one shall name the son of an unmarried damsel (Kânîna, and declare) such offspring of an unmarried girl (to belong) to him who weds her (afterwards).

173. If one marries, either knowingly or unknowingly, a pregnant (bride), the child in her womb belongs to him who weds her, and is called (a son) received with the bride (Sahodha).

174. If a man buys a (boy), whether equal or unequal (in good qualities), from his father and mother for the sake of having a son, that (child) is called a (son) bought (Kṛitaka).

175. If a woman abandoned by her husband, or a widow, of her own accord contracts a second marriage and bears (a son), he is called the son of a re-married woman (Paunarbhava).

176. If she be (still) a virgin, or one who returned (to her first husband) after leaving him, she is worthy to again perform with her second (or first deserted) husband the (nuptial) ceremony.

II, 132. The reason of the desertion may be either extreme distress of the parents, or the commission of some fault on the part of the boy (Medh.). 'Provided the father of the child was of equal caste' (Nâr., Nand.).

172. Vas. XVII, 22-23; Baudh. II, 3, 24; Vi. XV, 10-11; Yâgñ. II, 129. 'Provided the lover was of equal or higher caste' (Nâr.).

173. Vas. XVII, 26-27; Baudh. II, 3, 25; Vi. XV, 15-16; Yâgñ. II, 131. Medh.'s commentary on verses 173-178 is missing in the I. O. copies.

174. Vas. XVII, 30-32; Baudh. II, 3, 26; Vi. XV, 20-21; Yâgñ. II, 131. 'Equal or unequal,' i. e. 'by good qualities, not by caste' (Kull., Râgh.), means according to Nâr. 'whether of equal or of lower caste.'

175. Vas. XVII, 18; Baudh. II, 3, 27; Vi. XV, 7-9; Yâgñ. II, 130.

176. Vas. XVII, 74. 'Hence a re-married woman, who is not a

177. He who, having lost his parents or being abandoned (by them) without (just) cause, gives himself to a (man), is called a son self-given (*Svayamdatta*).

178. The son whom a *Brâhmaṇa* begets through lust on a *Sûdra* female is, (though) alive (*pârayan*), a corpse (*sava*), and hence called a *Pârasava* (a living corpse).

179. A son who is (begotten) by a *Sûdra* on a female slave, or on the female slave of his slave, may, if permitted (by his father), take a share (of the inheritance); thus the law is settled.

180. These eleven, the son begotten on the wife and the rest as enumerated (above), the wise call substitutes for a son, (taken) in order (to prevent) a failure of the (funeral) ceremonies.

181. Those sons, who have been mentioned in connection with (the legitimate son of the body),

virgin, is unworthy of the sacrament' (*Nâr.*). *Râgh.*, relying on *Yâgñ.* II, 130, expresses the contrary view, and thinks that the word *vâ*, 'or,' at the end of the first half-verse, permits the insertion of 'or not a virgin.'

177. *Vas.* XVII, 33-35; *Baudh.* II, 3, 28; *Vi.* XV, 22-23; *Yâgñ.* II, 131.

178. *Vas.* XVII, 38; *Baudh.* II, 3, 30; *Vi.* XV, 27. 'On a *Sûdra*-female' i. e. 'one married to him' (*Kull.*). The designation 'a corpse' indicates that his father derives imperfect benefits from his offerings (*Kull.*, *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*), or that he is blameable (*Râgh.*). The term *Brâhmaṇa* includes *Kshatriyas* by implication (*Nâr.*).

179. *Yâgñ.* II, 133. 'A share,' i. e. 'a share equal to that of a legitimate son' (*Kull.*), in case the division is made in the father's lifetime, else half a share according to *Yâgñ.* (*Medh.*).

180. *Kriyâlopât*, 'in (order to prevent) a failure of the (funeral) ceremonies,' means according to *Medh.* 'in (order to prevent) a failure of the duty (to beget offspring).' *Kull.* mentions this explanation also. *Nand.* says, 'when there is no legitimacy in consequence of the absence of the action of begetting one.'

181. *Âp.* II, 13, 7; *Baudh.* II, 3, 34-35. Hence they should not

being begotten by strangers, belong (in reality) to him from whose seed they sprang, but not to the other (man who took them).

182. If among brothers, sprung from one (father), one have a son, Manu has declared them all to have male offspring through that son.

183. If among all the wives of one husband one have a son, Manu declares them all (to be) mothers of male children through that son.

184. On failure of each better (son), each next inferior (one) is worthy of the inheritance; but if there be many (of) equal (rank), they shall all share the estate.

185. Not brothers, nor fathers, (but) sons take the paternal estate; but the father shall take the inheritance of (a son) who leaves no male issue, and his brothers.

be taken, if there is a legitimate son (Medh.), or an appointed daughter (Kull.).

182. Vas. XVII, 10; Vi. XV, 42. Hence no subsidiary sons (Kull., Râgh.), or no Kshetrâgas (Nâr.), are necessary in such a case. Kull. and Râgh. add that the brother will take estate and give the funeral offerings on failure of a wife, daughters, and so forth (Yâgyñ. II, 135).

183. Vas. XVII, 11; Vi. XV, 41. Hence no adoption or other substitution (Kull., Râgh.), or no appointment (Nâr.), shall be made in such a case.

184. 'Each better (son),' i.e. 'each earlier named among the twelve' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.). Kull. and Râgh. add that, as the son of a Sûdra wife is enumerated among the twelve, and not considered like the son of Kshatriya and Vaisya wives a legitimate son, he inherits only on failure of all other subsidiary sons. 'Many (of) equal rank,' i.e. 'many Paunarbhavas and so forth' (Kull., Râgh.).

185. Kull. and Râgh. insert after 'who leaves no son,' 'nor widow and daughters,' and before 'brothers,' 'who leaves no parents.' Nâr., who (as also Gov., Nand., and K.) reads *eva vâ*, 'or brothers,' says that the father inherits the estate of an undivided

186. To three (ancestors) water must be offered, to three the funeral cake is given, the fourth (descendant is) the giver of these (oblations), the fifth has no connection (with them).

187. Always to that (relative within three degrees) who is nearest to the (deceased) *Sapinda* the

son, leaving no male issue, or the brothers with his permission, and that the estate of a divided son descends to his wife, and other heirs mentioned by Yâgñ. II, 135-136. All these interpolations are most probably improper, as Manu nowhere mentions the right of a wife or a daughter, not appointed, to the estate. The verse can only refer to a divided coparcener or to the separate property of an undivided one, and Manu's opinion seems to be that on failure of sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, whose rights are indicated by verse 137, the father shall inherit, and after him the brothers.

186. 'To three,' i. e. 'to the father, the grandfather, and the great-grandfather' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.). To these same three the cakes are offered (Kull., Râgh.). Kull. and Râgh. state that the object of the verse is to indicate the right of Kshetrâgas and other subsidiary sons to inherit the estate of a grandfather and so forth deceased without leaving issue. Kull. adds that the right of sons and grandsons of a legitimate son is indicated by verse 137. Nand., however, thinks that the verse serves to prove the right of grandsons and great-grandsons to inherit before 'brothers and the rest.'

187. Vas. XVII, 81-82; Gaut. XXVIII, 33; Âp. II, 14, 2-3. The above translation does not fully agree with any of the explanations given by the four commentators. On philological grounds it seems to me improbable that *anantaraḥ sapindât* can mean anything else than 'nearest to the *Sapinda*,' and that this *Sapinda* can be anybody else than the deceased. Further, as verse 186 apparently contains a definition of the term, limiting *Sapinda*-relationship to three degrees, and as in the second half of verse 187 the *Sakulyas*, 'those belonging to the same family,' are mentioned as the next heirs, it seems certain that 'the nearest' here meant is 'the nearest *Sapinda* or relative within three degrees.' Practically the proposed translation is not much different from that extracted by Kull. and others by the grammatically inadmissible expedient of taking *sapindât* for *sapindamadyât*, 'among the *Sapindas*.' The correctness of the above explanation is also attested by the closely allied parallel passage of Baudhâyana I, 11, 9-13, the first *Sûtra* of

estate shall belong ; afterwards a Sakulya shall be (the heir, then) the spiritual teacher or the pupil.

which corresponds to verse 186, while the other four express the same sense as verse 187. There too the term Sakulya occurs, which *Gimûtavâhana* takes to denote the three descendants beyond the great-grandson and the three ascendants beyond the great-grandfather, while others explain it as a general term, 'members of one family.' What Manu's precise acceptation of the word was cannot be said with certainty. But, as no technical definition is given by him, it will be safest to take it in its etymological and widest sense, 'the (remoter) members of the family,' and to assume that the principle of nearness to the deceased regulated the succession.

As regards the explanations of the commentators, Kull. says, 'As this general rule would be meaningless, if it were referred to the legitimate son and those other *Sapindas* alone, who have already been mentioned, its object must therefore be (to teach) that the wife and the rest, who have not been mentioned, shall inherit. To that *Sapinda* who is the nearest among the *Sapindas*, be he a male or a female, the estate of the deceased shall belong.' He then goes on to enumerate the heirs in the following order: 1. the legitimate son, sharing with a *Kshetrâgâ* (verse 164), and a virtuous adoptive son (verse 141); 2. the appointed daughter and her son; 3. the *Kshetrâgâ* and the other ten subsidiary sons, each on failure of the earlier named, with the proviso that the son of a *Sûdra* wife receives one-tenth of the estate only (verse 154); 4. the widow (on this point a great many passages are quoted, and Medh. is censured, because in his commentary, which is missing in the I. O. MSS., like the whole passage 182-201, he denied her right to inherit); 5. the daughter, not appointed; 6. the father and the mother; 7. full brothers; 8. sons of full brothers; 9. the paternal grandmother (verse 227); 10. any other near *Sapinda*, (a) of the grandfather's line, (b) of the great-grandfather's line, and so forth; 11. the *Samânodakas*, or relatives allied by libations of water (Kull. considering Sakulya as equivalent to *Samânodaka*); 12. the teacher; 13. the pupil. According to Kull. the translation should be, 'To the nearest among the *Sapindas* (male or female) the estate shall belong; afterwards (on failure of *Sapindas*) a *Samânodaka* shall be (the heir), next the teacher, and (then) the pupil.' Râgh. in substance agrees with this explanation, but in order to make the rule still more fully agree with *Yâgñ.* II, 135-136, he asserts that the

188. But on failure of all (heirs) Brāhmanas (shall) share the estate, (who are) versed in the three Vedas, pure and self-controlled; thus the law is not violated.

Bandhus or cognates are also implied by the term Sakulya. His explanation of the first words also differs from Kull.'s, and is more in accordance with the rules of grammar, 'He who is the nearest to the Sapinda, i.e. to the legitimate son and the son of the daughter—(viz.) the five, the wife and the rest (mentioned by Yāgñ. II, 135-136).' Rāgh. and Kull. are clearly under the spell of Yāgñ., and most improperly transfer into Manu's text the ideas of the latter. Nār.'s short disjointed remarks are not very clear. He explains the first words by *eshām madhye sapindānām ato tho[yo]nantaro yathā putrasya pitā tasya tatpitetyādi tasya tasya taddhanam*, 'Among those Sapindas the nearest to him, i.e. the father to his son, his father to him, and so forth; always to him that estate (shall belong).' He then enumerates, on failure of the father, the brother and his son, the grandfather, the Samānodaka, the Sagotra, and the 'Bandhu, i.e. the maternal uncle and the rest,' as successive heirs, and explains Sakulya by Bandhu.

Nand., whose text has a faulty reading *sapindārhaḥ*, asserts that *pinda* (*sapinda*?) means 'the deceased,' and explains the first line by saying, 'Always to him who is the Sapinda nearest to the deceased the wealth, the estate, shall belong—the repetition (of the word *tasya*) shows the successive order.' The Sakulyas are, according to him, the Samānodakas. He reads *sakulyāḥ syuḥ*, 'Sakulyas shall be the heirs.'

188. Gaut. XXVIII, 41; Vas. XVII, 84-86; Baudh. I, 13, 14; Vi. XVII, 13-14. The phrase 'on failure of all (heirs),' i.e. 'of those mentioned' (Rāgh.), or 'of all males and females, related in any way (to the deceased),' (Nand.), indicates according to Kull. that other unnamed persons, such as fellow-students, are also entitled to inherit. 'Brāhmanas,' i.e. 'such as live in the same village' (Nār.). 'Pure,' i.e. 'careful of external and internal purity' (Kull.), or better 'who are of good conduct' (Nār.). According to Kull. and Rāgh., the meaning of the last clause is that the Brāhmanas who inherit the estate will offer the funeral sacrifices, and thus no violation of the law regarding the Srāddhas will occur. Nār. points out that this rule, as the following verse shows, refers solely to the property of a Brāhmana.

189. The property of a Brāhmaṇa must never be taken by the king, that is a settled rule; but (the property of men) of other castes the king may take on failure of all (heirs).

190. (If the widow) of (a man) who died without leaving issue, raises up to him a son by a member of the family (Sagotra), she shall deliver to that (son) the whole property which belonged to the (deceased).

191. But if two (sons), begotten by two (different men), contend for the property (in the hands) of their mother, each shall take, to the exclusion of the other, what belonged to his father.

189. Âp. II, 14, 5; Gaut. XXVIII, 42; Vas. XVII, 83; Baudh. I, 13, 15-16. According to Kull. and Râgh., the repetition of the prohibition to take the property of a Brāhmaṇa shows that, if no learned and virtuous Brāhmaṇas are to be found, the king shall give the estate of a Brāhmaṇa deceased without heirs, even to men who have nothing but the name of the Brāhmaṇa caste.

190. According to Kull. and Râgh., this verse refers to the case in which a duly authorised widow bears a son to a relative of her husband, and repeats the rule given above, verse 146, which here however is made imperative on the widow. Kull. adds that the object of the repetition is to show that not only a brother-in-law or a Sapinda, as stated above, verse 59, but also a remoter relative, a Sagotra, may beget a son for a man deceased without issue. Nâr., on the other hand, thinks that in accordance with this verse a child which a widow bears, even without authorisation, to a Sagotra shall inherit the estate of the widow's deceased husband (sagotrâd yadi tantum samtānam âhared aniyuktâpi strî tadâ golakave 'pi tasya gñâtyantarâbhâve kshetrapatidhanahâritvam ity arthaḥ). He adds that some apply this rule to Sûdra females only, and that in the opinion of these persons Gûdhagas, Kânînas, and Sahodhas also are considered as sons in the case of Sûdras only, not in the case of Âryans.

191. Kull. and Nand. think that the verse refers to the case in which a woman married successively two husbands and bore a son to either. If the two husbands died and their property remained in

192. But when the mother has died, all the uterine brothers and the uterine sisters shall equally divide the mother's estate.

193. Even to the daughters of those (daughters) something should be given, as is seemly, out of the estate of their maternal grandmother, on the score of affection.

194. What (was given) before the (nuptial) fire, what (was given) on the bridal procession, what was

the hands of the wife, she is to make over the entire property of her first husband to his son, and the property of the second husband to the son of the latter. Râgh. gives the same explanation, but proposes as an alternative, 'If two (sons), begotten by two (different men), contend for the separate property of their mother, &c.' For a twice-married woman will have received nuptial and other presents from both husbands. After her death her sons shall each receive what came to her from his father. Nâr. finally holds that the verse refers to a contention between a legitimate son and a Golaka or a Paunarbhava for the estates of their respective fathers which their mother holds. He construes *striyâh* with *gâtau*, 'begotten by two (different men) on one woman.'

192. Kull. and Râgh. restrict this rule, in accordance with a passage of *Bṛihaspati*, to unmarried daughters, and hold that married daughters receive merely 'a token of respect.' The latter amounts according to Kull. to 'one-fourth of a share;' see above, verse 118. Nâr. says that the term 'the mother's estate' refers to 'other property than *stridhana* or separate property,' and adds to the expression 'the sisters' *aputrâh*, 'those who have no sons.' He, however, gives the opinion, held by Kull. and Râgh. also, stating that it belongs to 'some.'

193. Kull. holds that the granddaughters should be unmarried. Nâr. says, 'When the married daughters are dead, their daughters shall be presented at will by their maternal uncles with the share which their mothers would have received as a token of respect.' Râgh., too, thinks that 'on the score of affection' means 'at the pleasure (of the heirs).' But Nand. deduces from the same term the absolute necessity of the gift.

194. Vi. XVII, 17; *Yâgñ.* II, 143. 'What was given in token of love,' i.e. 'by the husband' (*ratikâle*, Nâr.).

given in token of love, and what was received from her brother, mother, or father, that is called the six-fold property of a woman.

195. (Such property), as well as a gift subsequent and what was given (to her) by her affectionate husband, shall go to her offspring, (even) if she dies in the lifetime of her husband.

196. It is ordained that the property (of a woman married) according to the Brâhma, the Daiva, the Ârsha, the Gândharva, or the Prâgâpatya rite (shall belong) to her husband alone, if she dies without issue.

197. But it is prescribed that the property which may have been given to a (wife) on an Âsura marriage or (one of the) other (blamable marriages, shall go) to her mother and to her father, if she dies without issue.

198. Whatever property may have been given by her father to a wife (who has co-wives of different castes), that the daughter (of the) Brâhmaṇī (wife) shall take, or that (daughter's) issue.

195. Yâgñ. II, 144. Kull. and Nâr. state that both the separate property of a woman, enumerated in verse 194, and that named in verse 195, descend to her children, i. e. 'to her sons and the rest' (Râgh.), or 'to her sons or daughters' (Nand.). Nâr. remarks that 'a gift subsequent' and 'the husband's affectionate gift' are not strîdhana, or separate property, and that hence the wife has no right of free disposal with respect to these two.

196-197. Vi. XVII, 19-20; Yâgñ. II, 145.

196. Nâr. adds to the term 'property,' strîdhanâstrîdhanarûpam, 'whether separate property or not.'

198. I. e. if a Brâhmaṇa has wives of the Brâhmaṇa and Kshatriya castes, property given in any way to the Kshatriya wife by her own family, goes to the daughter of the Brâhmaṇa wife, or if that daughter of the Brâhmaṇa wife is dead and has left issue, to the latter. 'Thus the sons of the Brâhmaṇa wife are excluded' (Kull., Nâr.). Nâr. states expressly that the term 'issue' refers to daughters alone.

199. Women should never make a hoard from (the property of) their families which is common to many, nor from their own (husbands' particular) property without permission.

200. The ornaments which may have been worn by women during their husbands' lifetime, his heirs shall not divide; those who divide them become outcasts.

201. Eunuchs and outcasts, (persons) born blind or deaf, the insane, idiots and the dumb, as well as those deficient in any organ (of action or sensation), receive no share.

199. Kull. and Râgh., whose explanation the translation given above follows, take the first clause to refer to the property of a united family, and the second to the separate property of the husbands. But according to Nâr. and Nand. the translation should be as follows, 'Wives should never take anything (for their private expenses) from (their husbands' property, destined for the support of) their families, on which many have a claim, nor from their own property (which is not *strîdhana*), without the consent of their husbands.' Nâr.'s explanation of *nirhâram kuryuḥ*, 'should (never) take anything,' seems preferable to that given by Kull. and Râgh.

200. Vi. XVII, 22. 'His heirs,' i. e. 'the sons and the rest' (Kull., Nâr.). Nand., who differs from the above explanation, says, 'Since the ornaments are the husband's property, because they have not been mentioned as *strîdhana*, the object of this utterance is to forbid their going to the heirs, while the husband lives' (*alamkârasya strîdhane 'nudishatvâd bhartṛidhanatvena bhartṛibhâve dâyaâdânâm prâptyapavâdârtho 'yam ârambhaḥ*). Nand. appears, therefore, to construe *patyau gîvati* with *bhageran*, just as Nandapandita does in the parallel passage of Vishnu (see Professor Jolly's note).

201-203. Âp. II, 14, 1, 15; Gaut. XXVIII, 23, 40, 43; Vas. XVII, 52-53; Baudh. II, 3, 37-40; Vi. XV, 32-37; Yâgyñ. II, 140-141.

201. 'Eunuchs,' i. e. 'those who are incurable;' 'outcasts,' i. e. 'those guilty of a mortal sin (*mahâpâtaka*) before they perform a penance;' 'the insane,' i. e. 'those who are incurable' (Nâr.). 'Those deficient in any organ, i. e. of action' (Nand.), such as lame men (Kull., Nand.), such as men without hands (Râgh.), or

202. But it is just that (a man) who knows (the law) should give even to all of them food and raiment without stint, according to his ability; he who gives it not will become an outcast.

203. If the eunuch and the rest should somehow or other desire to (take) wives, the offspring of such among them as have children is worthy of a share.

204. Whatever property the eldest (son) acquires (by his own exertion) after the father's death, a share of that (shall belong) to his younger (brothers), provided they have made a due progress in learning.

also 'of sensation,' such as men who have lost the faculty of touch (Nâr.).

202. Medh. and Kull. take *atyantam*, 'without stint,' in the sense of 'for life.' Nâr. construes the word with *adadat*, and explains 'he who does not give it at all.' Nand. reads *abhyāṅgam*, 'ointments,' for *atyantam*, 'without stint.'

203. Medh. is of opinion that some of the persons disqualified from inheriting, the *vâtaretas klîba*, those born blind and the lame, may marry, while outcasts, madmen, and the rest cannot do so. Hence the conditional clause may be taken in the sense adopted above in the translation. He, however, adds that the rule may also refer to cases in which the cause of the disqualification arose after marriage. Nâr.'s explanation is substantially the same. But he considers that a eunuch and an outcast cannot contract a legal marriage, and that the expression *klibâdayaḥ*, literally 'those among whom the eunuch is the first,' refers to 'men born blind and the rest.' He admits also the rights of the *Kshetrâga* sons of eunuchs and outcasts who contracted a marriage before their disqualification arose. Kull. says, 'By the employment of the term "somehow or other" it is indicated that a eunuch and the rest are not worthy to marry.' In the sequel he explains the word 'offspring' by *Kshetrâga*. Râgh. and Nand. follow him with respect to the latter point.

204. The rule refers of course to a united family only (Kull.). Medh. infers from the expression *vidyânupâlināḥ*, 'provided they have made a due progress in learning,' that 'persons subsisting by learning, mechanics and artisans, such as physicians, actors, singers,'

205. But if all of them, being unlearned, acquire property by their labour, the division of that shall be equal, (as it is) not property acquired by the father; that is a settled rule.

206. Property (acquired) by learning belongs solely to him to whom (it was given), likewise the gift of a friend, a present received on marriage or with the honey-mixture.

are meant. Nâr. and Nand. hold that no part of an acquisition, made under the same circumstances by the youngest brother, can be claimed by the eldest, because this verse specifies the eldest alone, and because the next verse declares that the acquisitions only made by any member of an unlearned family, shall be partible.

205. Gaut. XXXVIII, 31. This rule refers to acquisitions by trade (Medh., Kull., Nâr.), by agriculture (Medh., Kull. Nand.), or by royal service (Medh.). 'As the division is to be equal, the eldest receives no preferential share' (Medh., Kull., Nand.). Medh. adds that, since the expression 'as it is not property acquired by the father,' gives the reason for the equal division, the same rule holds good for the division of the estate of any other person deceased without issue. Nand. takes *apitrya iti* for *apitrya^h iti* and explains it by 'since (the division) has not been made by the father.'

206. Yâgñ. II, 118-119. 'Property acquired by learning,' i. e. 'a fee for teaching or money received for proficiency in an art' (Medh., Nand.), includes according to a text of Kâtyâyana, quoted by Kull. and Râgh. (see Colebrooke V, Digest CCCXLVII), gifts from pupils, gratuities for performing a sacrifice, a fee for answering a difficult question in casuistry, or for ascertaining a doubtful point in law, rewards for displaying knowledge or for victory in a learned contest, or for reciting the Veda with transcendent ability. Instances in which land was given as *vidyâdhana* occur in the inscriptions, see e. g. Indian Antiquary, XII, p. 195 b, l. 6. 'A present received on marriage,' i. e. 'what (the bridegroom) receives from the relatives of his wife' (Medh., Nâr.), or 'from any other person' (Medh. 'others'), means according to Nand., '*strîdhana* received at the time of marriage' (?). 'A present received with the honey-mixture' is explained by Medh. and, as Kull. asserts, by Gov. also, by 'the fee given for the performance of a sacrifice.' But the explanation given by Kull., Nâr., Râgh., and Nand., 'any

207. But if one of the brothers, being able (to maintain himself) by his own occupation, does not desire (a share of the family) property, he may be made separate (by the others) receiving a trifle out of his share to live upon.

208. What one (brother) may acquire by his labour without using the patrimony, that acquisition, (made solely) by his own effort, he shall not share unless by his own will (with his brothers).

209. But if a father recovers lost ancestral pro-

present received, in token of respect, with the honey-mixture,' e. g. a silver vase (Râgh.), is preferable. Regarding the persons worthy of the honey-mixture, see above, III, 119-120. Kull. points out that this rule is a restriction of that given above, verse 204. Râgh. adds that, as the parallel passage of Yâgñ. shows, such acquisitions become the private property of the donee, only if they were obtained 'without detriment to the paternal estate;' see also below, verse 208.

207. Yâgñ. II, 116. The translation given above follows the second explanation offered by Medh., and the glosses of Kull. and Nâr. According to Medh.'s first explanation, with which Nand. agrees, the translation would agree with Sir W. Jones's, 'he may debar himself from his share.' The reason why a trifle should be given is, according to all commentators, that future disputes may be prevented.

208. Yâgñ. II, 118; Vi. XVIII, 42. 'By his labour,' i. e. 'by agriculture and the like' (Medh., Kull., Nand.), or 'by any occupation entailing trouble' (śramaganyakarmanâ, Nâr.). Anupaghnan, 'without using' (Nand.), or 'without living upon' (Râgh.), is explained by Kull. 'without detriment to,' and Nand. mentions this interpretation also. Nâr. remarks that acquisitions made without labour or trouble are liable to partition. Nand. says that the rule, given in this verse, may be reconciled with that contained in verse 205, by assuming that the latter presupposes that all brothers exert themselves according to their ability (pûrvam sarveshu yathâsâmarthyam ihamâneshu bhrâtrîshu labdhasya samavibhâga ukta ityavirodho 'nusamdheya').

209. Yâgñ. II, 119; Vi. XVIII, 43. The translation of paitrikam, lit. 'paternal,' by 'ancestral,' is based on Nâr.'s gloss svapitri-

perty, he shall not divide it, unless by his own will, with his sons, (for it is) self-acquired (property).

210. If brothers, (once) divided and living (again) together (as coparceners), make a second partition, the division shall in that case be equal; in such a case there is no right of primogeniture.

211. If the eldest or the youngest (brother) is deprived of his share, or if either of them dies, his share is not lost (to his immediate heirs).

212. His uterine brothers, having assembled together, shall equally divide it, and those brothers who were reunited (with him) and the uterine sisters.

sambandhi and on Râgh.'s *pitrîpitâmahâdisambandhi*. The latter refers also to the parallel passage of *Yâgñ.* *Anavâptam*, 'lost,' means literally 'not obtained (by his father).' The translation of *svayamargitam* by 'for it is self-acquired' agrees with Nand.'s remark, *svayamargitatvâd ity arthaḥ*. Nâr. adds, 'And thus it has been declared that property of the father which has not been acquired by him with exceedingly great trouble must be divided at the will of the sons, and to this refers the passage of *Yâgñ.* II, 121, "Over land acquired by the grandfather, &c." Medh., whose commentary on this verse is very corrupt, seems likewise to have inferred from it that Manu admitted the equal ownership of a father and his sons in ancestral property (see also Colebrooke V, Digest XCI). But he combats the theory that sons may without a violation of their duty force the father to divide the ancestral property.

210. Vi. XVIII, 41.

211. 'Be deprived of his share,' i. e. 'because he has become an outcast or the like' (Medh.), or 'because he has become an ascetic' (Kull., Nand.), or 'because he has emigrated' (Nand.), or 'because he has become a eunuch after the (first) partition' (Nâr.). Na lupyate, 'is not lost (to his immediate heirs),' is explained by Nâr. as follows, 'His share, being formerly determined, is not lost, i. e. must not be divided by all the reunited coparceners and thus be made to disappear' (see also the text of *Brîhaspati*, Colebrooke V, Digest CCCCVII, 2). 'What is to be done with the share is shown in the next verse' (Medh., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.).

212. Vi. XVII, 17; Gaut. XXVIII, 21; *Yâgñ.* II, 138. The

213. An eldest brother who through avarice may defraud the younger ones, shall no (longer hold the position of) the eldest, shall not receive an (eldest son's additional) share, and shall be punished by the king.

214. All brothers who habitually commit forbidden acts, are unworthy of (a share of) the property, and the eldest shall not make (anything his) separate property without giving (an equivalent) to his younger brothers.

meaning of the verse is: 1. according to Medh., with whose opinion the not very clear glosses of Kull. and Râgh. seem to agree, 'the share of a deceased reunited brother goes first to the reunited brothers of the full blood and to such sisters of the full blood who are not married (aputrâh, MSS. for aprattâh)—married sisters (pravrittâh, MSS. for pradattâh) being excluded, because they belong to another family—next to not reunited brothers of the full blood, finally to reunited half-brothers;' 2. according to Nâr., 'the share of a reunited brother devolves first on reunited brothers of the whole blood, next on reunited half-brothers, further on sisters of the full blood, then on the sons of brothers [of the whole blood?], and finally on sons of half-brothers [? tadabhâve tvasodârâdy api].' Nand. has the same order of heirs as Nâr., but stops with 'the sisters of the whole blood.' Nâr.'s and Nand.'s explanation, which strictly follows the order of the enumeration in the text, agrees with Brîhaspati's rule (Colebrooke V, Digest CCCCVII, 3), which likewise seems to be a paraphrase of Manu's words. Kull., Râgh., and Nâr. hold that the heirs, named in the verse, inherit only on failure of sons, wives, daughters, and parents. Nâr. further remarks that some refer this verse and the preceding one to the division of the estate of one who died before partition, while others believe that it applies to the estate of a reunited brother only.

213. 'Shall no (longer hold the position of) the eldest,' i.e. 'shall not receive the honours, e. g. in saluting, due to the eldest brother' (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). The insertion of the words 'an eldest son's additional' before 'share,' is made on the authority of Medh. and Kull. 'Shall be punished,' i.e. 'by reprimand (vâgdandadhig-dandâbhyâm) or by a fine as the case may require' (Medh.).

214. Âp. II, 14, 15; Gaut. XXVIII, 40; Baudh. II, 3, 38. 'Who

215. If undivided brethren, (living with their father,) together make an exertion (for gain), the father shall on no account give to them unequal shares (on a division of the estate).

216. But a son, born after partition, shall alone take the property of his father, or if any (of the other sons) be reunited with the (father), he shall share with them.

217. A mother shall obtain the inheritance of a son (who dies) without leaving issue, and, if the mother be dead, the paternal grandmother shall take the estate.

habitually commit forbidden acts,' i. e. 'who are addicted to gambling, drinking, and the like vices' (Kull., Râgh.), or 'who, being Brâhmanas, follow despicable modes of living, such as tending cattle, serving Sûdras and the like' (Nâr.). Na . . . kurvîta yautukam, 'shall not make (anything his) separate property,' means according to Nand. 'shall not give a marriage-portion to his daughter without having made a division of the estate.' The correct interpretation is, however, that given by the other commentators, according to which the eldest is not to appropriate anything out of the common stock for himself 'without giving an equivalent to the others' (kanish/kebhya tâvad adattvâ, Nâr.).

215. Yâgñ. II, 120. Medh. remarks that this rule is a restriction of the general power of the father to make an unequal division (Yâgñ. II, 116), and thinks that it is not necessary that all the brothers should have been associated in the same kind of work. According to him it is sufficient that all have exerted themselves to gain money. Nâr. and Nand. clearly express the contrary view (sahot-thânam sambhûyavânigryâdinâ vittârganam, Nâr.).

216. Gaut. XXVIII, 29; Vi. XVII, 3; Yâgñ. II, 122.

217. Vi. XVII, 7; Yâgñ. II, 135. Kull., Nâr., and Nand. all three hold that the mother inherits only on failure of sons [grandsons and great-grandsons, Nand.], widows, and daughters. But they disagree with respect to the sequence of the next following heirs. Kull. holds that the mother and the father, whose right has been mentioned above, verse 185, follow next, inheriting conjointly, then brothers, afterwards brothers' sons, and after

218. And if, after all the debts and assets have been duly distributed according to the rule, any (property) be afterwards discovered, one must divide it equally.

219. A dress, a vehicle, ornaments, cooked food, water, and female (slaves), property destined for pious uses or sacrifices, and a pasture-ground, they declare to be indivisible.

them the paternal grandmother. Nâr. gives the following order : 1. mother, 2. father, 3. brothers, 4. brothers' sons, 5. maternal grandmother. Medh. says that this verse has been explained formerly. The portion of his commentary where the explanation occurred, has, however, been lost ; see note on verse 187.

218. Yâgñ. II, 126. Medh., Kull., and Nâr. point out that on the division of property discovered after partition, the eldest, according to this text, receives no preferential share. Nâr. adds that this rule applies also to debts, discovered after partition. Nâr. inserts this verse after verse 219.

219. Gaut. XXVIII, 46-47 ; Vi. XVIII, 44. Instead of *patram*, 'a vehicle,' i. e. 'a horse or cart, used exclusively by one of the coparceners during union' (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), Nand. reads *pâtram*, 'a drinking-vessel.' *Striyah*, 'female (slaves),' means according to Nâr. 'wives.' My translation of *yogakshemam*, which I take with Medh., Nâr., and Nand. as a copulative compound in the neuter gender, by 'property destined for pious uses and sacrifices,' rests on the explanation given by *Vigñânesvara* (Colebrooke, Mit. I, 4, 23), and adopted by Haradatta and Nandapandita on the parallel passages of Gaut. and Vi. I prefer it to all others, chiefly on account of the explicit passage of *Laugâkshi* which *Vigñânesvara* quotes. In its favour speaks also that numerous royal grants allow villages or land to *Brâhmanas* and their descendants for the performance of certain sacrifices, or for charitable purposes, such as the daily distribution of food (*annasattra* or *sadâvrata*), and that the occurrence of a rule in the *Smṛtis*, declaring property given under such conditions to be impartible, is no more than might be expected. The commentators on Manu, on the other hand, give the following explanations : 1. 'the means of securing protection, i. e. royal councillors, family priests, ministers, old women (*vṛiddhâṛ*), a house, and a *kâra*, a spy (?), or a pasture-ground(?) and the like' (Medh.); 2. 'a royal councillor, a domestic priest and the like' (Kull.

220. The division (of the property) and the rules for allotting (shares) to the (several) sons, those begotten on a wife and the rest, in (due) order, have been thus declared to you; hear (now) the laws concerning gambling.

221. Gambling and betting let the king exclude from his realm; those two vices cause the destruction of the kingdoms of princes.

222. Gambling and betting amount to open theft; the king shall always exert himself in suppressing both (of them).

223. When inanimate (things) are used (for staking money on them), that is called among men gambling (*dyûta*), when animate beings are used (for the same purpose), one must know that to be betting (*samâhvaya*).

224. Let the king corporally punish all those (persons) who either gamble and bet or afford (an

and *Râgh.*, which latter reads, however, *yogakshemapraṭāram*); 3. 'means of gain, i. e. a grant and the like, received from a king and the like, and gained by oneself, and means of protection' (*prākāre ka ish/akâdih? Nâr.*); 4. 'sources of gain, i. e. persons for whom one sacrifices and the like, sources of protection, i. e. doorkeepers and the like, and sources of gain and protection, i. e. lords of villages and the like' (*Nand.*). *Praṭāra*, 'a pasture-ground,' means according to *Nâr.* and *Nand.* 'a road leading to a field, a garden and the like.'

Medh., *Kull.*, and *Nâr.* state that the first four articles shall in general be kept by the coparcener who used them or for whose use they were prepared, but that articles or quantities of exceptional value must be sold or exchanged for other property. Wells and so forth are to be used by all the coparceners (*Kull.*, *Nand.*). Female slaves are to do work for all coparceners (*Kull.*).

221-229. *Âp.* II, 25, 12-15; *Gaut.* XXV, 18; *Baudh.* II, 2, 16; *Yâgñ.* II, 199-203. In the I. O. MSS. *Medh.*'s commentary on verses 221-227 is missing.

224. *Yâgñ.* II, 304. 'The distinctive marks of twice-born men,'

opportunity for it), likewise Sûdras who assume the distinctive marks of twice-born (men).

225. Gamblers, dancers and singers, cruel men, men belonging to an heretical sect, those following forbidden occupations, and sellers of spirituous liquor, let him instantly banish from his town.

226. If such (persons who are) secret thieves, dwell in the realm of a king, they constantly harass his good subjects by their forbidden practices.

227. In a former Kalpa this (vice of) gambling has been seen to cause great enmity; a wise man, therefore, should not practise it even for amusement.

228. On every man who addicts himself to that (vice) either secretly or openly, the king may inflict punishment according to his discretion.

i. e. 'the sacrificial thread and the like' (Kull., Nâr.). 'Shall punish corporally,' i. e. 'shall cause them to be flogged, &c.' (Nâr.), or 'shall cause their hands and feet to be cut off and so forth according to the gravity of the offence' (Kull., Râgh.).

225. Instead of *krûrân*, 'cruel men,' i. e. 'those who hate men learned in the Veda' (Kull.), Nâr. and Râgh. read *kerân*, which the former explains by 'men of exceedingly crooked behaviour,' and the latter in accordance with Kull.'s explanation of *krûrân*. Nand. reads *kailân*, 'given to sports' (*kêlîsilân*), and K. *korân*, 'thieves.' *Saundâkân*, 'distillers or sellers of spirituous liquor' (Kull., Nâr.), may also mean 'drunkards,' as Nand. explains it.

226. Instead of 'who are secret thieves' (Kull.), Nâr. says, 'and secret thieves.' Bâdhante, 'harass' (Kull.), means according to Nâr., Râgh., and Nand. 'corrupt.'

227. Nâr. explains *purâkalpe*, 'in a former Kalpa,' by 'in the ancient stories,' and Râgh. and Nand. point to the adventures of king Nala and Yudhishthira, which, no doubt, are alluded to in the text.

228. Râgh. and Nand. point out that not only corporal punishment (according to verse 224), but also a fine may be inflicted; see also the next verse.

229. But a Kshatriya, a Vaisya, and a Sûdra who are unable to pay a fine, shall discharge the debt by labour; a Brâhmana shall pay it by instalments.

230. On women, infants, men of disordered mind, the poor and the sick, the king shall inflict punishment with a whip, a cane, or a rope and the like.

231. But those appointed (to administer public) affairs, who, baked by the fire of wealth, mar the business of suitors, the king shall deprive of their property.

232. Forgers of royal edicts, those who corrupt his ministers, those who slay women, infants, or Brâhmanas, and those who serve his enemies, the king shall put to death.

233. Whenever any (legal transaction) has been completed or (a punishment) been inflicted according to the law, he shall sanction it and not annul it.

229. Yâgñ. II, 43. Compare the rule given at VIII, 177.

230. Siphâ, 'a whip,' is explained by Râgh. as 'a rod measuring five fingers,' or 'the pendent root of a fig-tree.' Nâr. and Nand. give the latter meaning. Medh., Nâr., and Nand. read daridrânâtharoginâm, 'the poor, the unprotected, and the sick.'

231. See above, VII, 124; Vi. V, 180. 'Those appointed, &c.,' i. e. viceroys and so forth (Medh.), or judges and so forth (Nâr.). 'Baked by the fire of wealth' is a simile taken from the burning of earthen pots, and means that such persons by the influence of wealth undergo a change for the worse, just as a pot heated in a fire changes its colour, or, as the Vaiseshikas hold, its nature. According to Medh., 'others' read ye 'niyuktâs tu, and referred the verse to non-official persons meddling with administrative or judicial business.

232. Yâgñ. II, 240; Vi. V, 9, 11.

233. Medh. and Kull. refer this prohibition to cases which have been properly decided in the king's courts, while Nâr. thinks that it applies to orders passed by former kings. Nand. gives a different explanation of the words *tîrita* and *anurish'a*. He adduces a verse of Kâtâyâna, according to which the former means 'a cause or

234. Whatever matter his ministers or the judge may settle improperly, that the king himself shall (re-)settle and fine (them) one thousand (*paṇas*).

235. The slayer of a *Brāhmaṇa*, (a twice-born man) who drinks (the spirituous liquor called) *Surā*, he who steals (the gold of a *Brāhmaṇa*), and he who violates a Guru's bed, must each and all be considered as men who committed mortal sins (*mahā-pātaka*).

236. On those four even, if they do not perform a penance, let him inflict corporal punishment and fines in accordance with the law.

237. For violating a Guru's bed, (the mark of) a female part shall be (impressed on the forehead with a hot iron); for drinking (the spirituous liquor called) *Surā*, the sign of a tavern; for stealing (the gold of a *Brāhmaṇa*), a dog's foot; for murdering a *Brāhmaṇa*, a headless corpse.

plaint declared to be just or unjust by the assessors,' and the latter 'a cause or plaint confirmed by witnesses.'

234. *Yāgñ.* II, 305. *Medh.* and *Kull.* think that this rule refers to cases where the cause of the unjust decision is not a bribe, because the punishment of corrupt judges has been prescribed above, verse 231. But *Nār.* and *Rāgh.* think that it applies to cases of bribery also, and that the fine shall vary according to the nature of the case, 1000 *paṇas* being the lowest punishment.

235-242. *Baudh.* I, 18, 18; *Vi.* V, 3-7.

235. Instead of '(a twice-born man) who drinks the spirituous liquor, &c.' (*Kull.*, *Nār.*), *Medh.* and *Rāgh.* say, 'a *Brāhmaṇa* who, &c. ;' but see below, XI, 94.

236. *Medh.* remarks that 'others' refer this rule, on account of the word *api*, 'even, likewise,' to the fifth *Mahāpatakin* also, i. e. to him who associates with one of the other four (see below, XI, 55); and *Rāgh.*, as well as *Nand.*, approves of this explanation.

237. 'The sign of a tavern,' i. e. 'a wine-cup.' It follows from the rule given in verse 240, that the forehead is the place where they shall be branded.

238. Excluded from all fellowship at meals, excluded from all sacrifices, excluded from instruction and from matrimonial alliances, abject and excluded from all religious duties, let them wander over (this) earth.

239. Such (persons) who have been branded with (indelible) marks must be cast off by their paternal and maternal relations, and receive neither compassion nor a salutation ; that is the teaching of Manu.

240. But (men of) all castes who perform the prescribed penances, must not be branded on the forehead by the king, but shall be made to pay the highest amercement.

241. For (such) offences the middlemost amercement shall be inflicted on a Brâhmana, or he may be banished from the realm, keeping his money and his chattels.

242. But (men of) other (castes), who have unintentionally committed such crimes, ought to be deprived of their whole property ; if (they committed them) intentionally, they shall be banished.

238. Medh. reads *asamyogyâh*, 'excluded from all intercourse,' instead of *asamyâgyâh*, 'excluded from all sacrifices.'

240. 'All castes,' i. e. 'the three Âryan castes.' Nâr. and Nand. read *pûrve*, 'the before-mentioned castes.' 'The highest amercement,' see above, VIII, 138.

241. According to Medh., the meaning of the verse is that a Brâhmana, endowed with good qualities, who unintentionally (verse 242) committed a mortal sin, shall either be fined in the middlemost amercement and be made to perform the prescribed penance, or, if he refuses to do that, be banished without the infliction of a fine. Kull. and Nand. partly agree, but think that the offender is to be banished, if he committed the crime intentionally.

242. The translation follows Nâr. and Nand., who think that persons, performing no penance, shall be deprived of their whole

243. A virtuous king must not take for himself the property of a man guilty of mortal sin; but if he takes it out of greed, he is tainted by that guilt (of the offender).

244. Having thrown such a fine into the water, let him offer it to Varuṇa, or let him bestow it on a learned and virtuous Brāhmaṇa.

245. Varuṇa is the lord of punishment, for he holds the sceptre even over kings; a Brāhmaṇa who has learnt the whole Veda is the lord of the whole world.

246. In that (country), where the king avoids taking the property of (mortal) sinners, men are born in (due) time (and are) long-lived,

247. And the crops of the husbandmen spring up, each as it was sown, and the children die not, and no misshaped (offspring) is born.

property, if the offence was committed unintentionally, and be banished after being branded, if their crime was intentional. Nâr., moreover, adds, 'this refers to light cases; it has been declared that he shall slay the offender in bad cases.' Kull. and Râgh. think that confiscation of the whole property shall be inflicted in particularly bad cases, instead of the fine of 1000 paṇas prescribed in verse 240; and Medh. says that this is the opinion of 'some.' Medh., Kull., and Râgh. explain pravâsanam, 'shall be banished,' by 'shall be punished corporally.' Though it is not absolutely impossible that pravâs may mean 'to hurt, or punish corporally,' it seems not advisable to take the word in the latter sense, on account of verses 238 and 241; compare also VIII, 284. Medh. remarks that a Śûdra who offends unintentionally, shall be branded and be deprived of his whole property, else he shall be put to death.

244. Yâgñ. II, 307.

245. Varuṇa is the supreme ruler (adhirâga) of kings; see Taittirîya-brāhmaṇa III, 1, 2, 7. Regarding the position of a learned Brāhmaṇa, see above, I, 98-101.

246. Instead of kâlena, 'in (due) time,' i.e. 'after the full period of gestation' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), Nand. reads loke tu, 'but in that country.'

248. But the king shall inflict on a base-born (Sûdra), who intentionally gives pain to Brâhmanas, various (kinds of) corporal punishment which cause terror.

249. When a king punishes an innocent (man), his guilt is considered as great as when he sets free a guilty man; but (he acquires) merit when he punishes (justly).

250. Thus the (manner of) deciding suits (falling) under the eighteen titles, between two litigant parties, has been declared at length.

251. A king who thus duly fulfils his duties in accordance with justice, may seek to gain countries which he has not yet gained, and shall duly protect them when he has gained them.

252. Having duly settled his country, and having built forts in accordance with the Institutes, he shall use his utmost exertions to remove (those men who are nocuous like) thorns.

253. By protecting those who live as (becomes) Âryans and by removing the thorns, kings, solely intent on guarding their subjects, reach heaven.

254. The realm of that king who takes his share

248. See above, VIII, 279-284. Though all the commentators take *avaragam* in the sense of 'a base-born Sûdra,' the word may have its etymological meaning, 'a man of lower caste.' Medh. explains 'who gives pain' by 'who takes their property or wives;' Nâr., 'who causes exceedingly great misery.'

249. See above, VIII, 19, 310-311, 317.

250. 'This verse is the conclusion of the section on the eighteen titles of the law' (Medh.), 'and now follows a supplement on the duties of a king' (Nâr.).

252. See above, VII, 69-70.

253-254. See above, VIII, 307, 386-387.

in kind, though he does not punish thieves, (will be) disturbed and he (will) lose heaven.

255. But if his kingdom be secure, protected by the strength of his arm, it will constantly flourish like a (well)-watered tree.

256. Let the king who sees (everything) through his spies, discover the two sorts of thieves who deprive others of their property, both those who (show themselves) openly and those who (lie) concealed.

257. Among them, the open rogues (are those) who subsist by (cheating in the sale of) various marketable commodities, but the concealed rogues are burglars, robbers in forests, and so forth.

258. Those who take bribes, cheats and rogues, gamblers, those who live by teaching (the performance of) auspicious ceremonies, sanctimonious hypocrites, and fortune-tellers,

258. *Aupādhikāḥ*, 'cheats,' means according to Medh. 'persons of crooked behaviour who promise kindnesses, but secretly do evil to others,' or 'such as take money under false pretences,' or 'such as extort money by threats.' The last explanation is adopted by Kull. and Rāgh., while Nār. and Nand. interpret the term to mean 'persons who cheat by using false weights and measures.' *Vaṅkākāḥ*, 'rogues,' i.e. 'men who promise to transact business for others, and do not keep their word' (Medh.), or 'alchemists who pretend to change base metals into precious metals' (*rasam vidyam* [*rasavidyayā*] *tāmṛādi ragatādirūpena darsayitvā suvarṇādikam grīhṇanti*, Rāgh., Kull.), or 'men who take money on false pretences' (Nār.). *Maṅgalādesavṛitāḥ*, 'those who live by teaching the performance of, or by performing for others, auspicious ceremonies' (Medh., Kull., Rāgh.), means according to Nār. 'men who live by reciting auspicious hymns' (*maṅgalastutipātho vṛitam karitam yeshām*), and Medh. proposes a similar alternative explanation. Medh. reads *bhadrāprekṣaṇīkaiḥ saha*, and explains the compound by 'eulogists' (*prāsaṃsikapuruṣhalakṣaṇāḥ*). Nār. explains *īkṣaṇīkāḥ*, 'fortune-tellers,' by 'actors and jugglers.'

259. Officials of high rank and physicians who act improperly, men living by showing their proficiency in arts, and clever harlots,

260. These and the like who show themselves openly, as well as others who walk in disguise (such as) non-Āryans who wear the marks of Āryans, he should know to be thorns (in the side of his people).

261. Having detected them by means of trustworthy persons, who, disguising themselves, (pretend) to follow the same occupations and by means of spies, wearing various disguises, he must cause them to be instigated (to commit offences), and bring them into his power.

259. Mahāmātra, 'officials of high rank,' i.e. 'courtiers such as councillors and domestic priests' (Medh.), or 'ministers' (Nâr.), is taken by Kull. and Râgh. in its other sense, 'elephant-breakers.' Silpopakârayuktâh, 'men living by showing their proficiency in arts,' i.e. 'such as cut figures out of chips of cane and the like' (Medh., Râgh.), or 'painters and the like' (Kull.). Nâr. and Nand. read silpopakârayuktâh, i.e. 'artists such as painters and persons adorning (upakâra) people such as hairdressers' (Nâr.), or 'umbrella and fan makers' (Nand.). Medh. says that asam-yakkârinah, 'who act improperly,' must be taken with all the four classes of persons enumerated.

260. Nâr. and Nand. read vigâtîyân, 'such and the like open (rogues) of many kinds,' and connect the accusatives in this verse with viditvâ in the next. Kull. takes vigâtîyât, 'let him know (to be),' in the sense of 'let him discover (through spies).'

261. The translation follows Nâr.'s explanation, who reads protsâhya (likewise found in Gov., Râgh., and K.) instead of protsâdya, found in the editions, in Kull.'s and probably also in Medh.'s version. The reading protsâdya, 'having destroyed them,' is objectionable on account of the following verse. Râgh. explains protsâhya differently; he says, 'having inspired them with energy by saying, "you must give up this livelihood and earn money by agriculture, trade, and the like," he shall induce to adopt a honest mode of line through desire for money.' Nand. seems to

262. Then having caused the crimes, which they committed by their several actions, to be proclaimed in accordance with the facts, the king shall duly punish them according to their strength and their crimes.

263. For the wickedness of evil-minded thieves, who secretly prowl over this earth, cannot be restrained except by punishment.

264. Assembly-houses, houses where water is distributed or cakes are sold, brothels, taverns and victualler's shops, cross-roads, well-known trees, festive assemblies, and play-houses and concert-rooms,

265. Old gardens, forests, the shops of artisans, empty dwellings, natural and artificial groves,

266. These and the like places the king shall cause to be guarded by companies of soldiers, both stationary and patrolling, and by spies, in order to keep away thieves.

267. By the means of clever reformed thieves, who associate with such (rogues), follow them and know their various machinations, he must detect and destroy them.

268. Under the pretext of (offering them) various dainties, of introducing them to Brâhmaṇas, and on the pretence of (showing them) feats of strength, the (spies) must make them meet (the officers of justice).

read *protsârya* (*protsâryâ*, MS.). Kull. explains *anekasamsthânaiḥ*, 'wearing various disguises' (Nâr., Nand.), by 'stationed in various places.' Medh.'s commentary on the end of verse 261 and on verses 262-274 is missing in the I. O. MSS.

267. Instead of *utsâdayet*, 'he shall destroy them' (Kull., K., editions), Gov., Nâr., Nand., and Râgh. read *utsâhayet*, i.e. 'he shall incite them to commit (crimes,' Nâr., Râgh.).

269. Those among them who do not come, and those who suspect the old (thieves employed by the king), the king shall attack by force and slay together with their friends, blood relations, and connexions.

270. A just king shall not cause a thief to be put to death, (unless taken) with the stolen goods (in his possession); him who (is taken) with the stolen goods and the implements (of burglary), he may, without hesitation, cause to be slain.

271. All those also who in villages give food to thieves or grant them room for (concealing their implements), he shall cause to be put to death.

272. Those who are appointed to guard provinces and his vassals who have been ordered (to help), he shall speedily punish like thieves, (if they remain) inactive in attacks (by robbers).

273. Moreover if (a man), who subsists by (the fulfilment of) the law, departs from the established rule of the law, the (king) shall severely punish him by a fine, (because he) violated his duty.

269. *Mûlaprazihitâh*, 'who suspect the old thieves employed by the king' (Kull., *Râgh.*), means according to *Nâr.* 'who have been sent by ministers and the like staying in his kingdom,' and according to *Nand.* 'who have discovered the root, i. e. the reasons (of the proceedings of the spies).' All the three explanations are, however, doubtful.

271. *Bhândâvakâsadâh*, 'who give them room for (concealing) their implements' (Kull.), means according to *Nâr.* 'who give them money (for buying arms and the like) and shelter.'

272. The commentators take *sâmantân*, 'his vassals,' in its etymological sense of 'neighbours.' But it has here no doubt the usual technical meaning.

273. According to the commentators officiating priests and other *Brâhmanas* are meant, who subsist by obtaining alms on the strength of their piety.

274. Those who do not give assistance according to their ability when a village is being plundered, a dyke is being destroyed, or a highway robbery committed, shall be banished with their goods and chattels.

275. On those who rob the king's treasury and those who persevere in opposing (his commands), he shall inflict various kinds of capital punishment, likewise on those who conspire with his enemies.

276. But the king shall cut off the hands of those robbers who, breaking into houses, commit thefts at night, and cause them to be impaled on a pointed stake.

277. On the first conviction, let him cause two fingers of a cut-purse to be amputated; on the second, one hand and one foot; on the third, he shall suffer death.

278. Those who give (to thieves) fire, food, arms, or shelter, and receivers of stolen goods, the ruler shall punish like thieves.

274. Vi. V, 74. Instead of *hitâbhaṅge*, 'when an embankment is destroyed' (Kull., editions), Râgh. reads *hiḍâbhaṅge*, and Gov. as well as Nand. *iḍâbhaṅge* with the same explanation. Nâr. has *tadâgabhaṅge*, probably a mistake for *iḍâbhaṅge*, and mentions a var. lect. *hiḥâbhaṅge*, adding that *hiḥâ* is 'a dam thrown across a river.' K. finally reads *setubhaṅge*.

276. Yâgñ. II, 273.

277. Vi. V, 136; Yâgñ. II, 274. 'Two fingers,' i. e. 'the thumb and the index' (Kull., Râgh., Nâr.), or 'the index and the middle finger' (Nand.).

278. Yâgñ. II, 276. 'Those who give (to thieves) fire,' i. e. 'in order that they may warm themselves, or for similar purposes' (Medh.), or 'in order that they may put fire to houses' (Nâr.). Moshasya *samnidhâtṛin*, 'receivers of stolen goods' (Kull.), means according to Nâr. 'those who conduct thieves to the place where they can commit their crime, or helpers and abettors.' The best copy of Medh. has *mokshasya*, both in the text and in the

279. Him who breaks (the dam of) a tank he shall slay (by drowning him) in water or by (some other) simple (mode of) capital punishment; or the offender may repair the (damage), but shall be made to pay the highest amercement.

280. Those who break into a (royal) storehouse, an armoury, or a temple, and those who steal elephants, horses, or chariots, he shall slay without hesitation.

281. But he who shall take away the water of a tank, made in ancient times, or shall cut off the supply of water, must be made to pay the first (or lowest) amercement.

282. But he who, except in a case of extreme necessity, drops filth on the king's high-road, shall pay two *kârshâpanas* and immediately remove (that) filth.

283. But a person in urgent necessity, an aged man, a pregnant woman, or a child, shall be reprimanded and clean the (place); that is a settled rule.

284. All physicians who treat (their patients) wrongly (shall pay) a fine; in the case of animals, the

commentary, and the other gives it in the text, while the explanation is *rakshitâraha*, 'protectors or abettors.' Nand., too, reads in the text *mokshasya*, and says, '*mokshasya moshitadravyasya mokshasâdhanasyeti vâ.*' It would, therefore, seem that an ancient var. lect. *mokshasya* really existed.

279. *Yâgñ.* II, 278. 'By (some other) simple (mode of) capital punishment,' i. e. 'by cutting off his head' (*Nâr.*, *Râgh.*).

280. *Yâgñ.* II, 273. This verse and the next are omitted in the I. O. MSS. of Medh.

281. *Nâr.* says that the offender must also make good the damage done.

282. *Vi. V.*, 106-107. Medh. says that he shall pay the *Kandâla*, i. e. the sweeper, to remove the filth.

284. *Vi. V.*, 175-177; *Yâgñ.* II, 242. *Nâr.* adds, 'But this

first (or lowest); in the case of human beings, the middlemost (amercement).

285. He who destroys a bridge, the flag (of a temple or royal palace), a pole, or images, shall repair the whole (damage) and pay five hundred (panas).

286. For adulterating unadulterated commodities, and for breaking gems or for improperly boring (them), the fine is the first (or lowest) amercement.

287. But that man who behaves dishonestly to honest (customers) or cheats in his prices, shall be fined in the first or in the middlemost amercement.

288. Let him place all prisons near a high-road, where the suffering and disfigured offenders can be seen.

289. Him who destroys the wall (of a town), or fills up the ditch (round a town), or breaks a (town)-gate, he shall instantly banish.

290. For all incantations intended to destroy life,

refers to cases when death is not (the result of the wrong treatment); for if that is the case the punishment is greater.'

285. Vi. V, 174; Yâgñ. II, 297. 'A pole,' i. e. the flagstaff of a village (Nâr.), or 'such as stand in tanks and the like' (Kull.). 'Images,' i. e. 'statues of men; but death as the punishment for destroying images of the gods, because (above, verse 280) capital punishment has been prescribed for breaking into temples' (Nâr.). Kull. and Râgh. say 'common images, made of clay and so forth.'

286. Vi. V, 124; Yâgñ. II, 245-246. Medh. thinks that the fine must be proportionate to the value of the spoiled gem, and Kull. adds that in every case the owner of the spoilt article shall receive compensation.

287. Thus Kull. and Nâr. But Medh. takes the first clause differently: 'That man who gives unequal (quantities) for (such goods as ought to be bartered for) equal (quantities).'

288. Nand. reads kash/âni, 'where the treatment is severe,' instead of sarvâni, 'all.'

290. According to the commentators the abhi-kârâh comprise

for magic rites with roots (practised by persons) not related (to him against whom they are directed), and for various kinds of sorcery, a fine of two hundred (paṇas) shall be inflicted.

291. He who sells (for seed-corn that which is) not seed-corn, he who takes up seed (already sown), and he who destroys a boundary(-mark), shall be punished by mutilation.

292. But the king shall cause a goldsmith who behaves dishonestly, the most noxious of all the thorns, to be cut to pieces with razors.

293. For the theft of agricultural implements, of arms and of medicines, let the king award punishment, taking into account the time (of the offence) and the use (of the object).

all incantations and sacrifices, taught either in the Veda or in secular works, which are intended to destroy life. The magic rites, performed with roots, are those which are intended to bring a person into one's power. These are permitted, if practised against a husband or a relative (Nār.). The *krityâh*, 'sorcery,' are such spells as produce diseases, or cause the failure of an adversary's undertakings. If the *abhiâras* are successful, the punishment is that of murder (Medh., Kull.).

291. Instead of *bigotkrisham* (Kull.), which is explained 'who sells seed-corn placed (at the top of a bag of worthless grain),' the correct reading seems to be *bigotkrashâ*, 'he who takes up seed (already sown).' *Bigotkrashâ* occurs in Nār.'s commentary only, where it is explained *bigakâle mahârgatâkâmotkarshakârî*, 'he who at sowing time plucks (the seed) out, desiring to raise the price of grain.' All the other commentators give more or less corrupt readings, which, however, all point to the form *bigotkrashâ*, viz. Medh., *bigetkrushah* or *bigotkriptyah*, explained by *vandhyānti kshetra gñātu [kshetrāni kartum] bigam utkarshati sobhanam yad bigam kshetre [ta]devoddhṛitya nayati*; Gov., *bigotkrishâh*; Nand., *bigotkrishoh* and *bigotkrishâ*, explained by *bigānām upānām uddhartâ*; K., *biryâtkrashâ*, marked as corrupt.

293. Thus a theft of a plough in the season for ploughing, or of

294. The king and his minister, his capital, his realm, his treasury, his army, and his ally are the seven constituent parts (of a kingdom); (hence) a kingdom is said to have seven limbs (*aṅga*).

295. But let him know (that) among these seven constituent parts of a kingdom (which have been enumerated) in due order, each earlier (named) is more important and (its destruction) the greater calamity.

296. Yet in a kingdom, containing seven constituent parts, which is upheld like the triple staff (of an ascetic), there is no (single part) more important (than the others), by reason of the importance of the qualities of each for the others.

297. For each part is particularly qualified for (the accomplishment of) certain objects, (and thus) each is declared to be the most important for that particular purpose which is effected by its means.

298. By spies, by a (pretended) display of energy, and by carrying out (various) undertakings, let the king constantly ascertain his own and his enemy's strength;

299. Moreover, all calamities and vices; afterwards, when he has fully considered their relative importance, let him begin his operations.

arms just before or during a fight, should be punished more heavily than if it had been committed at any other time.

294. See above, VII, 257; *Yâgñ.* I. 352.

296. The verse is meant, as the commentators remark, to show that one must not infer from verse 295 that the *Aṅgas*, named later in the enumeration, may be neglected. According to *Nâr.*, the simile is not taken from the triple staff of an ascetic, but from the three beams of a house and the like.

298. See above, VII. *Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Nâr.*, *Nand.*, and *K.* read at the end of the line, *parâtmanoḥ*, instead of *mahîpatih*.

299. 'All calamities and vices,' i. e. 'those affecting his enemy

300. (Though he be) ever so much tired (by repeated failures), let him begin his operations again and again; for fortune greatly favours the man who (strenuously) exerts himself in his undertakings.

301. The various ways in which a king behaves (resemble) the *Kṛita*, *Tretâ*, *Dvâpara*, and *Kali* ages; hence the king is identified with the ages (of the world).

302. Sleeping he represents the *Kali* (or iron age), waking the *Dvâpara* (or brazen) age, ready to act the *Tretâ* (or silver age), but moving (actively) the *Kṛita* (or golden) age.

303. Let the king emulate the energetic action of *Indra*, of the *Sun*, of the *Wind*, of *Yama*, of *Varuna*, of the *Moon*, of the *Fire*, and of the *Earth*.

304. As *Indra* sends copious rain during the four months of the rainy season, even so let the king, taking upon himself the office of *Indra*, shower benefits on his kingdom.

305. As the *Sun* during eight months (imperceptibly) draws up the water with his rays, even so let him gradually draw his taxes from his kingdom; for that is the office in which he resembles the *Sun*.

306. As the *Wind* moves (everywhere), entering (in the shape of the vital air) all created beings, even so let him penetrate (everywhere) through his

and his enemy's party' (*Nâr.*), or 'those affecting both his own and the enemy's parties' (*Kull.*). *Nand.* reads the second line as follows, *gurulâghavato gñâtivâ tataḥ karma samâkaret.*

302. This verse closely agrees with the fourth exhortation, addressed by *Indra* to *Rohita*, *Aitareya-brâhmaṇa* VII, 15.

305. Instead of *nityam*, 'gradually,' *Nand.* reads *samyak*, 'duly.'

spies ; that is the office in which he resembles the Wind.

307. As Yama at the appointed time subjects to his rule both friends and foes, even so all subjects must be controlled by the king ; that is the office in which he resembles Yama.

308. As (a sinner) is seen bound with ropes by Varuna, even so let him punish the wicked ; that is his office in which he resembles Varuna.

309. He is a king, taking upon himself the office of the Moon, whose (appearance) his subjects (greet with as great joy) as men feel on seeing the full moon.

310. (If) he is ardent in wrath against criminals and endowed with brilliant energy, and destroys wicked vassals, then his character is said (to resemble) that of Fire.

311. As the Earth supports all created beings equally, thus (a king) who supports all his subjects, (takes upon himself) the office of the Earth.

312. Employing these and other means, the king shall, ever untired, restrain thieves both in his own dominions and in (those of) others.

313. Let him not, though fallen into the deepest distress, provoke Brâhmanas to anger ; for they,

308. Nand. reads the first line differently, Varunenâpi pârais ka badhyate vârunair naraḥ, 'As men are bound by Varuna with Varuna's fetters.' The expression 'the fetters of Varuna' is a common designation of dropsy.

310. Nâr. adds, 'As the fire at an ordeal injures wicked men, even so he should destroy wicked neighbours.'

312. 'In (those of) others,' i.e. 'those thieves who live in other kingdoms, and come to rob in his own' (Kull., Nâr.). Nand. omits this and the next two verses.

313. 'Let him not provoke Brâhmanas to anger,' i.e. 'by taking their

when angered, could instantly destroy him together with his army and his vehicles.

314. Who could escape destruction, when he provokes to anger those (men), by whom the fire was made to consume all things, by whom the (water of the) ocean was made undrinkable, and by whom the moon was made to wane and to increase again?

315. Who could prosper, while he injures those (men) who provoked to anger, could create other worlds and other guardians of the world, and deprive the gods of their divine station?

316. What man, desirous of life, would injure them to whose support the (three) worlds and the gods ever owe their existence, and whose wealth is the Veda?

317. A Brâhmana, be he ignorant or learned, is a great divinity, just as the fire, whether carried forth (for the performance of a burnt-oblation) or not carried forth, is a great divinity.

318. The brilliant fire is not contaminated even in burial-places, and, when presented with oblations (of butter) at sacrifices, it again increases mightily.

property' (Medh., Nâr.), or 'treating them with contumely' (Medh.). 'They could destroy him,' i. e. 'by magic rites and curses' (Kull.).

314. This verse refers to certain stories, told, as Medh. and Nâr. point out, in the section of the Mahâbhârata, called Mokshadharmâh XII, 344, 55, 57-58, 60-61. There it is said that Bhrîgu made the fire consume all things, that the moon became 'consumptive' in consequence of the curse of Daksha, and that Vadâvâ-mukha made the ocean salt in punishment for his disobedience.

315. This verse also contains allusions to the Mahâbhârata. Visvâmitra tried to create other worlds (Medh.), the Vâlakhilyas another Indra and Vâyu, and others deprived the gods of their station. With respect to the latter point, Râgh. quotes the story of Mândavya cursing Yama (Mahâbhârata I, 108, 16), and causing him to be born as a Sûdra.

316. See above, I, 93-95.

319. Thus, though Brâhmaṇas employ themselves in all (sorts of) mean occupations, they must be honoured in every way ; for (each of) them is a very great deity.

320. When the Kshatriyas become in any way overbearing towards the Brâhmaṇas, the Brâhmaṇas themselves shall duly restrain them ; for the Kshatriyas sprang from the Brâhmaṇas.

321. Fire sprang from water, Kshatriyas from Brâhmaṇas, iron from stone ; the all-penetrating force of those (three) has no effect on that whence they were produced.

322. Kshatriyas prosper not without Brâhmaṇas, Brâhmaṇas prosper not without Kshatriyas ; Brâhmaṇas and Kshatriyas, being closely united, prosper in this (world) and in the next.

323. But (a king who feels his end drawing nigh) shall bestow all his wealth, accumulated from fines, on Brâhmaṇas, make over his kingdom to his son, and then seek death in battle.

321. 'Fire sprang from water, thus speak the Paurâṇikas' (Nand.); '(that origin is) visible in the case of lightning and in that of the (submarine) *Vadavâgni*' (Râgh.). According to Râgh., the statement that the Kshatriyas sprang from the Brâhmaṇas is based on a Vedic passage. But Nâr. thinks that it alludes to a Paurâṇik story, according to which the Brâhmaṇas produced with the Kshatriyâ females a new Kshatriya race after the destruction of the second varṇa by Parāsurâma.

322. Gaut. XI, 14 ; Vas. XIX, 4.

323. Medh. says that others explain the expression 'all his wealth, accumulated from fines,' as including 'all the king's possessions, excepting horses and chariots, arms, land, and slaves,' but that this is improper. He adds that, if the king cannot die in battle, he may burn or drown himself. Kull. says that he may kill himself by starvation. In later times kings followed this rule ; see e. g. Vikramânkaṭarita IV, 44-68.

324. Thus conducting himself (and) ever intent on (discharging) his royal duties, a king shall order all his servants (to work) for the good of his people.

325. Thus the eternal law concerning the duties of a king has been fully declared; know that the following rules apply in (due) order to the duties of Vaisyas and Sûdras.

326. After a Vaisya has received the sacraments and has taken a wife, he shall be always attentive to the business whereby he may subsist and to (that of) tending cattle.

327. For when the Lord of creatures (Pragâpati) created cattle, he made them over to the Vaisya; to the Brâhmaṇa, and to the king he entrusted all created beings.

328. A Vaisya must never (conceive this) wish, 'I will not keep cattle;' and if a Vaisya is willing (to keep them), they must never be kept by (men of) other (castes).

329. (A Vaisya) must know the respective value of gems, of pearls, of coral, of metals, of (cloth) made of thread, of perfumes, and of condiments.

330. He must be acquainted with the (manner of) sowing of seeds, and of the good and bad qualities of fields, and he must perfectly know all measures and weights.

331. Moreover, the excellence and defects of commodities, the advantages and disadvantages of (different) countries, the (probable) profit and loss on merchandise, and the means of properly rearing cattle.

332. He must be acquainted with the (proper)

326. Regarding the 'business whereby a Vaisya may subsist,' see below, X, 77-78.

wages of servants, with the various languages of men, with the manner of keeping goods, and (the rules of) purchase and sale.

333. Let him exert himself to the utmost in order to increase his property in a righteous manner, and let him zealously give food to all created beings.

334. But to serve Brâhmanas (who are) learned in the Vedas, householders, and famous (for virtue) is the highest duty of a Sûdra, which leads to beatitude.

335. (A Sûdra who is) pure, the servant of his betters, gentle in his speech, and free from pride, and always seeks a refuge with Brâhmanas, attains (in his next life) a higher caste.

336. The excellent law for the conduct of the (four) castes (*varṇa*), (when they are) not in distress, has been thus promulgated; now hear in order their (several duties) in times of distress.

CHAPTER X.

1. Let the three twice-born castes (*varṇa*), discharging their (prescribed) duties, study (the Veda); but among them the Brâhmaṇa (alone) shall teach it, not the other two; that is an established rule.

333. 'If a rich Vaisya is not liberal, he shall be punished by the king' (Medh.).

334-336. See below, X, 121-129.

335. I read with Medh., Gov., and Nâr., brâhmaṇâpâsrayo nityam.

X. 1. Medh. has one line more in the beginning, 'Hereafter I will declare the rules applicable to that which must be studied.' According to Nâr., the expression *svakarmasthâḥ*, 'discharging their prescribed duties,' means 'if they follow their prescribed

2. The Brâhmana must know the means of subsistence (prescribed) by law for all, instruct the others, and himself live according to (the law).

3. On account of his pre-eminence, on account of the superiority of his origin, on account of his observance of (particular) restrictive rules, and on account of his particular sanctification the Brâhmana is the lord of (all) castes (*varna*).

4. The Brâhmana, the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya castes (*varna*) are the twice-born ones, but the fourth, the Sûdra, has one birth only; there is no fifth (caste).

5. In all castes (*varna*) those (children) only which are begotten in the direct order on wedded wives, equal (in caste and married as) virgins, are to be

occupations,' and indicates that those who follow forbidden occupations, i. e. live like Sûdras, shall not study the Veda. The commentators entirely forget to mention that, according to II, 241-242, a Brâhmana may learn the Veda from a non-Brâhmanical teacher, and that hence this rule is not absolute.

2. Gaut. XI, 25; Vas. I, 39-41. Medh. points out that this rule gives an exception to IV, 80, where it is said that a Brâhmana shall not give spiritual advice to a Sûdra.

3. See above, I, 93. 'On account of his pre-eminence,' i. e. 'through his qualities' (Medh.), or 'by race' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). *Niyamasya ka dhâranât*, 'on account of his observance of (particular) restrictive rules,' i. e. 'of the rules prescribed for a Snâtaka' (Medh., Gov., Nâr., Râgh.), means according to Kull. 'on account of his possessing a particularly great knowledge of the Veda.' 'On account of his particular sanctification,' i. e. 'because special observances are required from him in sipping water and so forth, or because he must be initiated earlier than a Kshatriya' (Medh.). The other commentators give the second explanation only. 'The lord,' i. e. 'the adviser and instructor.'

4. Âp. I, 1, 3; Vas. II, 1-2; Baudh. I, 16, 1; Yâgñ. I, 10.

5. Âp. II, 13, 1; Vi. XVI, 1; Yâgñ. I, 90. 'In the direct order,' i. e. 'by a Brâhmana on a Brâhmanî, by a Kshatriya on a Kshatriyâ, and so forth' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), means according to Nâr., that

considered as belonging to the same caste (as their fathers).

6. Sons, begotten by twice-born men on wives of the next lower castes, they declare to be similar (to their fathers, but) blamed on account of the fault (inherent) in their mothers.

7. Such is the eternal law concerning (children) born of wives one degree lower (than their husbands); know (that) the following rule (is applicable) to those born of women two or three degrees lower.

8. From a Brâhmaṇa with the daughter of a Vaisya is born (a son) called an Ambashṭha, with the daughter of a Sûdra a Nishâda, who is also called a Pârasava.

in each case the bridegroom must be older than the wife. He adds, 'Hence it has been declared that the son of a woman who is older than (her husband) is not a Brâhmaṇa, though she may have been legally married, and may be of the same caste (as her husband).' The commentators are at great pains to prove that subsidiary sons, such as Sahodhas, Kânînas, and so forth, and all offspring of illicit unions are outcasts. Medh. and Gov. even take the trouble to discuss the Vedic story of Gâbâla Satyakâma (*Khândogya* Up. IV, 4), whose mother did not know by whom he was begotten, and who, nevertheless, was admitted to be a Brâhmaṇa. They are of opinion that Gâbâlâ had been legally married, and had forgotten her husband's family-name during her troubles.

6-56. Gaut. IV, 16-28; Vas. XVIII; Baudh. I, 16, 6-17, 15; Vi. XVI, 2-15; Yâgyñ. I, 91-95.

6. 'Blamed,' i. e. 'excluded from the fathers' caste' (Nâr.). With the expression 'similar,' compare Baudh.'s term 'savarna.' Nand. places verse 14 immediately after this, and adds that if the latter is placed lower down, that is owing to a mistake of the copyists.

7. Regarding the term Pârasava, see above, IX, 178. Gov. and Nâr. remark that the second name Parâsava is added in order to distinguish this Nishâda from the other Nishâda, who is a Pratiloma, and subsists by catching fish.

8. Medh. does not give this verse.

9. From a Kshatriya and the daughter of a Sûdra springs a being, called Ugra, resembling both a Kshatriya and a Sûdra, ferocious in his manners, and delighting in cruelty.

10. Children of a Brâhmana by (women of) the three (lower) castes, of a Kshatriya by (wives of) the two (lower) castes, and of a Vaisya by (a wife of) the one caste (below him) are all six called base-born (apasada).

11. From a Kshatriya by the daughter of a Brâhmana is born (a son called) according to his caste (*gâti*) a Sûta; from a Vaisya by females of the royal and the Brâhmana (castes) spring a Mâgadha and a Vaideha.

12. From a Sûdra are born an Âyogava, a Kshattri, and a Kândâla, the lowest of men, by Vaisya, Kshatriya, and Brâhmana females, (sons who owe their origin to) a confusion of the castes.

13. As an Ambashtha and an Ugra, (begotten) in the direct order on (women) one degree lower (than their husbands) are declared (to be), even so are a Kshattri and a Vaidehaka, though they were born in the inverse order of the castes (from mothers one degree higher than the fathers).

14. Those sons of the twice-born, begotten on wives of the next lower castes, who have been enumerated in due order, they call by the name

12. Nâr. and K. read Ayogava. Medh. and Nand. read Kândâla, instead of Kândâla (Gov., Kull.).

13. The meaning is that the Kshattri and the Vaidehaka, though Pratilomas, hold the same position with respect to sacred rites, but not with respect to studying and so forth, and are as fit to be touched as the two Anulomas (Medh.). Gov. and Kull. mention the second point of equality only.

14. The meaning is that they are reckoned as belonging to the

Anantaras (belonging to the next lower caste), on account of the blemish (inherent) in their mothers.

15. A Brâhmana begets on the daughter of an Ugra an Âvrîta, on the daughter of an Ambashtha an Âbhîra, but on a female of the Âyogava (caste) a Dhigvana.

16. From a Sûdra spring in the inverse order (by females of the higher castes) three base-born (sons, apasada), an Âyogava, a Kshattrî, and a Kândâla, the lowest of men;

17. From a Vaisya are born in the inverse order of the castes a Mâgadha and a Vaideha, but from a Kshatriya a Sûta only; these are three other base-born ones (apasada).

18. The son of a Nishâda by a Sûdra female becomes a Pukkasa by caste (*gâti*), but the son of a Sûdra by a Nishâda female is declared to be a Kukkuṭaka.

19. Moreover, the son of a Kshattrî by an Ugra female is called a Svapâka; but one begotten by a Vaidehaka on an Ambashtha female is named a Vena.

20. Those (sons) whom the twice-born beget on wives of equal caste, but who, not fulfilling their

mothers' caste and receive the sacraments according to the law prescribed for the mothers' caste (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Nand.); see also below, verse 41.

15. The Âbhîra is the modern Ahir.

16-17. Kull. thinks that the Pratilomas are enumerated once more, 'in order to show that they are unfit to fulfil the duties of sons.' Nand. places these two verses before verse 15.

18. Nand. reads Pulkasa instead of Pukkasa.

19. Gov., Nand., and K. read Vena instead of Vena. Râgh. adds that the modern name is Baruḍa, the name of caste of basket-makers.

20. Gov. and Nand. read at the end of the first line sûtân for

sacred duties, are excluded from the Sâvitrit, one must designate by the appellation Vrâtyas.

21. But from a Vrâtya (of the) Brâhmaṇa (caste) spring the wicked *Bhriggakantaka*, the Âvantya, the Vâladhâna, the Pushpadha, and the Saikha.

22. From a Vrâtya (of the) Kshatriya (caste), the *Ghalla*, the Malla, the *Likkhivi*, the Naṭa, the Karana, the Khasa, and the Dravida.

tu yân (Medh., Kull., K.), 'not fulfilling their sacred duties,' i.e. 'not being initiated at the proper time;' see above, II, 39. Medh. mentions a var. lect. *avratâh*, 'Those sons whom men neglecting their sacred duties, &c.' But he rejects it.

21. I read with Medh., Gov., Nâr., and K., *Bhriggakantaka* instead of *Bhûrgakantaka* (editions), or *Bhûtyakantaka* (Nand.); see also Gaut. IV, 20, where the form *Bhrigyakanta* occurs. Regarding the Âvantya (*Âpañka*, Nand.), see also Baudh. I, 2, 13. Instead of Vâladhâna Nand. has *Vâdaghâna*, and K. *Vâdhadhâna*, marked as corrupt. Medh. reads (one MS. *Pushpasaikharaḥ*) *Pushpasekhara* instead of *pushpadhaḥ saikha eva ka* (editions). Gov. has in the text *Pushyaḥ saikhakastathâ*, in the commentary *pushyavasaisakha*; K. *pushpa . . . kharas tathâ*; Nand. *Pushpasibaka eva ka*. It would seem that according to Medh. and Nand. only four tribes, sprung from a Vrâtya Brâhmaṇa, are enumerated. But the form of the last name remains doubtful. The commentators think all the races named are descended from a Vrâtya Brâhmaṇa and a female of his own caste. Gov. remarks that according to *Uśanas' Nîṭisâstra* the *Bhriggakanas* live by sorcery, the Âvantyas and Vâladhânas serve in war, and all other Vrâtyas are spies. It is very probable that all these names originally denote nations, but the Âvantyas, the inhabitants of Western Mâlva, and the Vâladhânas, who are enumerated among the northern tribes, are alone traceable in other works.

22. I read with Medh. and Gov. *Likkhivi* instead of *Nikkhivi* (editions). K. has *Likkhavi* (*kha* being marked as corrupt), and Nand. *Likkikhi*. As 'a' and 'i' in these are constantly exchanged, *Likkhivi* may be considered as a vicarious form for *Likkhavi*, and it may be assumed that the *Manusamhitâ* considered the famous Kshatriya race of Magadha and Nepâl as unorthodox. Gov. says that, according to *Uśanas*, the Naṭas and Karanas are spies, and

23. From a Vrâtya (of the) Vaisya (caste) are born a Sudhanvan, an Âtârya, a Kârusha, a Viganman, a Maitra, and a Sâtвата.

24. By adultery (committed by persons) of (different) castes, by marriages with women who ought not to be married, and by the neglect of the duties and occupations (prescribed) to each, are produced (sons who owe their origin) to a confusion of the castes.

25. I will (now) fully enumerate those (sons) of mixed origin, who are born of Anulomas and of Pratilomas, and (thus) are mutually connected.

26. The Sûta, the Vaidehaka, the *Kandâla*, that lowest of mortals, the Mâgadha, he of the Kshattri caste (*gâti*), and the Âyogava,

27. These six (Pratilomas) beget similar races (*varna*) on women of their own (caste), they (also) produce (the like) with females of their mother's caste (*gâti*), and with females (of) higher ones.

the Khasas and Dravidas are water-carriers and distributors of waters at drinking fountains.

23. K. reads Pârusha, and Nand. Kâruga, instead of Kârusha (Medh., Gov., Kull.). Instead of Viganman Nand. has Nigangha. Gov. remarks that, according to Usanas, Âtâryas and Sâtवatas subsist by worshipping the gods, or serving as temple-priests (*âtâryasâtवataih devapûganam*).

25. 'Anulomas,' see above, verse 8.

27. Thus Nâr. and Nand., with whom Kull. agrees, except that he adds 'on higher and (on lower) castes.' Medh. reads in the second line *mâtṛigâtýâh prasûyante pravarásu ka yonishu*, and explains as follows, 'Those who belong to the mother's caste, i.e. the Anulomas, called Anantara (verse 14), beget similar sons on females of their own caste, and (more degraded children) on females of higher castes.' He mentions that others read *matṛigâtau prasûyante*, and says that the meaning then is, 'The Anulomas beget sons of their own race on females of their own and of their mothers' castes.' Gov. reads *mâtṛigâtau svayonyâm tu sadrisam ganayanti vai*, and

28. As a (Brâhmana) begets on (females of) two out of the three (twice-born castes a son similar to) himself, (but inferior) on account of the lower degree (of the mother), and (one equal to himself) on a female of his own race, even so is the order in the case of the excluded (races, vâhya).

29. Those (six mentioned above) also beget, the one on the females of the other, a great many (kinds of) despicable (sons), even more sinful than their (fathers), and excluded (from the Âryan community, vâhya).

30. Just as a Sûdra begets on a Brâhmana female a being excluded (from the Âryan community), even so (a person himself) excluded pro-

likewise refers the line to the Anulomas. 'But (the Anulomas) beget similar sons on females of their mothers' and of their own castes.' Râgh. likewise differs.

28. I read with all the commentators and K., *krama* instead of *kramât* (editions). 'Even so is the order in the case of the excluded (races),' means according to Gov. and Kull., that there is a difference in rank between Pratilomas, similar to that existing between Anulomas, and that Pratilomas sprung from Âryan fathers are more respectable than those begotten by Sûdra fathers, according to Medh., whose opinion is controverted by Gov., Kull., and Râgh., that Pratilomas, sprung from Âryan fathers and mothers, are to be considered Âryans, and worthy of being initiated just as Anulomas. According to Nâr. and Nand., the translation should be as follows: 'As among the three castes a (man) produces (a son similar to) himself on two wives, (i. e.) on her who belongs to his own caste and on her who belongs to the next lower one, even so is the order with those excluded (from the four chief castes),' i. e. even so is it with Anulomas, e. g. with a Mûrdhâvasikta, who begets a Mûrdhâvasikta on a Mûrdhâvasikta female and on an Âvantya female (Nâr.), and with Pratilomas, e. g. with a Kshattri who begets a Kshattri both on a female of his own caste and on a *Kandâlî* (Nand.). It must be added that Nand. reads *anantaryâm* instead of *ânantaryât*.

creates with (females of) the four castes (*varṇa*, sons) more (worthy of being) excluded (than he himself).

31. But men excluded (by the Âryans, *vâhya*), who approach females of higher rank, beget races (*varṇa*) still more worthy to be excluded, low men (*hina*) still lower races, even fifteen (in number).

31. In order to show that fifteen lower castes are produced, the commentators propose various interpretations of the verse, among which those of Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. alone deserve to be mentioned. Kull. thinks that the terms *vâhya* and *hina* may either refer to two sets of men or to one only. Under the former supposition, the *Vâhyas* must be understood to be the Pratiloma offspring of a *Sûdra*, i.e. *Âyogavas*, *Kshattris*, and *Kandâlas*; and the *Hinas*, the Pratiloma offspring of *Kshatriyas* and *Vaisyas*, i.e. *Sûtas*, *Mâgadhas*, and *Vaidehas*. Each of these two sets produce fifteen lower races by unions with women of the four chief castes and of their own (verse 27), i.e. *Âyogavas* beget five, with *Brâhmana*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaisya*, *Sûdra*, and *Âyogava* women; *Kshattris* likewise five, with *Brâhmana*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaisya*, *Sûdra*, and *Kshattri* women, and so forth. But if the two terms *vâhya* and *hina* are referred to one set of males only, they must be understood to denote the six Pratilomas, *Kandâlas*, *Kshattris*, *Âyogavas*, *Vaidehas*, *Mâgadhas*, and *Sûtas*; and it must be assumed that the verse refers to unions between these six Pratiloma races alone. Then the lowest among them, the *Kandâla*, may produce with females of the five higher Pratiloma tribes five more degraded races; the *Kshattri*, with the four above him, four; the *Âyogava*, the three above him, three; the *Vaideha*, two; and the *Mâgadha*, one. The total of $5 + 4 + 3 + 2 + 1$ is thus 15. Râgh. agrees with this interpretation. Nâr., on the other hand, refers the terms *vâhya* and *hina* to one set of males, the three Pratilomas sprung from the *Sûdra*, and assumes that the verse refers to unions of these three with females of the four principal castes and of their own. According to the calculation given under Kull.'s first explanation, the total of more degraded races which may be thus produced, is thirty. It seems to me that Kull.'s second explanation is the best, though I am not prepared to deny that his first explanation, and even Nâr.'s version, may be defended. The commentators point out that *varṇa* is used here in a figurative sense, because it has been declared above, verse 4, that there are only four real *varṇas*.

32. A Dasyu begets on an Âyogava (woman) a Sairandhra, who is skilled in adorning and attending (his master), who, (though) not a slave, lives like a slave, (or) subsists by snaring (animals).

33. A Vaideha produces (with the same) a sweet-voiced Maitreyaka, who, ringing a bell at the appearance of dawn, continually praises (great) men.

34. A Nishâda begets (on the same) a Mârgava (or) Dâsa, who subsists by working as a boatman, (and) whom the inhabitants of Âryâvarta call a Kaivarta.

35. Those three base-born ones are severally begot on Âyogava women, who wear the clothes of the dead, are wicked, and eat reprehensible food.

32. I read with Medh., Gov., Nâr., Nand., and K., Sairandhra instead of Sairandhri (editions). 'A Dasyu,' i.e. 'one of those tribes described below, verse 45' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or 'one of the afore-mentioned fifteen Pratiloma races' (Nâr., Nand.). Prasâdhanopaâragñam, 'skilled in adorning and attending (his master),' i.e. 'in dressing hair, anointing him with oil and so forth, and in shampooing' (Gov., Nâr., Nand.), means according to Kull., who takes prasâdhanopaâra, not as a copulative, but as a tatpurusha compound, 'skilled in serving (his master) at his toilet.' Medh.'s explanation is ambiguous. With respect to his second occupation, 'snaring animals,' Medh., Gov., and Kull. say that the Sairandhra resorts to it in order to support himself in times of distress, or in order to obtain meat for the worship of the gods and manes, or at the order of the king. Nand. remarks, 'As the Dasyus are many, there are also many Sairandhras, and that is indicated by the addition of a different mode of subsistence.'

34. Gov. and K. read Mâgadha instead of Mârgava. Gov. thinks that, as the section treats of Pratilomas, the Nishâda mentioned here is the Pratiloma Nishâda enumerated by Vyâsa.

35. I follow Medh., Gov., Nâr., Nand., and K., who read *mṛitavāstrabhrītsvanârīyāsu*, 'who wear the clothes of the dead, are wicked,' instead of *mṛitavāstrabhrītsu nârīshu*, 'women who wear the clothes of the dead' (editions). Kull. also seems to have had the

36. From a Nishâda springs (by a woman of the Vaideha caste) a Kârâvara, who works in leather; and from a Vaidehaka (by women of the Kârâvara and Nishâda castes), an Andhra and a Meda, who dwell outside the village.

37. From a *Kandâla* by a Vaideha woman is born a Pândusopâka, who deals in cane; from a Nishâda (by the same) an Âhindîka.

38. But from a *Kandâla* by a Pukkasa woman is born the sinful Sopâka, who lives by the occupations of his sire, and is ever despised by good men.

39. A Nishâda woman bears to a *Kandâla* a son (called) Antyâvasâyin, employed in burial-grounds, and despised even by those excluded (from the Âryan community).

40. These races, (which originate) in a confusion (of the castes and) have been described according to their fathers and mothers, may be known by their occupations, whether they conceal or openly show themselves.

former reading, as he copies the explanation sukrûrâsu, 'very cruel,' which Gov. gives. Medh. explains anâryâsu by 'not to be touched by Âryans.'

36. Thus according to Medh. and Kull. But Gov. and Râgh. understand in the second line with 'from a Vaidehaka,' the words 'by women of the Vaideha caste.' Nâr., who in the preceding verse takes the words *ete trayaḥ*, 'those three,' in the sense of 'the following three other races,' assumes of course that the mothers of Kârâvaras, Medas, and Andhras are Âyogava females. The latter two 'castes' are the well-known nations inhabiting *Mevâd* (*Medapâṭa*) in south-eastern Râgputâna, and the eastern Dekkan.

38. Râgh. and Nand. read *Paulkasa* instead of *Pukkasa*. *Mûla-vyasanavṛttimân* means according to Gov., Kull., and Râgh. 'who lives by executing criminals,' according to Nâr. and Nand. 'who lives by digging roots,' i. e. 'in order to sell them as medicine,' or 'by curing hemorrhoids' (Nand.). Medh. gives both explanations. The translation, given above, follows the Petersburg Dict., sub voce.

41. Six sons, begotten (by Âryans) on women of equal and the next lower castes (Anantara), have the duties of twice-born men; but all those born in consequence of a violation (of the law) are, as regards their duties, equal to Sûdras.

42. By the power of austerities and of the seed (from which they sprang), these (races) obtain here among men more exalted or lower rank in successive births.

43. But in consequence of the omission of the sacred rites, and of their not consulting Brâhmanas, the following tribes of Kshatriyas have gradually sunk in this world to the condition of Sûdras;

44. (Viz.) the Paundrakas, the Kodas, the Dravidas, the Kâmbogas, the Yavanas, the Sakas, the Pâradas, the Pahlavas, the Kînas, the Kirâtas, and the Daradas.

41. Medh. adds, 'The mention of the Anantaras is intended to include all Anulomas.'

42. 'These,' i. e. 'those born of wives of equal castes and Anantaras' (Gov., Kull.). Medh. and Nâr. include all Anulomas, and Râgh. even Pratilomas, sprung from Âryan fathers. Yuge yuge, 'in successive births' (Medh., Nâr., Nand.), means according to Kull. 'in each of the ages of the world.' Kull. refers to the stories regarding Visvâmitra and Rishyasringa, while Medh. points to the discussion, given below, verse 64 seq.

43. Medh. and Gov. read brâhmanâtikramena, 'by disrespect towards Brâhmanas,' instead of brâhmanâdarsanena, 'by not consulting Brâhmanas' (Kull., Nâr., Nand., Râgh., K.).

44. Instead of Paundrakas (Kull.), Medh., Nâr., Nand., and K. read Pundrakas, and Gov. Paundhrakas. My reading Kodas is a correction of Komdra, which is found in some MSS. of Medh. and in K. We have plainly Kola in Nand., while some MSS. of Medh. and Gov. read Kâmdra or Kâmdra, and the editions give Kaudra. Sir W. Jones' opinion that kaudra stands for ka Odra is improbable, because the particle 'and' is clearly not wanted after the first word. Instead of Pahlava, some MSS. of Medh. and some editions

45. All those tribes in this world, which are excluded from (the community of) those born from the mouth, the arms, the thighs, and the feet (of Brahman), are called *Dasyus*, whether they speak the language of the *Mlekkhas* (barbarians) or that of the *Âryans*.

46. Those who have been mentioned as the base-born (offspring, *apasada*) of *Âryans*, or as produced in consequence of a violation (of the law, *apadhvasaga*), shall subsist by occupations reprehended by the twice-born.

47. To *Sûtas* (belongs) the management of horses and of chariots; to *Ambashthas*, the art of healing; to *Vaidehakas*, the service of women; to *Mâgadhas*, trade;

48. Killing fish to *Nishâdas*; carpenters' work to the *Âyogava*; to *Medas*, *Andhras*, *Kuñkus*, and *Madgus*, the slaughter of wild animals;

read *Pahnava*. Gov. gives *Pallava*. The editions give the *Khasas* after the *Daradas*. But Medh., Gov., Nand., and K. have *tathâ* at the end of the verse. The commentators state that the names enumerated in the first instance denote countries, and next, particular races living in them.

45. 'Those born from the mouth, &c.,' i.e. the four *Varnas*; see above, I, 87.

46. 'Base-born offspring of *Âryans*;' see above, verses 17 and 41.

47. 'The service of women,' i.e. 'the office of guardians in the harem.'

48. Instead of *Kuñku* (editions, Râgh.), Medh., Gov., and Nâr. seem to have read *Kûku*. Nand. reads *Mamsu* for *Madgu*. Nâr. says that these two words are synonyms of *Ghalla* and *Malla*; see above, verse 22. But Gov. quotes a verse of *Yama*, according to which the *Kûkuka* is the son of a *Vaisya* by a *Kshatriya* female, and the *Madgu* the offspring of a *Sûdra* and a *Kshatriyâ*. Kull.'s and Râgh.'s reference to *Baudh.* is, according to the MSS. of the *Baudh. Dharmasûtra*, erroneous.

49. To Kshattris, Ugras, and Pukkasas, catching and killing (animals) living in holes ; to Dhigvanas, working in leather ; to Venas, playing drums.

50. Near well-known trees and burial-grounds, on mountains and in groves, let these (tribes) dwell, known (by certain marks), and subsisting by their peculiar occupations.

51. But the dwellings of *Kandâlas* and *Svapakas* shall be outside the village, they must be made *Apapâtras*, and their wealth (shall be) dogs and donkeys.

52. Their dress (shall be) the garments of the dead, (they shall eat) their food from broken dishes, black iron (shall be) their ornaments, and they must always wander from place to place.

53. A man who fulfils a religious duty, shall not seek intercourse with them ; their transactions (shall be) among themselves, and their marriages with their equals.

54. Their food shall be given to them by others (than an Âryan giver) in a broken dish ; at night they shall not walk about in villages and in towns.

49. Nand. omits this verse.

50. Nand. places verse 50 after verse 52.

51. Medh. and Nâr. read *avapâtrâh* instead of *apapâtrâh* (Kull., Râgh., K., and Gov.?), and Medh. gives three explanations of the term : 1. vessels used by them must be thrown away ; 2. if food is given to them, it must not be placed in vessels which they hold in their hands, but in such as stand on the ground or are held by others ; 3. they shall use bad, i. e. broken vessels, as is stated in the next verse. The other commentators adopt the first explanation, which is no doubt the correct one.

53. Gov. and Nand. say, 'A righteous man,' instead of 'A man who fulfils a religious duty.'

54. Gov. and Nâr. take the beginning of the verse differently,

55. By day they may go about for the purpose of their work, distinguished by marks at the king's command, and they shall carry out the corpses (of persons) who have no relatives; that is a settled rule.

56. By the king's order they shall always execute the criminals, in accordance with the law, and they shall take for themselves the clothes, the beds, and the ornaments of (such) criminals.

57. A man of impure origin, who belongs not to any caste, (*varna*, but whose character is) not known, who, (though) not an *Āryan*, has the appearance of an *Āryan*, one may discover by his acts.

58. Behaviour unworthy of an *Āryan*, harshness, cruelty, and habitual neglect of the prescribed duties betray in this world a man of impure origin.

59. A base-born man either resembles in character his father, or his mother, or both; he can never conceal his real nature.

60. Even if a man, born in a great family, sprang from criminal intercourse, he will certainly possess the faults of his (father), be they small or great.

61. But that kingdom in which such bastards, sully (the purity of) the castes, are born, perishes quickly together with its inhabitants.

'Their food shall be given to them by others in a broken vessel,' i. e. 'they shall not cook for themselves in their houses.'

55. 'Distinguished by marks,' i. e. 'by a thunderbolt and the like, or by axes, adzes, and so forth, used for executing criminals, and carried on the shoulder' (*Medh.*), or 'by sticks and so forth' (*Gov.*), or 'by iron ornaments and peacock's feathers and the like' (*Nâr.*). *Râgh.* thinks that they are to be branded on the forehead and on other parts of the body. In olden times the depressed races of Gujarat used to wear a horn as their distinguishing mark.

57-59. Vas. XVIII, 7; Vi. XVI, 17.

62. Dying, without the expectation of a reward, for the sake of Brâhmanas and of cows, or in the defence of women and children, secures beatitude to those excluded (from the Âryan community, *vâhya*).

63. Abstention from injuring (creatures), veracity, abstention from unlawfully appropriating (the goods of others), purity, and control of the organs, Manu has declared to be the summary of the law for the four castes.

64. If (a female of the caste), sprung from a Brâhmana and a Sûdra female, bear (children) to one of the highest caste, the inferior (tribe) attains the highest caste within the seventh generation.

62. Vi. XVI, 18.

63. Gaut. VIII, 23; Yâgñ. I, 122; and above, IV, 246, V, 107. Nand. reads *sarvavarṇe*, 'for all castes,' instead of *kâturvarṇye*, 'for the four castes.'

64. Âp. II, 10-11; Gaut. IV, 22; Yâgñ. I, 96. According to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh., the meaning is that, if the daughter of a Brâhmana and of a Sûdra female and her descendants all marry Brâhmanas, the offspring of the sixth female descendant of the original couple will be a Brâhmana. While this explanation agrees with Haradatta's comment on the parallel passage of Gautama, Nâr. and Nand. take the verse very differently. They say that if a Pârasava, the son of a Brâhmana and of a Sûdra female, marries a most excellent Pârasava female, who possesses a good moral character and other virtues, and if his descendants do the same, the child born in the sixth generation will be a Brâhmana. Nand. quotes in support of his view Baudhâyana I, 16, 13-14 (left out in my translation of the Sacred Books of the East, II, p. 197), *nishâdena nishâdyâm â pañkāmâg grâter apahanti [grâto 'pahanti] sūdratām | tam upanayet shashṭham yâgayet*, '(Offspring), begotten by a Nishâda on a Nishâdî, removes within five generations the Sûdra-hood; one may initiate him (the fifth descendant), one may sacrifice for the sixth.' This passage of Baudhâyana, the reading of which is supported by a new MS. from Madras, clearly shows that Baudhâyana allowed the male offspring of Brâhmanas and Sûdra females to be raised to the level of Âryans. It is also not impossible

65. (Thus) a *Sûdra* attains the rank of a *Brâhmaṇa*, and (in a similar manner) a *Brâhmaṇa* sinks to the level of a *Sûdra*; but know that it is the same with the offspring of a *Kshatriya* or of a *Vaisya*.

66. If (a doubt) should arise, with whom the pre-eminence (is, whether) with him whom an *Āryan* by chance begot on a non-*Āryan* female, or (with the son) of a *Brâhmaṇa* woman by a non-*Āryan*,

67. The decision is as follows: 'He who was begotten by an *Āryan* on a non-*Āryan* female, may become (like to) an *Āryan* by his virtues; he whom an *Āryan* (mother) bore to a non-*Āryan* father (is and remains) unlike to an *Āryan*.'

that the meaning of Manu's verse may be the same, and that the translation should be, 'If the offspring of a *Brâhmaṇa* and of a *Sûdra* female begets children with a most excellent (male of the *Brâhmaṇa* caste or female of the *Pârasava* tribe), the inferior (tribe) attains the highest caste in the seventh generation.' The chief objection to this version, which consists in the fact that *sregasâ*, 'with a most excellent,' stands in the masculine, may be met by Manu's peculiar use of the masculine instead of the feminine above in verse 32, where *âyogave* is used for *âyogavyâm*.

65. The manner in which a *Brâhmaṇa* sinks to the level of a *Sûdra* is, according to Medh., Gov., and Kull., the following. If the son of a *Brâhmaṇa* and of a *Sûdra* female and his descendants marry *Sûdra* wives, the seventh descendant will be a pure *Sûdra*. Medh., Gov., and Kull. hold that the offspring of a *Brâhmaṇa* and of a *Kshatriya* female obtains the higher or lower rank in the third generation, and the offspring of a *Brâhmaṇa* and of a *Vaisya* female in the fifth. Medh. and Gov. expressly state that 'they,' i.e. the older commentators, give this explanation.

66. 'A non-*Āryan* female,' i.e. 'a *Sûdra* female' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh., Nand.), or 'the daughter of a *Vrâtya* and the like' (Nâr.). 'By chance,' i.e. even on an unmarried one (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh., Nand.), or 'unknowingly' (Nâr.). 'An *Āryan* female,' i.e. 'a *Brâhmaṇi*' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh., Nâr., Nand.).

67. 'May become (like to) an *Āryan* by his virtues,' i.e. 'may become most excellent or praiseworthy by offering the *Pâkayagñas*

68. The law prescribes that neither of the two shall receive the sacraments, the first (being excluded) on account of the lowness of his origin, the second (because the union of his parents was) against the order of the castes.

69. As good seed, springing up in good soil, turns out perfectly well, even so the son of an Âryan by an Âryan woman is worthy of all the sacraments.

70. Some sages declare the seed to be more important, and others the field; again others (assert that) the seed and the field (are equally important); but the legal decision on this point is as follows:

71. Seed, sown on barren ground, perishes in it; a (fertile) field also, in which no (good) seed (is sown), will remain barren.

72. As through the power of the seed (sons) born of animals became sages who are honoured and praised, hence the seed is declared to be more important.

73. Having considered (the case of) a non-Âryan who acts like an Âryan, and (that of) an Âryan who acts like a non-Âryan, the creator declared, 'Those two are neither equal nor unequal.'

and the like, which according to other Smṛitis are permitted to him' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.). 'Unlike to an Âryan,' i. e. 'unworthy of praise or respect' (Gov., Kull.).

69-72. See also the discussion which occurs above, IX, 33-41.

71. Gov., Kull., and Nand. say 'a field in which no seed (is sown) remains barren.' The translation follows Medh. The commentators refer to the stories of Mandapâla and *Rishyasṛṅga*, see above, IX, 23.

72. 'Not equal,' i. e. because they differ in caste; 'not unequal,' i. e. because both do what is forbidden to them. Hence nobody should do acts which are not permitted to him (Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

74. Brâhmanas who are intent on the means (of gaining union with) Brahman and firm in (discharging) their duties, shall live by duly performing the following six acts, (which are enumerated) in their (proper) order.

75. Teaching, studying, sacrificing for himself, sacrificing for others, making gifts and receiving them are the six acts (prescribed) for a Brâhmana.

76. But among the six acts (ordained) for him three are his means of subsistence, (viz.) sacrificing for others, teaching, and accepting gifts from pure men.

77. (Passing) from the Brâhmana to the Kshatriya, three acts (incumbent on the former) are forbidden, (viz.) teaching, sacrificing for others, and, thirdly, the acceptance of gifts.

78. The same are likewise forbidden to a Vaisya, that is a settled rule; for Manu, the lord of creatures (Pragâpati), has not prescribed them for (men of) those two (castes).

79. To carry arms for striking and for throwing (is prescribed) for Kshatriyas as a means of subsistence; to trade, (to rear) cattle, and agriculture

74-80. Âp. II, 10, 4-7; Gauṣ. X, 1-7, 49; Vas. II, 13-19; Baudh. I, 18, 1-4; Vi. II, 1-7; Yāgy. I, 118-119; see also above, I, 88-90.

74. Brahmayonisthâh, 'who are intent on the means of gaining union with Brahman' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), means according to Nâr. and Râgh. 'who are of pure Brâhmanical race,' according to Nand. 'who abide by that which springs from the Veda, i.e. the sacred law,' or 'who are the dwelling-place of the Veda.'

77. Nâr. reads brâhmanâh kshatriyam prati, 'To a Kshatriya three acts incumbent on a Brâhmana' are forbidden,' instead of brâhmanât kshatriyam prati. Nand., whose text is corrupt, seems to have had the same reading as Nâr.

for Vaisyas; but their duties are liberality, the study of the Veda, and the performance of sacrifices.

80. Among the several occupations the most commendable are, teaching the Veda for a Brâhmaṇa, protecting (the people) for a Kshatriya, and trade for a Vaisya.

81. But a Brâhmaṇa, unable to subsist by his peculiar occupations just mentioned, may live according to the law applicable to Kshatriyas; for the latter is next to him in rank.

82. If it be asked, 'How shall it be, if he cannot maintain himself by either (of these occupations?)' the answer is), he may adopt a Vaisya's mode of life, employing himself in agriculture and rearing cattle.

83. But a Brâhmaṇa, or a Kshatriya, living by a Vaisya's mode of subsistence, shall carefully avoid (the pursuit of) agriculture, (which causes) injury to many beings and depends on others.

84. (Some) declare that agriculture is something excellent, (but) that means of subsistence is blamed

80. Vârttâ, 'trade' (Nand.), means according to Kull. 'trade and rearing cattle,' and according to Gov. 'trade, rearing cattle, and agriculture.' But the context makes it probable that one occupation only is intended.

81-98. Âp. I, 20, 10-21, 4; Gaut. VII, 1-26; Vas. II, 22-39; Baudh. II, 4, 16-21; Vi. II, 15; LIV, 18-21; Yâgñ. III, 35-40.

82. Nâr. thinks that *krîshi*, 'agriculture,' means here *asvayamkrîtâ*, 'at which the Brâhmaṇa does not work personally,' while Gov. and Kull. hold the contrary opinion. For according to them the *asvayamkrîtâ krîshi* has been permitted even for ordinary times, above, IV, 4-5.

83. 'Depends on others,' i. e. 'on bullocks and so forth' (Gov., Kull.). It has been taught above, IV, 159-160, that a Snâtaka is to avoid all that depends upon others.

84. Medh. points out that this verse is directed against the teaching of Vas. II, 32-36.



by the virtuous; (for) the wooden (implement) with iron point injures the earth and (the beings) living in the earth.

85. But he who, through a want of means of subsistence, gives up the strictness with respect to his duties, may sell, in order to increase his wealth, the commodities sold by Vaisyas, making (however) the (following) exceptions.

86. He must avoid (selling) condiments of all sorts, cooked food and sesamum, stones, salt, cattle, and human (beings),

87. All dyed cloth, as well as cloth made of hemp, or flax, or wool, even though they be not dyed, fruit, roots, and (medical) herbs ;

88. Water, weapons, poison, meat, Soma, and perfumes of all kinds, fresh milk, honey, sour milk, clarified butter, oil, wax, sugar, Kusa-grass ;

89. All beasts of the forest, animals with fangs or tusks, birds, spirituous liquor, indigo, lac, and all one-hoofed beasts.

90. But he who subsists by agriculture, may at pleasure sell unmixed sesamum grains for sacred

86. Medh. says, 'and cooked food, mixed with sesamum grains.' The same commentator thinks that, as salt which is also a condiment is specially forbidden, other condiments may be sold optionally. But Gov. and Kull. point out that it is specially named, because the penance is heavier. Nâr. explains rasân, 'condiments,' by 'exudations of leaves, wood, and so forth.'

88. Nâr. reads kshâram, 'alkaline substances,' instead of kshîram, 'fresh milk,' but mentions the latter reading, and Nand. kshâram for kshaudram.

89. Nâr. reads maggâ, 'marrow,' instead of madyam, 'spirituous liquor.' Medh. says that some read ekasaphân bahûn, 'many one-hoofed beasts,' and permit the sale of a single one. Nand. reads parûn, 'animals.'

90. Suddhân, 'unmixed' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.), means

purposes, provided he himself has grown them and has not kept them long.

91. If he applies sesamum to any other purpose but food, anointing, and charitable gifts, he will be born (again) as a worm and, together with his ancestors, be plunged into the ordure of dogs.

92. By (selling) flesh, salt, and lac a Brâhmaṇa at once becomes an outcast; by selling milk he becomes (equal to) a Sûdra in three days.

93. But by willingly selling in this world other (forbidden) commodities, a Brâhmaṇa assumes after seven nights the character of a Vaisya.

94. Condiments may be bartered for condiments, but by no means salt for (other) condiments; cooked food (may be exchanged) for (other kinds of) cooked food, and sesamum seeds for grain in equal quantities.

95. A Kshatriya who has fallen into distress, may subsist by all these (means); but he must never arrogantly adopt the mode of life (prescribed for his) betters.

according to Nand. 'white,' according to Nâr. 'of good quality.' 'Provided he has not kept them long,' i. e. 'if he has not kept them long after the harvest, in order to increase his profit' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.).

91. K. reads *krîmîr bhûtvâ sa vish/hâyâm*, 'he will be plunged into ordure;' and Medh. seems likewise to have read *sa*, 'he,' for *sva*, 'dog.'

93. *Kâmatah*, 'willingly,' means according to Medh. and Nand. 'not in times of distress, but in ordinary times.'

94. I read with Medh. and Nand., *krîânnam ka krîânnena* instead of *kâkrîânnena* (Gov., Kull., Nâr.), 'for undressed grain,' because all the other *Smritis* have the former rule. K. reads *vâ krîânnena*, and thus shows how the misreading *kâ°* arose. Nand. reads *na tveva lavanam tilaiḥ*, 'but not salt for sesamum grains,' and Medh. mentions the reading as a var. lect.

96. A man of low caste who through covetousness lives by the occupations of a higher one, the king shall deprive of his property and banish.

97. It is better (to discharge) one's own (appointed) duty incompletely than to perform completely that of another; for he who lives according to the law of another (caste) is instantly excluded from his own.

98. A Vaisya who is unable to subsist by his own duties, may even maintain himself by a Sûdra's mode of life, avoiding (however) acts forbidden (to him), and he should give it up, when he is able (to do so).

99. But a Sûdra, being unable to find service with the twice-born and threatened with the loss of his sons and wife (through hunger), may maintain himself by handicrafts.

100. (Let him follow) those mechanical occupations and those various practical arts by following which the twice-born are (best) served.

101. A Brâhmaṇa who is distressed through a want of means of subsistence and pines (with hunger), (but) unwilling to adopt a Vaisya's mode of life and resolved to follow his own (prescribed) path, may act in the following manner.

97. Nâr. gives as an instance of an ill or incomplete performance of a Brâhmaṇa's duty, which is better than completely discharging the duties of another caste, the acceptance of alms from an impure person. Nand. omits this verse, which, indeed, is here out of place and ought to stand in the discussion beginning verse 101.

98. 'Acts forbidden to him,' i. e. 'eating the leavings of the others and so forth' (Gov., Kull., Nâr.), or 'eating forbidden food and the like' (Nand.).

99-100. Vi. III, 14; Gaut. X, 60.

101-114. Gaut. VII, 4-5, 23; Âp. I, 18, 5-8, 14-15.

102. A Brâhmaṇa who has fallen into distress may accept (gifts) from anybody; for according to the law it is not possible (to assert) that anything pure can be sullied.

103. By teaching, by sacrificing for, and by accepting gifts from despicable (men) Brâhmaṇas (in distress) commit not sin; for they (are as pure) as fire and water.

104. He who, when in danger of losing his life, accepts food from any person whatsoever, is no more tainted by sin than the sky by mud.

105. Agîgarta, who suffered hunger, approached in order to slay (his own) son, and was not tainted by sin, since he (only) sought a remedy against famishing.

106. Vâmadeva, who well knew right and wrong, did not sully himself when, tormented (by hunger), he desired to eat the flesh of a dog in order to save his life.

107. Bharadvâga, a performer of great austerities, accepted many cows from the carpenter Brîbu, when he was starving together with his sons in a lonely forest.

102. 'Anything pure,' i. e. 'the Ganges and the like' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or 'fire and the like' (Nâr., Râgh.).

103. Vas. XXVII, 9.

105. Regarding the story of Agîgarta, see Aitareya-brâhmaṇa VII, 13-16.

107. I read with Gov. and Sâyana on Rig-veda VI, 45, 31, Brîbu instead of Vridhu (Kull., Râgh., K.), and Brîhat (Nâr., Nand.). The corrected copies of Medh. have Vridhu, but the oldest reads vridhha in the text, and in the commentary drîbu, i. e. brîbu. It is not doubtful that Brîbu is the correct reading. For in the hymn quoted that personage is described as the carpenter of the Panis, and his liberality is highly praised. Moreover the Sâṅkhâyaṇa

108. Visvâmitra, who well knew what is right or wrong, approached, when he was tormented by hunger, (to eat) the haunch of a dog, receiving it from the hands of a *Kandâla*.

109. On (comparing) the acceptance (of gifts from low men), sacrificing (for them), and teaching (them), the acceptance of gifts is the meanest (of those acts) and (most) reprehensible for a *Brâhmaṇa* (on account of its results) in the next life.

110. (For) assisting in sacrifices and teaching are (two acts) always performed for men who have received the sacraments; but the acceptance of gifts takes place even in (case the giver is) a *Sûdra* of the lowest class.

111. The guilt incurred by offering sacrifices for teaching (unworthy men) is removed by muttering (sacred texts) and by burnt offerings, but that incurred by accepting gifts (from them) by throwing (the gifts) away and by austerities.

112. A *Brâhmaṇa* who is unable to maintain himself, should (rather) glean ears or grains from (the field of) any (man); gleaning ears is better than accepting gifts, picking up single grains is declared to be still more laudable.

113. If *Brâhmaṇas*, who are *Snâtakas*, are pining with hunger, or in want of (utensils made of) common metals, or of other property, they may ask the

Srauta-sûtra (see the Petersburg Dictionary, sub voce *Brîbu*) alludes to the legend mentioned by Manu.

108. Regarding the legend of Visvâmitra, see *Mahâbh.* XII, 141, 28 seqq.

110. *Nâr.* says, 'a *Sûdra* (or) one of the lowest class, i. e. a *Kandâla*.'

111. *Âp.* I, 28, 11; *Vas.* XX, 45; *Vi.* LIV, 28. 'By austerities,' i. e. 'by penances,' see below, XI, 194.

113. *Kupyam*, '(utensils made of) common metals,' includes

king for them ; if he is not disposed to be liberal, he must be left.

114. (The acceptance of) an untilled field is less blamable than (that of) a tilled one ; (with respect to) cows, goats, sheep, gold, grain, and cooked food, (the acceptance of) each earlier-named (article is less blamable than of the following ones).

115. There are seven lawful modes of acquiring property, (viz.) inheritance, finding or friendly donation, purchase, conquest, lending at interest, the performance of work, and the acceptance of gifts from virtuous men.

according to Medh. 'pots, kettles, wooden stools, and the like ; according to Gov. 'all property of small value such as beds, seats ;' according to Kull., Râgh., and Nand. 'also grain and clothes.' But Nâr. takes it in its usual sense, 'common metals such as brass and copper.' I translate the last clause according to the first explanation of Medh., Gov., Nâr., and Râgh., who think that all Brâhmanas should leave the realm of a king who does not support famishing Snâtakas. Nand., however, says that such a king is to be excluded from instruction and admission to sacrifices. Medh.'s second interpretation, according to which *tyâgaḥ* means *dharma-hâniḥ*, 'a loss of spiritual merit,' agrees with Nand.'s view. Kull. finally takes the phrase very differently, 'but he who does not wish to give anything, being known for his avarice, must be left to himself, i.e. must not be asked.' Kull. and Gov. hold that 'the prince' meant here is a Kshatriya king who does not follow the Sâstras, or a Sûdra king (see note on IV, 33), and that the verse thus rescinds the prohibition given above, IV, 84 seq.

114. Vas. XII, 3.

115. Gaut. X, 39-42. *Lâbha*, 'finding or friendly donation' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), refers according to Nâr. and Nand. to the acquisition of treasure-trove alone, not to the acceptance of presents from friends, from a father-in-law, &c. *Gaya*, 'conquest,' means according to Nand. 'gaining lawsuits.' The same commentator takes *prayoga*, 'lending money at interest,' in the sense of 'teaching,' and *karma-yoga*, 'performance of labour,' in the sense of 'sacrificing for others.' All the commentators, except Nand., point out that the first three modes of acquisition are lawful for all castes, the fourth for Ksha-

116. Learning, mechanical arts, work for wages, service, rearing cattle, traffic, agriculture, contentment (with little), alms, and receiving interest on money, are the ten modes of subsistence (permitted to all men in times of distress).

117. Neither a Brâhmana, nor a Kshatriya must lend (money at) interest; but at his pleasure (either of them) may, in times of distress (when he requires money) for sacred purposes, lend to a very sinful man at a small interest.

118. A Kshatriya (king) who, in times of distress, takes even the fourth part (of the crops), is free from guilt, if he protects his subjects to the best of his ability.

119. His peculiar duty is conquest, and he must not turn back in danger; having protected the Vaisyas by his weapons, he may cause the legal tax to be collected;

120. (Viz.) from Vaisyas one-eighth as the tax on

triyas, the fifth and sixth for Vaisyas (or the fifth for Vaisyas, the sixth for Sûdras, Nâr.), and the seventh for Brâhmanas.

116. 'Learning,' i. e. (teaching) other than Vedic sciences, e. g. logic, exorcising evil spirits, or charms against poison (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). Gov. thinks that 'teaching for a stipulated fee' is also permissible under this rule.

117. Vas. II, 40-43. Gov., Nâr., and K. read *alpakam* instead of *alpakâm*, and with this var. lect. the last clause might be translated with Nâr. by '... (either of them) ... may lend a small (sum) to a very sinful man.'

119. I read with Gov. and K. *na bhaye* instead of *nâhave* (editions). Medh.'s text has the latter reading, but the commentary *bhaye upasthite parânmukho yuddhe na syât*, 'when danger threatens he shall not turn back in battle,' indicates that his reading was *bhaye*. The same inference may be drawn from Kull.'s commentary. Nand. gives *na bhaye*, probably a mistake for *na bhaye*.

120. According to Medh., the first line refers to the profits of

grain, one-twentieth (on the profits on gold and cattle), which amount at least to one Kârshâpana; Sûdras, artisans, and mechanics (shall) benefit (the king) by (doing) work (for him).

121. If a Sûdra, (unable to subsist by serving Brâhmanas,) seeks a livelihood, he may serve Kshatriyas, or he may also seek to maintain himself by attending on a wealthy Vaisya.

122. But let a (Sûdra) serve Brâhmanas, either

subjects dealing in corn or in gold. From the former the king may take in times of distress one-eighth, and from the latter one-twentieth. The second line indicates that artisans who, according to VII, 138, in ordinary times furnish one piece of work in each month, may be made to work more for the king. According to Gov. and Kull., husbandmen (*krishigîvinâm*, Gov.) shall give from the increments on grain (*upakaya*) one-eighth (instead of one-twelfth, and in the direst distress one-fourth, according to verse 118, Kull.), from all increments on gold and so forth amounting to more than a Kârshâpana one-twentieth instead of one-fiftieth, as prescribed above, VII, 130. Râgh. in substance agrees with this explanation. Nâr. and Nand. read, as it would seem, *vimsatkârshâpanâvaram* (*nâparam*, Nand.), and take the verse differently. Nâr. says that the tax on grain is to be one-fourth in the case of Sûdras, and one-eighth in the case of Vaisyas, that the tax on everything else is to be at least one Kârshâpana in twenty, and that artisans who work for wages shall pay the same rate (*vimsatkârshâpanam iti dhanyâd anyeshu vimsad vimsatikârshâpanamûlyam tâdrisalâbhe kârshâpana eko râgñâ grâhya ity avaraḥ pakshaḥ | sambhave tv adhikam api grâhyam ity arthaḥ | dharmopakaraṇāḥ [karmo°] dharmibhir [karmabhir] visvam upakurvantas tantuvâyâdayaḥ | sûdrâḥ kâravo varṇavâhyâ naḥakṣitrakârâdyâḥ | silpinas ka rathakârâdyâs te 'pi karma krîtvâ bhrûitve 'pi vimsatikârshâpanalâbhe kârshâpanâvaram sulkam dadyur iti seshah*). According to Nâr. the translation would be: '(Viz.) one-eighth as the tax (payable) by Vaisyas on grain, (and on everything else) at least one Kârshâpana out of twenty; Sûdra artisans and mechanics who benefit (men) by their work (shall pay the same rate).' Nâr. adds that some read *trimsatkârshâpanâvaram*, 'at least one Kârshâpana out of thirty.'

121-129. Gaut. X, 50-65; Yâgñ. I, 120-121.

for the sake of heaven, or with a view to both (this life and the next); for he who is called the servant of a Brāhmaṇa thereby gains all his ends.

123. The service of Brāhmaṇas alone is declared (to be) an excellent occupation for a Sūdra; for whatever else besides this he may perform will bear him no fruit.

124. They must allot to him out of their own family(-property) a suitable maintenance, after considering his ability, his industry, and the number of those whom he is bound to support.

125. The remnants of their food must be given to him, as well as their old clothes, the refuse of their grain, and their old household furniture.

126. A Sūdra cannot commit an offence, causing loss of caste (pāṭaka), and he is not worthy to receive the sacraments; he has no right to (fulfil) the sacred law (of the Āryans, yet) there is no prohibition against (his fulfilling certain portions of) the law.

127. (Sūdras) who are desirous to gain merit, and know (their) duty, commit no sin, but gain praise, if they imitate the practice of virtuous men without reciting sacred texts.

128. The more a (Sūdra), keeping himself free from envy, imitates the behaviour of the virtuous, the more he gains, without being censured, (exaltation in) this world and the next.

126. 'Cannot commit an offence causing loss of caste,' i.e. 'by eating garlic and the like forbidden fruit' (Gov., Kull.), or 'by (keeping) a slaughter-house' (Rāgh.).

127. In what particulars the practice of the Āryans may be imitated by Sūdras, may be learnt from the parallel passages quoted above.

129. No collection of wealth must be made by a Sûdra, even though he be able (to do it); for a Sûdra who has acquired wealth, gives pain to Brâhmanas.

130. The duties of the four castes (*varṇa*) in times of distress have thus been declared, and if they perform them well, they will reach the most blessed state.

131. Thus all the legal rules for the four castes have been proclaimed; I next will promulgate the auspicious rules for penances.

CHAPTER XI.

1. Him who wishes (to marry for the sake of having) offspring, him who wishes to perform a sacrifice, a traveller, him who has given away all his property, him who begs for the sake of his teacher, his father, or his mother, a student of the Veda, and a sick man,

2. These nine Brâhmanas one should consider as

129. 'Gives pain to Brâhmanas,' i.e. 'by becoming proud and not serving them' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

XI. 1. Âp. II, 10, 1-2; Gaut. V, 21; Baudh. II, 5, 19. 'He who has given away all his property,' i.e. 'on performing a Virvagit sacrifice' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'other Kratus' (Nâr.). 'For the sake of his teacher, his father, or his mother,' i.e. 'in order to maintain them' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'in order to procure the fee for the teacher' (Râgh., Nâr.). The commentators try to excuse the introduction of the miscellaneous rules, contained in verses 1-43, before the discussion of the penances, which according to X, 131 ought to follow at once, either by assuming that the object is to show the necessity of performing penances in case these rules are violated, or by pointing out that, as gifts are the means for removing sin, the enumeration of the Pâtras or worthy recipients is required.

Snâtakas, begging in order to fulfil the sacred law ; to such poor men gifts must be given in proportion to their learning.

3. To these most excellent among the twice-born, food and presents (of money) must be given ; it is declared that food must be given to others outside the sacrificial enclosure.

4. But a king shall bestow, as is proper, jewels of all sorts, and presents for the sake of sacrifices on Brâhmanas learned in the Vedas.

5. If a man who has a wife weds a second wife, having begged money (to defray the marriage expenses, he obtains) no advantage but sensual enjoyment ; but the issue (of his second marriage belongs) to the giver of the money.

6. One should give, according to one's ability, wealth to Brâhmanas learned in the Veda and living alone ; (thus) one obtains after death heavenly bliss.

3. Gaut. V, 22 ; Baudh. II, 5, 20. The translation follows Medh., Gov., and Nâr. The interpretation adopted by Kull. is, 'To these most excellent Brâhmanas food together with presents must be given (inside the sacrificial enclosure).' Nand. reads etebhyo 'pi instead of etebhyo hi, and thinks that bahirvede is to be construed with api, 'To these most excellent among the twice-born food . . . must be given even outside the sacrificial enclosure.' The correct explanation of the force of the word bahirvedi, 'outside the sacrificial enclosure,' is given by Nâr., who adds, vedyâm tu yâkîtam sarvam eva deyam, 'but near the fire-altar everything asked for must be given to them.' The meaning of the verse, therefore, is that the nine mendicants, mentioned in verses 1-2, shall always receive what they ask for, and other mendicants ordinary food only, but that if they beg at the performance of a sacrifice, other property also must be given to them.

5. Âp. II, 10, 3. The object of the verse is to forbid that alms shall be asked or given for such a purpose (Gov., Kull.). Medh., Gov., Nâr., Râgh., and K. omit this verse. It looks very much like an interpolation, intended to explain the preceding rule.

7. He who may possess (a supply of) food sufficient to maintain those dependant on him during three years or more than that, is worthy to drink the Soma-juice.

8. But a twice-born man, who, though possessing less than that amount of property, nevertheless drinks the Soma-juice, does not derive any benefit from that (act), though he may have formerly drunk the Soma-juice.

✓ 9. (If) an opulent man (is) liberal towards strangers, while his family lives in distress, that counterfeit virtue will first make him taste the sweets (of fame, but afterwards) make him swallow the poison (of punishment in hell).

✓ 10. If (a man) does anything for the sake of his happiness in another world, to the detriment of those whom he is bound to maintain, that produces evil results for him, both while he lives and when he is dead.

11. If a sacrifice, (offered) by (any twice-born) sacrificer, (and) especially by a Brâhmana, must remain incomplete through (the want of) one requisite, while a righteous king rules,

7. Vas. VIII, 10; Vi. LIX, 8; Yâgñ. I, 124. 'Drink the Soma-juice,' i.e. 'perform a Soma-sacrifice, in order to obtain the fulfilment of some wish' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

8. 'Though he formerly may have drunk the Soma,' i.e. 'at the nitya (i.e. the annual, see above, IV, 26, VI, 10) Soma-sacrifice' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). The same commentators and Medh. point out that this and the preceding verses do not forbid the performance of the nitya Soma-sacrifices, but only of those called kâmya. He who performs the latter without possessing the requisite property, loses also the rewards for the former.

11-15. Gaut. XVIII, 24-27.

11. 'While a righteous king rules,' i.e. 'because such a king will not punish a man who acts in accordance with the Sâstras' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.).

12. That article (required) for the completion of the sacrifice, may be taken (forcibly) from the house of any Vaisya, who possesses a large number of cattle, (but) neither performs the (minor) sacrifices nor drinks the Soma-juice ;

13. (Or) the (sacrificer) may take at his pleasure two or three (articles required for a sacrifice) from the house of a Sûdra ; for a Sûdra has no business with sacrifices.

14. If (a man) possessing one hundred cows, kindles not the sacred fire, or one possessing a thousand cows, drinks not the Soma-juice, a (sacrificer) may unhesitatingly take (what he requires) from the houses of those two, even (though they be Brâhmaṇas or Kshatriyas) ;

15. (Or) he may take (it by force or fraud) from one who always takes and never gives, and who refuses to give it ; thus the fame (of the taker) will spread and his merit increase.

16. Likewise he who has not eaten at (the time of) six meals, may take at (the time of) the seventh meal (food) from a man who neglects his sacred

12. Nâr. and Nand. think that 'the king' is the agent to be understood with the verb 'may be taken.' The latter relies on the parallel passage of the Mahâbhârata, where the last Pâda of the verse is *yagñârtham pâthivo haret*. 'The (minor) sacrifices,' i.e. 'the Pâkayagñas and so forth' (Kull.), or 'the five great sacrifices' (Nâr.).

14. Gov. thinks that this verse refers to a Kshatriya alone, while Medh., Kull., Râgh. refer it to Brâhmaṇas also.

15. Gov., Kull., and Râgh. explain âdânanitya, 'one who always takes,' by 'a Brâhmaṇa who always accepts presents,' while Medh. and Nâr. refer the word to men of all castes who constantly amass wealth.

16-23. Gaut. XVIII, 28-32 ; Yâgñ. III, 43-44.

16. 'At the seventh meal-time,' i.e. 'on the fourth day of his starving.'

duties, without (however) making a provision for the morrow,

17. Either from the threshing-floor, or from a field, or out of the house, or wherever he finds it; but if (the owner) asks him, he must confess to him that (deed and its cause).

18. (On such occasions) a Kshatriya must never take the property of a (virtuous) Brâhmaṇa; but he who is starving may appropriate the possessions of a Dasyu, or of one who neglects his sacred duties.

19. He who takes property from the wicked and bestows it on the virtuous, transforms himself into a boat, and carries both (over the sea of misfortune).

20. The property of those who zealously offer sacrifices, the wise call the property of the gods; but the wealth of those who perform no sacrifices is called the property of the Âsuras.

21. On him (who, for the reasons stated, appropriates another's possessions), a righteous king shall not inflict punishment; for (in that case) a Brâhmaṇa pines with hunger through the Kshatriya's want of care.

22. Having ascertained the number of those dependent on such a man, and having fully considered his learning and his conduct, the king shall allow him, out of his own property, a maintenance whereon he may live according to the law;

23. And after allotting to him a maintenance, the

18. 'A Dasyu,' see above, X, 45. According to Nâr., this verse too refers to the king.

19. 'Both,' i. e. 'him from whom he takes it by saving him from sin (or, from the trouble of protecting his property, Gov.), and the recipient' (Kull., Gov.). Nand. omits verses 19-21.

21-22. See above, VII, 134-135.

23. See above, VIII, 304.

king must protect him in every way; for he obtains from such (a man) whom he protects, the sixth part of his spiritual merit.

24. A Brâhmana shall never beg from a Sûdra property for a sacrifice; for a sacrificer, having begged (it from such a man), after death is born (again) as a *Kandâla*.

25. A Brâhmana who, having begged any property for a sacrifice, does not use the whole (for that purpose), becomes for a hundred years a (vulture of the kind called) *Bhâsa*, or a crow.

26. That sinful man, who, through covetousness, seizes the property of the gods, or the property of Brâhmanas, feeds in another world on the leavings of vultures.

27. In case the prescribed animal and Soma-sacrifices cannot be performed, let him always offer at the change of the year a *Vairvânart Ishî* as a penance (for the omission).

28. But a twice-born, who, without being in distress, performs his duties according to the law for times of distress, obtains no reward for them in the next world; that is the opinion (of the sages).

29. By the *Visve-devas*, by the *Sâdhya*s, and by the great sages (of the) Brâhmana (caste), who were afraid of perishing in times of distress, a substitute was made for the (principal) rule.

24. Vi. LIX, 11; Yâgñ. I, 127.

25. Yâgñ. I, 127. Medh., Gov., and Nâr. say, 'A Brâhmana who . . . does not give the whole of it (to Brâhmanas).'

26. Pare loka, 'in another world,' means according to Gov. and Kull., 'in his next birth.'

27. Vi. LIX, 10; Yâgñ. I, 126. The *Vairvânart Ishî* is according to Medh., a rite described in the *Grîhya-sûtras*. Regarding the prescribed *Srauta* sacrifices, see above, IV, 25-26.

30. That evil-minded man, who, being able (to fulfil) the original law, lives according to the secondary rule, reaps no reward for that after death.

31. A Brâhmana who knows the law need not bring any (offence) to the notice of the king ; by his own power alone he can punish those men who injure him.

32. His own power is greater than the power of the king ; the Brâhmana, therefore, may punish his foes by his own power alone.

33. Let him use without hesitation the sacred texts, revealed by Atharvan and by Aṅgiras ; speech, indeed, is the weapon of the Brâhmana, with that he may slay his enemies.

34. A Kshatriya shall pass through misfortunes which have befallen him by the strength of his arms, a Vaisya and a Sûdra by their wealth, the chief of the twice-born by muttered prayers and burnt-oblations.

35. The Brâhmana is declared (to be) the creator (of the world), the punisher, the teacher, (and hence) a benefactor (of all created beings) ; to him let no man say anything unpropitious, nor use any harsh words.

31. This and the following verses rescind the rules given above, IX, 290.

32. See above, IX, 313-321.

33. 'The sacred texts, revealed by Atharvan and Aṅgiras,' i. e. the charms and incantations contained in the Atharva-veda. Nâr. reads *abhiârayan*, 'using magic,' instead of *aviârayan* (Medh., Gov., Kull., K.). Nand. reads, *srutir atharvâṅgirasîh kuryâd ity abhiâritam*.

34. Vas. XXVI, 16.

35. I read with Medh., Gov., Nâr., Râgh., Nand., and K., *maitro* for *maitrî*, and *suktâm* for *sushkâm* (editions). The commentators differ

36. Neither a girl, nor a (married) young woman, nor a man of little learning, nor a fool, nor a man in great suffering, nor one uninitiated, shall offer an Agnihotra.

37. For such (persons) offering a burnt-oblation sink into hell, as well as he to whom that (Agnihotra) belongs; hence the person who sacrifices (for another) must be skilled in (the performance of) Vaitâna (rites), and know the whole Veda.

much with respect to the explanation of the first line. Vidhâtâ, 'the creator (of the world,' Medh., Nâr.), means according to Gov. and Kull. 'the performer of the prescribed rites;' according to Râgh. 'able to do, to undo, and to change;' according to Nand. 'the performer of magic rites and so forth.' Sâsitâ, 'the punisher' (Medh. Kull., Râgh.), i. e. 'of others, of the king' (Medh.), or 'of his sons, pupils, and so forth' (Kull.), is interpreted by Nâr. to mean 'the instructor in the sacred law,' by Nand. 'the instigator (of incantations).' Vaktâ, 'the teacher' (Gov., Nâr.), means according to Medh. 'the giver of good advice,' according to Kull. and Râgh. 'the expounder of the sacred law.' The explanations of Gov. and Kull. allow also the translation adopted by Sir W. Jones, 'He who performs his duties . . . is truly called a Brâhmaṇa.' As regards the second line Medh. offers two explanations. First he interprets it 'to him, i. e. when he uses magic, let no man say anything unpropitious, i. e. he must not punish him, nor use any harsh words, i. e. admonish or sharply reprimand him.' Gov. and Kull. agree with this explanation, but omit the specification 'when he uses magic.' According to Medh.'s second rendering the line contains an advice, addressed to men of all castes, not to anger or disquiet a Brâhmaṇa; and this view is adopted by Râgh. and Nand., who explain akusalam, 'unpropitious,' by anishṭam, 'anything disagreeable.' Nâr.'s readings seem to have differed. He has kuryât instead of brūyât, and explains the first phrase, 'to him let no man do anything unpropitious,' i. e. anything unbecoming, such as a bodily injury. In the second clause he reads suktam (suktam, MS.), which he explains by paryushitam, 'stale,' but he does not give the remainder of his text.

36-37. Âp. II, 15, 18-19; Gaut. II, 4; Vas. II, 6: see also above, II, 172; V, 155; IX, 18. The Vaitâna rites are those performed in the vitâna, the three sacred fires. Hence it follows that the Agnihotra meant here is the Srauta Agnihotra.

38. A Brâhmaṇa who, though wealthy, does not give, as fee for the performance of an Agnyâdheya, a horse sacred to Pragâpati, becomes (equal to one) who has not kindled the sacred fires.

39. Let him who has faith and controls his senses perform other meritorious acts, but let him on no account offer sacrifices at which he gives smaller fees (than those prescribed).

40. The organs (of sense and action), honour, (bliss in) heaven, longevity, fame, offspring, and cattle are destroyed by a sacrifice at which (too) small sacrificial fees are given; hence a man of small means should not offer a (Srauta) sacrifice.

41. A Brâhmaṇa who, being an Agnihotrin, voluntarily neglects the sacred fires, shall perform a lunar penance during one month; for that (offence) is equal to the slaughter of a son.

42. Those who, obtaining wealth from Sûdras, (and using that) offer an Agnihotra, are priests officiating for Sûdras, (and hence) censured among those who recite the Veda.

38. The translation of prâgâpatya, 'sacred to Pragâpati,' follows Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. Medh. says that the epithet may be used merely by way of laudation, or may mean that the animal is to be neither very good nor very bad, or that it may be derived from a phrase current among the people. Nand. explains it by 'to be given to the Brahman priest.'

40. Gov. and Kull. explain, here and above, IV, 94, yasaḥ, 'honour,' by 'a good name during one's life,' and kîrtim, 'fame,' by 'fame after death.' Nâr. takes the former as 'being known to others for one's virtues,' and the latter as 'being praised by others.'

41. Gaut. XXII, 34; Vas. I, 18; XXI, 27; Vi. LIV, 13. Nand. explains vîra, 'son' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), by a Kshatriya, and Râgh. says that it may also mean 'a deity.'

42. See above, XI, 24.

43. Treading with his foot on the heads of those fools who worship a fire (kindled at the expense) of a Śûdra, the giver (of the wealth) shall always pass over his miseries (in the next world).

44. A man who omits a prescribed act, or performs a blamable act, or cleaves to sensual enjoyments, must perform a penance.

45. (All) sages prescribe a penance for a sin unintentionally committed; some declare, on the evidence of the revealed texts, (that it may be performed) even for an intentional (offence).

46. A sin unintentionally committed is expiated by the recitation of Vedic texts, but that which (men) in their folly commit intentionally, by various (special) penances.

47. A twice-born man, having become liable to perform a penance, be it by (the decree of) fate or by (an act) committed in a former life, must not, before the penance has been performed, have intercourse with virtuous men.

48. Some wicked men suffer a change of their

43. Nand. reads the first line differently, *pâpânâm satatam teshâm agnim sûdrasya guhvatâm*, but the general sense remains the same.

44-46. Gaut. XIX; Vas. XX, 1-3; XXII; Baudh. III, 10; Yâgyñ. III, 219, 226.

45. Vedic texts which prescribe penances for offences committed intentionally, are quoted Gaut. XIX, 7-10. The commentators adduce also Aitareya-brâhmana VII, 28.

47. Daivât, 'by (the decree of) fate,' i.e. 'through carelessness' (Medh., Nâr., Kull., Râgh.). Medh. mentions a var. lect. *mohât*, 'through delusion of mind.' 'By (an act) committed in a former life,' i.e. 'if he has black teeth or some other bodily defect from which his having committed a crime in a former birth may be inferred.'

48-54. Vas. I, 18; XX, 6; XXI, 43-44; Vi. XLV; Yâgyñ. III, 207-215.

(natural) appearance in consequence of crimes committed in this life, and some in consequence of those committed in a former (existence).

49. He who steals the gold (of a Brâhmaṇa) has diseased nails; a drinker of (the spirituous liquor called) Surâ, black teeth; the slayer of a Brâhmaṇa, consumption; the violator of a Guru's bed, a diseased skin;

50. An informer, a foul-smelling nose; a calumniator, a stinking breath; a stealer of grain, deficiency in limbs; he who adulterates (grain), redundant limbs;

51. A stealer of (cooked) food, dyspepsia; a stealer of the words (of the Veda), dumbness; a stealer of clothes, white leprosy; a horse-stealer, lameness.

52. The stealer of a lamp will become blind; he who extinguishes it will become one-eyed; injury (to sentient beings) is punished by general sickness; an adulterer (will have) swellings (in his limbs).

53. Thus in consequence of a remnant of (the guilt of former) crimes, are born idiots, dumb, blind, deaf, and deformed men, who are (all) despised by the virtuous.

54. Penances, therefore, must always be performed for the sake of purification, because those

51. 'A stealer of the words (of the Veda),' i. e. 'one who learns the Veda without permission, by hearing another man recite it' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), means according to Nâr. 'a plagiarist.'

52. Gov., Nâr., Nand., and K. omit this verse, and Râgh. says that it is found kvâpi, in some MSS.

53. I read with Nâr., Nand., and K., karmâvasesheṇa instead of karmavisesheṇa (editions). The explanations of Medh., Gov., and Kull. likewise point to the former reading.

whose sins have not been expiated, are born (again) with disgraceful marks.

55. Killing a Brâhmaṇa, drinking (the spirituous liquor called) Surâ, stealing (the gold of a Brâhmaṇa), adultery with a Guru's wife, and associating with such (offenders), they declare (to be) mortal sins (mahâpâtaka).

56. Falsely attributing to oneself high birth, giving information to the king (regarding a crime), and falsely accusing one's teacher, (are offences) equal to slaying a Brâhmaṇa.

57. Forgetting the Veda, reviling the Vedas, giving false evidence, slaying a friend, eating forbidden food, or (swallowing substances) unfit for food, are six (offences) equal to drinking Surâ.

58. Stealing a deposit, or men, a horse, and silver, land, diamonds and (other) gems, is declared to be equal to stealing the gold (of a Brâhmaṇa).

59. Carnal intercourse with sisters by the same mother, with (unmarried) maidens, with females of

55-71. Âp. I, 21, 7-19; Gaut. XXI, 1-12; Vas. I, 19-23; Baudh. II, 2, 1-8; 12-13; 15-16; Vi. XXXIV, 1; XXXV-XXXVIII, 6; XXXIX-XLII; Yâgñ. III, 227-242.

55. See above, IX, 235.

56. Guros kâlikanirbandhaḥ, 'falsely accusing one's teacher' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), may also mean according to Medh. 'wrongfully going to law with the teacher.' Nâr. and Nand. explain it by 'persevering in doing what is disagreeable to the teacher.'

57. Garhitânâdya, 'forbidden food and (substances) unfit for food' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. 'forbidden food and such which one has resolved not to eat;' according to Nâr. and Nand. 'food blemished by the contact with impure men or things, and such as is by its nature unfit for eating, e. g. garlic.'

59. The commentators point out that, though the crimes enumerated in verses 56-59 are stated to be equal to mortal sins, the penances are not always the same, but frequently less heavy.

the lowest castes, with the wives of a friend, or of a son, they declare to be equal to the violation of a Guru's bed.

60. Slaying kine, sacrificing for those who are unworthy to sacrifice, adultery, selling oneself, casting off one's teacher, mother, father, or son, giving up the (daily) study of the Veda, and neglecting the (sacred domestic) fire,

61. Allowing one's younger brother to marry first, marrying before one's elder brother, giving a daughter to, or sacrificing for, (either brother),

62. Defiling a damsel, usury, breaking a vow, selling a tank, a garden, one's wife, or child,

63. Living as a Vrâtya, casting off a relative, teaching (the Veda) for wages, learning (the Veda) from a paid teacher, and selling goods which one ought not to sell,

64. Superintending mines (or factories) of any

60. 'Selling oneself,' i.e. 'for money into slavery' (Medh.), 'refers to Âryans only' (Nâr.). Medh. mentions another reading, *pârâdâryam avikrayaḥ*, 'adultery and the sale of forbidden merchandise.' Medh. and Nâr. say, 'forgetting the sacred texts required for the daily private recitation;' and Medh. adds that, as the same offence has been mentioned above, verse 57, 'forgetting the Veda,' may be either reckoned as equal to a Mahâ-pâtaka or as an Upapâtaka crime. Nâr. refers the term 'the fire' to the three sacred Srauta fires.

62. 'Breaking a vow,' i.e. 'any vow voluntarily undertaken' (Medh., Nâr.), means according to Gov., Kull., and Râgh. 'breaking the vow of studentship.'

63. 'Living as a Vrâtya,' see above, X, 20. 'Casting off a relative,' i.e. 'not supporting him in distress, though one possesses money enough to do so' (Medh.). Medh. takes *bândhava* in the sense of 'maternal relatives,' and understands that it includes the mother, sisters, maternal uncles, &c., while the other commentators take it in a wider sense.

64. *Mahâyantrapravartana*, 'executing great mechanical works,'

sort, executing great mechanical works, injuring (living) plants, subsisting on (the earnings of) one's wife, sorcery (by means of sacrifices), and working (magic by means of) roots, (and so forth),

65. Cutting down green trees for firewood, doing acts for one's own advantage only, eating prohibited food,

66. Neglecting to kindle the sacred fires, theft, non-payment of (the three) debts, studying bad books, and practising (the arts of) dancing and singing,

67. Stealing grain, base metals, or cattle, inter-

e. g. 'constructing dams across rivers in order to stop the water' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh., K.), means according to Nâr. 'making machines for killing great animals such as boars,' according to Nand. '(making) great machines such as sugar-mills.' Stryâgiva, 'subsisting on (the earnings of) one's wife, i. e. by making her go into service (Nâr., Nand.), or by forcing her to become a harlot' (Kull.), means according to Medh. 'subsisting on (the separate property of) one's wife,' according to Râgh. 'living on (the money obtained by selling one's wife.' Nand. reads *himśraushadhistry-upâgîvaḥ*, 'subsisting on (money earned by the sale of) noxious herbs or on (the earnings of) one's wife.'

65. 'Doing acts for one's own advantage only,' i. e. 'cooking only for oneself, and so forth' (Medh., Nâr., Kull., Nand., Râgh.); see above, III, 118. By *ninditâṇṇa*, 'forbidden food,' Medh. understands the same kinds, mentioned above, verse 57; Kull., 'forbidden food such as garlic,' Nâr., Râgh., and Nand., 'food given by persons from whom it must not be accepted, e. g. by a king, a gambler, &c.' Medh. and Kull. state expressly that, if such food be eaten once and unintentionally, the offence is an *Upapâtaka*, but in worse cases equal to a *Mahâpâtaka*.

66. 'Theft,' i. e. 'of valuable objects' (Kull.), 'excepting gold and the other articles specially mentioned' (Medh., Râgh.), e. g. 'of clothes' (Nâr.). Regarding the three debts, see Vas. XI, 45. 'Bad books,' i. e. 'those of the *Kârvâkas*, *Nirgranthas* (Gaiṇas,' Medh.), or 'of heretics in general' (Nâr.).

67. 'Cattle,' i. e. other than cows; see above, verse 60.

course with women who drink spirituous liquor, slaying women, Sûdras, Vaisyas, or Kshatriyas, and atheism, (are all) minor offences, causing loss of caste (Upapâtaka).

68. Giving pain to a Brâhmaṇa (by a blow), smelling at things which ought not to be smelt at, or at spirituous liquor, cheating, and an unnatural offence with a man, are declared to cause the loss of caste (Gâtibhramsa).

69. Killing a donkey, a horse, a camel, a deer, an elephant, a goat, a sheep, a fish, a snake, or a buffalo, must be known to degrade (the offender) to a mixed caste (Samkarikarāṇa).

70. Accepting presents from blamed men, trading, serving Sûdras, and speaking a falsehood, make (the offender) unworthy to receive gifts (Apâtra).

71. Killing insects, small or large, or birds, eating anything kept close to spirituous liquors, stealing fruit, firewood, or flowers, (are offences) which make impure (Malāvaha).

72. Learn (now) completely those penances, by means of which all the several offences mentioned (can) be expiated.

73. For his purification the slayer of a Brâhmaṇa shall make a hut in the forest and dwell (in it)

68. 'Things which ought not to be smelt at,' e. g. 'garlic, onions, ordure, &c.' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.).

70. 'Blamed men,' i. e. those from whom no gifts must be accepted; see above, IV, 84 seq.

73-87. Âp. I, 24, 10-25; 25, 11-12; 28, 21-29, 1; Gaut. XXII, 2-10; Vas. XX, 25-28; Baudh. II, 1, 2-6; Vi. XXV, 6; L, 1-6, 15; Yâgyñ. III, 243-250.

73. According to Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. this penance is to be performed in case the homicide was committed unintentionally.

during twelve years, subsisting on alms and making the skull of a dead man his flag ;

74. Or let him, of his own free will, become (in a battle) the target of archers who know (his purpose); or he may thrice throw himself headlong into a blazing fire ;

75. Or he may offer a horse-sacrifice, a Svargit, a Gosava, an Abhigit, a Visvagit, a Trivrit, or an Agnishut ;

76. Or, in order to remove (the guilt of) slaying a Brâhmana, he may walk one hundred yoganâs, reciting one of the Vedas, eating little, and controlling his organs ;

77. Or he may present to a Brâhmana, learned in

74. Vidushâm, 'who know (his purpose),' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), may also mean according to Medh. 'who are expert in archery,' and Nand. adopts this explanation. Nâr. thinks that this penance must be performed by one who intentionally murdered a Brâhmana, and that it must end in his death. According to the Bhavishyapurâna which Kull. and Râgh. quote, these two penances and that mentioned in the next verse are to be performed by a Kshatriya who slew a Brâhmana, those ending in death by an offender who himself, destitute of good qualities, killed a learned Srotiya, and the lighter ones by an eminent king who unintentionally caused the death of a worthless Brâhmana.

75. According to the Bhavishyapurâna, Nâr. and Kull., Svargit is the name of a sacrifice, but Medh. (on verse 78) and Râgh. take the word as an adjective qualifying Gosava. Regarding the Gosava, see Kâtyâyana Sr. Sûtras XXII, 11, 3 ; regarding the Abhigit, Âsv. Sr. Sûtras VIII, 5, 13. According to Gov. and Nâr., Trivrit is equivalent to Trivritstoma, and to be taken separately; but according to Medh. and Râgh., trivritâ qualifies Agnishut. Regarding the Agnishut, see Âsv. Sr. Sûtras IX, 7, 22-25.

76. According to Nâr., Kull., and Râgh. (the latter two quoting the Bhavishyapurâna as their authority), this penance suffices to expiate the unintentional slaughter of one who has nothing but the name of a Brâhmana.

77. I read with Medh., Gov., and K., dhanam hi instead of

the Vedas, his whole property, as much wealth as suffices for the maintenance (of the recipient), or a house together with the furniture;

78. Or, subsisting on sacrificial food, he may walk against the stream along (the whole course of the river) Sarasvati; or, restricting his food (very much), he may mutter thrice the *Samhitâ* of a Veda.

79. Having shaved off (all his hair), he may dwell at the extremity of the village, or in a cow-pen, or in a hermitage, or at the root of a tree, taking pleasure in doing good to cows and *Brâhmanas*.

dhanam vâ (Nâr., Nand., Râgh., editions), 'or as much wealth as.' Kull.'s explanation, too, points to the former reading, the meaning of which is that 'the whole property' must be sufficient to maintain the recipient. According to the *Bhaviṣyapurâṇa*, quoted by Kull. and Râgh., the penance is prescribed for the case that a rich, unlearned *Brâhmana* who keeps no sacred fire, unintentionally slew an utterly worthless *Brâhmana*.

78. According to the *Bhaviṣyapurâṇa*, quoted by Kull. and Râgh., the first penance is to be performed by an unlearned *Brâhmana* who intentionally killed an utterly worthless caste-fellow, the second by an exceedingly distinguished *Srotriya* who unintentionally caused the death of a man merely a *Brâhmana* in name. Medh. and Gov. attach their views regarding the particular cases to their explanations of this *Sûtra*. Gov. does not go beyond generalities. But Medh. says that the penance mentioned in verse 73 and the first described in verse 74 may be optionally performed for intentionally slaying an ordinary *Brâhmana*. If a *Srotriya* or one who is performing a *Srauta* sacrifice has been killed, the offender is to burn himself. The sacrifices will atone for the guilt of a homicide committed unintentionally, by a most distinguished member of the *Âryan* castes, provided that the person slain was a *Brâhmana* in name only.

79. Medh., Kull., and Gov. think that the rule allows an option with respect to the residence during the penance of twelve years (verse 73). Nâr. says that the verse contains a general rule for all penances.

80. He who unhesitatingly abandons life for the sake of Brāhmaṇas or of cows, is freed from (the guilt of) the murder of a Brāhmaṇa, and (so is he) who saves (the life of) a cow, or of a Brāhmaṇa.

81. If either he fights at least three times (against robbers in defence of) a Brāhmaṇa's (property), or reconquers the whole property of a Brāhmaṇa, or if he loses his life for such a cause, he is freed (from his guilt).

82. He who thus (remains) always firm in his vow, chaste, and of concentrated mind, removes after the lapse of twelve years (the guilt of) slaying a Brāhmaṇa.

83. Or he who, after confessing his crime in an assembly of the gods of the earth (Brāhmaṇas), and the gods of men (Kshatriyas), bathes (with the priests) at the close of a horse-sacrifice, is (also) freed (from guilt).

84. The Brāhmaṇa is declared (to be) the root of the sacred law and the Kshatriya its top; hence he who has confessed his sin before an assembly of such men, becomes pure.

85. By his origin alone a Brāhmaṇa is a deity even for the gods, and (his teaching is) authoritative for men, because the Veda is the foundation for that.

80. This holds good also before the twelve years' penance is finished (Gov., Kull., Nār.).

83. Gov. holds that this penance is efficacious only if the offender is engaged in the performance of the twelve years' penance. Kull. and Rāgh. think that it is a separate penance, because the subject of the twelve years' penance has been finished in the preceding verse, and because the Bhavishyapurāṇa specially prescribes it for an eminent Brāhmaṇa who unintentionally causes the death of a worthless caste-fellow. Medh. mentions both opinions, and states that he believes the penance to be efficacious in any case.

86. (If) only three of them who are learned in the Veda proclaim the expiation for offences, that shall purify the (sinners); for the words of learned men are a means of purification.

87. A Brâhmana who, with a concentrated mind, follows any of the (above-mentioned) rules, removes the sin committed by slaying a Brâhmana through his self-control.

88. For destroying the embryo (of a Brâhmana, the sex of which was) unknown, for slaying a Kshatriya or a Vaisya who are (engaged in or) have offered a (Vedic) sacrifice, or a (Brâhmana) woman who has bathed after temporary uncleanness (Âtreyî), he must perform the same penance,

89. Likewise for giving false evidence (in an important cause), for passionately abusing the teacher, for stealing a deposit, and for killing (his) wife or his friend.

90. This expiation has been prescribed for unin-

88-89. Âp. I, 24, 6-9, 23; Gaut. XXII, 11-14; Vas. XX, 34-36; Baudh. II, 1, 12; Vi. L, 7-10; LII, 4; Yâgñ. III, 251.

88. Medh. and several other commentators propose, in explanation of the term Âtreyî, besides the interpretation given above, also the erroneous one, 'a female of the tribe of Atri.'

89. 'Giving false evidence,' i.e. 'in a case where the life of the accused is involved' (Medh., Gov., Nâr.), or 'where gold, land and the like is at stake' (Kull., Râgh.). 'Abusing the teacher,' see above, verse 56. 'Stealing a deposit,' i.e. 'gold belonging to a Kshatriya or Vaisya, or silver and other property belonging to a Brâhmana' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), or property belonging to a poor Brâhmana (Medh.). Strî, 'his wife' (Nâr., Nand.), means according to Gov., Kull., and Râgh. 'the virtuous wife of a distinguished Brâhmana who keeps sacred fires.' Medh. (on verse 88) seems to agree to a similar explanation. 'His friend,' i.e. 'though he may not be a Brâhmana' (Nâr.).

90. The verse is identical with Baudh. II, 1, 6. The correct

tentionally killing a Brâhmana ; but for intentionally slaying a Brâhmana no atonement is ordained.

91. A twice-born man who has (intentionally) drunk, through delusion of mind, (the spirituous liquor called) Surâ shall drink that liquor boiling-hot; when his body has been completely scalded by that, he is freed from his guilt;

92. Or he may drink cow's urine, water, milk, clarified butter or (liquid) cowdung boiling-hot, until he dies;

93. Or, in order to remove (the guilt of) drinking Surâ, he may eat during a year once (a day) at night grains (of rice) or oilcake, wearing clothes made of cowhair and his own hair in braids and carrying (a wine cup as) a flag.

interpretation of this verse is that Manu, just as Âp. I, 24, 24, held the intentional murder of a true Brâhmana to be inexpiable during the criminal's life, and meant to teach that the murderer had either to perform a penance which caused his death or to live according to the twelve years' rule during the term of his natural life. This is the doctrine attributed to Manu by Gaut. XXI, 7. While Gov. and Nâr. agree with this explanation, Medh., 'others' quoted by Gov., Kull., Nand., and Râgh. refer *iyam*, 'this,' to verse 73, and hold that in the case of wilful murder the penance has only to be made severer by doubling or trebling the term of twelve years.

91-98. Âp. I, 25, 3, 10; 27, 10; Gaut. XXIII, 10-12; Vas. XX, 19, 22; Baudh. II, 1, 18-22; Vi. LI, 1-4; Yâgyñ. III, 253-254.

91. This and the next penances are prescribed for an intentional offence; see below, verse 147. According to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh. (the latter two quoting the Bhavishyapurâna), the spirituous liquor here intended is the paishîkî surâ, that distilled from ground rice. According to Nâr. the penance ending in death must be performed by all Âryans who have drunk paishîkî surâ, and by Brâhmanas who have drunk any of the three kinds of surâ mentioned in verse 95. Nand. reads *amohât*, and explains it by *matipûrvakam*, 'intentionally.'

93. According to Gov., Kull., Nand., and Râgh., this penance is prescribed for drinking unintentionally paishîkî surâ; according

94. Surâ, indeed, is the dirty refuse (mala) of grain, sin also is called dirt (mala); hence a Brâhmana, a Kshatriya, and a Vaisya shall not drink Surâ.

95. Surâ one must know to be of three kinds, that distilled from molasses (gaudî), that distilled from ground rice, and that distilled from Madhûka-flowers (mâdhvî); as the one (named above) even so are all (three sorts) forbidden to the chief of the twice-born.

96. Surâ, (all other) intoxicating drinks and decoctions and flesh are the food of the Yakshas, Râkshasas, and Pisâkas; a Brâhmana who eats (the remnants of) the offerings consecrated to the gods, must not partake of such (substances).

97. A Brâhmana, stupefied by drunkenness, might fall on something impure, or (improperly) pronounce Vedic (texts), or commit some other act which ought not to be committed.

98. When the Brahman (the Veda) which dwells in his body is (even) once (only) deluged with spirituous liquor, his Brahmanhood forsakes him and he becomes a Sûdra.

to 'others' quoted by Medh. and Râgh., for drinking gaudî or mâdhvî surâ; according to Nâr., for intentionally drinking water mixed with madhusurâ. Medh. himself says idam prânâtyaya aushadhârtham, 'this (is intended) as a medicine for death.'

94. This verse shows, as the commentators point out, the distinction between spirituous liquor distilled from ground grain, paishâkî surâ, and the other two sorts mentioned in the next verse. The first alone is forbidden to all Âryans, the other two sorts to Brâhmanas; see also Gaut. II, 20.

95. Mâdhvî, 'distilled from Madhûka (Mauâ) flowers' (Kull.), means according to Medh. 'distilled from honey,' according to Nâr. 'distilled either from grapes or from Madhûka flowers or from honey.'

99. The various expiations for drinking (the spirituous liquors called) Surâ have thus been explained; I will next proclaim the atonement for stealing the gold (of a Brâhmaṇa).

100. A Brâhmaṇa who has stolen the gold (of a Brâhmaṇa) shall go to the king and, confessing his deed, say, 'Lord, punish me!'

101. Taking (from him) the club (which he must carry), the king himself shall strike him once, by his death the thief becomes pure; or a Brâhmaṇa (may purify himself) by austerities.

102. He who desires to remove by austerities the guilt of stealing the gold (of a Brâhmaṇa), shall perform the penance (prescribed) for the slayer of a Brâhmaṇa, (living) in a forest and dressed in (garments made of) bark.

103. By these penances a twice-born man may remove the guilt incurred by a theft (of gold); but he may atone for connexion with a Guru's wife by the following penances.

104. He who has violated his Guru's bed, shall,

100-101. See above, VIII, 314-316.

101. At the end of the verse Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand., and K. read *vâ* instead of *tu* (Medh.(?) editions), which is variously explained. According to Nâr. and Nand., it means 'but.' Kull. thinks that it indicates that, while a Brâhmaṇa must never be slain by the king, other Âryans also may perform austerities. According to Râgh., it refers to the optional recitation of the Gâyatrî, repeated 700,000 times; according to Nâr., to other penances, even such as end in death. But Gov. is probably right in assuming that 'the austerities' meant are those prescribed in the next verse.

102. Âp. I, 25, 10; Yâgñ. III, 258; Vi. LII, 3. According to Nâr., this verse refers to an 'unintentional' offence; according to Kull. and Râgh., to the theft of a small sum.

104-107. Âp. I, 25, 1-2, 10; 28, 15-18; Gaut. XXIII, 8-12;

after confessing his crime, extend himself on a heated iron bed, or embrace the red-hot image (of a woman); by dying he becomes pure;

105. Or, having himself cut off his organ and his testicles and having taken them in his joined hands, he may walk straight towards the region of Nirriti (the south-west), until he falls down (dead);

106. Or, carrying the foot of a bedstead, dressed in (garments of) bark and allowing his beard to grow, he may, with a concentrated mind, perform during a whole year the *Krikkhra* (or hard, penance), revealed by Pragâpati, in a lonely forest;

107. Or, controlling his organs, he may during three months continuously perform the lunar penance, (subsisting) on sacrificial food or barley-gruel, in order to remove (the guilt of) violating a Guru's bed.

108. By means of these penances men who have committed mortal sins (Mahâpâtaka) may remove their guilt, but those who committed minor offences, causing loss of caste, (Upapâtaka, can do it) by the various following penances.

Vas. XX, 13-14; Baudh. II, 1, 13-15; Vi. XXXIV, 2; LIII, 1; Yâgñ. III, 259-260.

104. According to Medh., the term 'Guru' denotes here 'the teacher or the father;' according to Kull., Nâr., and Râgh., 'the father;' and Nâr. particularly excludes an offence with a step-mother.

106. According to Medh., Kull., Râgh., this penance expiates incest committed by mistake; according to Nâr., the rule applies to the case when the offence was committed with a stepmother. Regarding the *Krikkhra* penance, see below, verse 212.

107. According to Medh. and Râgh., the rule refers to an offence committed with the wife of a paternal or of a maternal uncle, or of other minor Gurus; according to Kull., to an offence with an unfaithful or low-caste wife of a Guru. Regarding the lunar penance or *Kândrâyana*, see below, verse 217.

108. Nâr. takes mahâpâtakinaḥ, 'those who committed mortal

109. He who has committed a minor offence by slaying a cow (or bull) shall drink during (the first) month (a decoction of) barley-grains; having shaved all his hair, and covering himself with the hide (of the slain cow), he must live in a cow-house.

110. During the two (following) months he shall eat a small (quantity of food) without any factitious salt at every fourth meal-time, and shall bathe in the urine of cows, keeping his organs under control.

111. During the day he shall follow the cows and, standing upright, inhale the dust (raised by their hoofs); at night, after serving and worshipping them, he shall remain in the (posture, called) *vīrāsana*.

112. Controlling himself and free from anger, he must stand when they stand, follow them when they walk, and seat himself when they lie down.

113. (When a cow is) sick, or is threatened by danger from thieves, tigers, and the like, or falls, or sticks in a morass, he must relieve her by all possible means:

114. In heat, in rain, or in cold, or when the wind blows violently, he must not seek to shelter himself, without (first) sheltering the cows according to his ability.

115. Let him not say (a word), if a cow eats (anything) in his own or another's house or field or on the threshing-floor, or if a calf drinks (milk).

116. The slayer of a cow who serves cows in this

sins, in the sense of 'those equal to mortal sinners,' i.e. those offenders who have been enumerated above, verse 56 seq.

109-117. *Āp.* I, 26, 1; *Gaut.* XXII, 18; *Vi.* L, 16-24; *Yāgy.* III, 263-264.

111. 'In the (posture, called) *vīrāsana*,' i.e. 'seated without leaning against a wall or the like' (*Kull.*, *Nand.*).

manner, removes after three months the guilt which he incurred by killing a cow.

117. But after he has fully performed the penance, he must give to (Brâhmaṇas) learned in the Veda ten cows and a bull, (or) if he does not possess (so much property) he must offer to them all he has.

118. Twice-born men who have committed (other) minor offences (Upapâtaka), except a student who has broken his vow (Avakīrṇin), may perform, in order to purify themselves, the same penance or also a lunar penance.

119. But a student who has broken his vow shall offer at night on a crossway to Nirṛiti a one-eyed ass, according to the rule of the Pākayagñas.

120. Having offered according to the rule oblations in the fire, he shall finally offer (four) oblations of clarified butter to Vâta, to Indra, to the teacher (of the gods, Bṛihaspati) and to Agni, reciting the *Rik* verse 'May the Maruts grant me,' &c.

121. Those who know the Veda declare that a voluntary effusion of semen by a twice-born (youth) who fulfils the vow (of studentship constitutes) a breach of that vow.

122. The divine light which the Veda imparts to

117. *Yâgñ.* III, 265.

118-124. *Âp.* I, 26, 8; *Gaut.* XXV, 1-4; *Vas.* XXIII, 1-4; *Baudh.* II, 1, 30-35; *Vi.* XXVIII, 49-50; *Yâgñ.* III, 280.

118. According to Nâr. and Nand., the lunar penance is to be performed if the offence was committed unintentionally.

119. 'According to the rule of the Pākayagñas,' i. e. 'according to the *Parukalpa*, found in *Âsvalâyana's* and other *Grihya Sûtras*,' *Âsv. Gri. Sûtras* I, 11 (Nâr.).

120. The verse is found *Taittirîya Âraṇyaka* II, 18, 4.

122. I read with Medh., Gov., and K., *marutaḥ*, instead of *mârutam* (Nand., editions).

the student, enters, if he breaks his vow, the Maruts, Puruhûta (Indra), the teacher (of the gods, *Brîhaspati*) and *Pāvaka* (Fire).

123. When this sin has been committed, he shall go begging to seven houses, dressed in the hide of the (sacrificed) ass, proclaiming his deed.

124. Subsisting on a single (daily meal that consists) of the alms obtained there and bathing at (the time of) the three savanas (morning, noon, and evening), he becomes pure after (the lapse of) one year.

125. For committing with intent any of the deeds which cause loss of caste (*Gâtibhramsakara*), (the offender) shall perform a *Sântapana Krikkhra*; (for doing it) unintentionally, (the *Krikkhra*) revealed by *Pragâpati*.

126. As atonement for deeds which degrade to a mixed caste (*Samkara*), and for those which make a man unworthy to receive gifts (*Apâtra*), (he shall perform) the lunar (penance) during a month; for (acts) which render impure (*Malintkarantya*) he shall scald himself during three days with (hot) barley-gruel.

127. One-fourth (of the penance) for the murder of a *Brâhmana* is prescribed (as expiation) for (intentionally) killing a *Kshatriya*, one-eighth for

125. Regarding the offences called *Gâtibhramsakara*, see above, verse 68. The *Sântapana Krikkhra* is described below, verse 213.

126. Regarding the three classes of offences, see above, 69-71. The penance of subsisting on barley-gruel is described Vi. XLVIII; Baudh. III, 6.

127-131. Âp. I, 24, 1-4; Gaut. XXII, 14-16; Vas. XX, 31-33; Baudh. I, 19, 1-2; II, 8-10; Vi. L, 12-14; *Yâgñ.* III, 266-267.

127. The word 'virtuous' is, according to the commentators, to be understood with 'a *Kshatriya*' and 'a *Vaisya*,' and the rule

killing a Vaisya; know that it is one-sixteenth for killing a virtuous Sûdra.

128. But if a Brâhmana unintentionally kills a Kshatriya, he shall give, in order to purify himself, one thousand cows and a bull;

129. Or he may perform the penance prescribed for the murderer of a Brâhmana during three years, controlling himself, wearing his hair in braids, staying far away from the village, and dwelling at the root of a tree.

130. A Brâhmana who has slain a virtuous Vaisya, shall perform the same penance during one year, or he may give one hundred cows and one (bull).

(verse 66), according to which the murder of a Sûdra, a Vaisya, and a Kshatriya is an Upapâtaka, to be expiated by a three months' Govrata or a lunar penance, refers to the cases of persons who do not live in accordance with the sacred law.

128. I read with Medh., Gov., Kull. (commentary), Nand., K., *suddhyartham âtmanaḥ*, instead of *suḥaritavrataḥ* (editions), which latter reading is evidently wrong.

129. According to Medh. and Râgh., this verse is merely a repetition of the rule given in verse 127. But others, mentioned by him, Gov., Kull., and Nâr., think that the special observances prescribed during the twelve years' penance, e. g. carrying a skull instead of a flag, which this verse does not expressly mention, need not be kept. Nand. reads *dvyabdam*, 'two years,' instead of *tryabdam*.

130. I read with Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand., and K. *dadyâd vaikasatam*, instead of *dadyâḥkaikasatam* (Medh., editions, and probably mentioned by Nâr.). According to Gov. and Kull. the two penances are to be performed optionally, in case a virtuous Vaisya has been killed unintentionally. Râgh. seems to hold the same opinion. But Medh. says that the first penance is to be performed for the murder of a Vaisya who was less distinguished than the one referred to in verse 127. Nâr. finally thinks that the verse refers to a Vaisya engaged in the performance of a sacrifice, and that the

131. He who has slain a *Sûdra*, shall perform that whole penance during six months, or he may also give ten white cows and one bull to a *Brâhmaṇa*.

132. Having killed a cat, an ichneumon, a blue jay, a frog, a dog, an iguana, an owl, or a crow, he shall perform the penance for the murder of a *Sûdra*;

133. Or he may drink milk during three days, or walk one hundred *yogas*, or bathe in a river, or mutter the hymn addressed to the Waters.

134. For killing a snake, a *Brâhmaṇa* shall give a spade of black iron, for a eunuch a load of straw and a *mâsha* of lead;

particle *vâ*, 'or,' takes the place of the copula, and thus one penance only is prescribed.

131. Gov. and Kull. hold that these penances, too, are to be performed in the case of an unintentional homicide. Medh. explains *sitâh*, 'white,' to mean 'not white in colour, but (called so) because they resemble in purity (white substances), and give much milk and are accompanied by their calves.'

132. Âp. I, 25, 13; Gaut. XXII, 19; Vas. XXI, 24; Vi. L, 30-32; *Yâgñ.* III, 270. Gov., Kull., Nand. expressly state that the penance for the murder of a *Sûdra* is to be performed for intentionally (thus also *Nâr.*) killing any single one of these animals, while Medh. thinks that the rule holds good only if one has killed all of them. The penance intended is, according to Gov., Kull., *Nâr.*, and *Râgh.*, not that mentioned in the preceding verse, but the lunar penance (Gov., Kull., *Râgh.*), or the *Govrata* (Gov., Kull.), or the *Tapta Krikhṛa* (*Nâr.*).

133. According to Gov., Kull., *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*, these penances are to be performed if the animal has been killed unintentionally; according to Medh. they serve to expiate the slaughter of a single animal. The choice among the four penances depends according to Kull. and *Râgh.* on the strength of the offender, according to Gov. and *Nâr.* on his caste and other circumstances. 'A *yogana*,' i. e. $2\frac{1}{2}$ -9 miles. The hymn mentioned is found *Rig-veda* X, 9.

134. Gaut. XXII, 23, 25; Vi. L, 34-35; *Yâgñ.* III, 273. 'A *Brâhmaṇa*,' i. e. 'even a *Brâhmaṇa*' (*Nâr.*). The recipient of the gift is in every case a *Brâhmaṇa*.

135. For a boar a pot of clarified butter, for a partridge a *drona* of sesamum-grains, for a parrot a calf two years old, for a crane (a calf) three years old.

136. If he has killed a *Hamsa*, a *Balâka*, a heron, a peacock, a monkey, a falcon, or a *Bhâsa*, he shall give a cow to a *Brâhmana*.

137. For killing a horse, he shall give a garment, for (killing) an elephant, five black bulls, for (killing) a goat, or a sheep, a draught-ox, for killing a donkey, (a calf) one year old;

138. But for killing carnivorous wild beasts, he shall give a milch-cow, for (killing) wild beasts that are not carnivorous, a heifer, for killing a camel, one *krishnala*.

139. For killing adulterous women of the four castes, he must give, in order to purify himself, respectively a leathern bag, a bow, a goat, or a sheep.

140. A twice-born man, who is unable to atone by gifts for the slaughter of a serpent and the other (creatures mentioned), shall perform for each of them, a *Krikkhra* (penance) in order to remove his guilt.

141. But for destroying one thousand (small)

135. Gaut. XXII, 24; Vi. L, 36-39; *Yâgñ.* III, 271, 273-274. *Kumbha*, 'a pot,' i. e. 'of 200 palas' (Nâr.). A *drona*, i. e. four *âdhakas* (Medh.), or 128 palas (Nâr.).

136. Vi. L, 33; *Yâgñ.* III, 272.

137. Vi. L, 25-28; *Yâgñ.* III, 271, 274.

138. Vi. L, 29, 40-41; *Yâgñ.* III, 272-273. 'A *krishnala*,' i. e. 'of gold' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Nand., Râgh.).

139. Gaut. XXII, 26; *Yâgñ.* III, 268. 'Respectively,' i. e. according to the order of the castes. Râgh. adds 'unintentionally.'

140. *Yâgñ.* III, 274; Vas. XXI, 26.

141. Gaut. XXII, 20-21; Âp. I, 26, 2; Vas. XXI, 25; Vi. L, 46;

animals that have bones, or a whole cart-load of boneless (animals), he shall perform the penance (prescribed) for the murder of a *Sûdra*.

142. But for killing (small) animals which have bones, he should give some trifle to a *Brâhmaṇa*; if he injures boneless (animals), he becomes pure by suppressing his breath (*prāṇâyāma*).

143. For cutting fruit-trees, shrubs, creepers, lianas, or flowering plants, one hundred *Rikas* must be muttered.

144. (For destroying) any kind of creature, bred in food, in condiments, in fruit, or in flowers, the expiation is to eat clarified butter.

145. If a man destroys for no good purpose plants produced by cultivation, or such as spontaneously spring up in the forest, he shall attend a cow during one day, subsisting on milk alone.

146. The guilt incurred intentionally or unintentionally by injuring (created beings) can be removed by means of these penances; hear (now, how) all

Yâgñ. III, 269. '(Small) animals that have bones,' i. e. 'lizards and the like' (Gov., Kull., *Nâr.*).

142. Vi. L, 47; *Yâgñ.* III, 275; Gaut. XXII, 22. The rule refers in each case to the destruction of a single animal (Medh., Gov., Kull., *Râgh.*), or of a number less than that mentioned in the preceding verse (*Nâr.*). 'Something,' i. e. one *para* (*Nâr.*) or 'eight handfuls of grain' (*Nand.*).

143. Vi. L, 48; *Yâgñ.* III, 276. According to Kull. this penance must be performed for an offence committed once and unintentionally, because 'the cutting of green trees' has been declared above, verse 65, to be an *Upapâtaka* for which at least a lunar penance has to be performed. 'One hundred *Rikas*,' 'the *Gâyatrî* and the like' (Kull.), or 'the *Gâyatrî* one hundred times' (*Nâr.*).

144. Vi. L, 49; *Yâgñ.* III, 275. *Rasa*, 'condiments,' i. e. 'molasses, butter-milk and the like' (Medh., Gov., Kull.).

145. Vi. L, 50; *Yâgñ.* III, 144.

(sins) committed by partaking of forbidden food (or drink, can be expiated).

147. He who drinks unintentionally (the spirituous liquor, called) *Vāruṇī*, becomes pure by being initiated (again); (even for drinking it) intentionally (a penance) destructive to life must not be imposed; that is a settled rule.

148. He who has drunk water which has stood in a vessel used for keeping (the spirituous liquor, called) *Surâ*, or other intoxicating drinks, shall drink during five (days and) nights (nothing but) milk in which the *Saṅkha* (plant) has been boiled.

147. Âp. I, 25, 10; Gaut. XXIII, 2; Vas. XX, 19; Baudh. II, 1, 19; Vi. LI, 1, 4; Yâgy. III, 255. 'Vāruṇī,' i. e. 'liquor distilled from molasses or *Mauâ* flowers (*gaudī mādhvī ka*), not that distilled from ground grain, because another penance has been prescribed above, verse 93' (Medh., Gov.). The other commentators agree with this explanation, as well as with the additional rule that a *Tapta Krikkhṛa* must be performed before the second initiation. Râgh. and Kull. quote also the *Bhaviṣyapurâṇa*, which gives the same interpretation. The explanation of the second part of the verse is everywhere that which the translation follows except in Medh.'s and Nand.'s commentaries, where it is rendered '(for drinking even these two kinds of *Surâ*) intentionally (this penance) must not be prescribed, (but) one whereby death ensues.' In my opinion the commentators are totally wrong. I think that *Vāruṇī* means here, as elsewhere, *Surâ*, and that the first half of the verse prescribes the performance of a second initiation after the penance, mentioned in verse 93, has been performed, while the second line teaches that the intentional drinking of *Surâ* can be expiated by death alone. I would therefore propose, 'If a man unintentionally drinks *Surâ*, he becomes pure only by being initiated again; but (the guilt of him who drinks it) intentionally, cannot be expiated, it remains as long as he lives, that is a settled rule.' The correctness of my interpretation of the words *anirdesyam prâṇāntikam* follows from Gaut. XXI, 7.

148. Vas. XX, 21; Vi. LI, 23-24; Baudh. II, 1, 22.

149. He who has touched spirituous liquor, has given it away, or received it in accordance with the rule, or has drunk water left by a *Sûdra*, shall drink during three days water in which *Kusa*-grass has been boiled.

150. But when a *Brâhmaṇa* who has partaken of *Soma*-juice, has smelt the odour exhaled by a drinker of *Surâ*, he becomes pure by thrice suppressing his breath in water, and eating clarified butter.

151. (Men of) the three twice-born castes who have unintentionally swallowed ordure or urine, or anything that has touched *Surâ*, must be initiated again.

152. The tonsure, (wearing) the sacred girdle, (carrying) a staff, going to beg, and the vows (incumbent on a student), are omitted on the second initiation of twice-born men.

153. But he who has eaten the food of men, whose food must not be eaten, or the leavings of women and *Sûdras*, or forbidden flesh, shall drink barley(-gruel) during seven (days and) nights.

149. 'According to the rule,' i. e. 'pronouncing a benediction (on the giver),' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*), or 'at a *Sautrâmanî* sacrifice' (*Nand.*).

150. *Gaut.* XXIII, 6; *Vi.* LI, 25.

151. *Gaut.* XXIII, 3; *Vas.* XX, 20; *Vi.* LI, 2; *Yâgy.* III, 235.

152. *Vas.* XX, 18; *Baudh.* II, 1, 20; *Vi.* LI, 5. 'The vows,' i. e. 'serving the fire, avoiding meat, honey and so forth' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*), and 'the *Veda*-vows' (*Nâr.*).

153. *Vas.* XIV, 33; *Vi.* LI, 50, 54, 56. See above, IV, 222, where another penance is prescribed for unknowingly eating food given by persons whose food must not be eaten. According to *Kull.* the two penances may be performed optionally, but according to *Medh.* and *Nâr.* this rule refers to an offence committed intentionally.

154. A twice-born man who has drunk (fluids that have turned) sour, or astringent decoctions, becomes, though (these substances may) not (be specially) forbidden, impure until they have been digested.

155. A twice-born man, who has swallowed the urine or ordure of a village pig, of a donkey, of a camel, of a jackal, of a monkey, or of a crow, shall perform a lunar penance.

156. He who has eaten dried meat, mushrooms growing on the ground, or (meat, the nature of) which is unknown, (or) such as had been kept in a slaughter-house, shall perform the same penance.

157. The atonement for partaking of (the meat of) carnivorous animals, of pigs, of camels, of cocks, of crows, of donkeys, and of human flesh, is a *Tapta Krikkhra* (penance).

158. If a twice-born man, who has not returned

154. 'Astringent decoctions,' i.e. 'those known to physicians are prepared from various herbs' (Medh.). Râgh. and Nand. think that *pîtvâmedhyânyapi* stands for *pîtvâ amedhyâni api*, and explain *amedhya* by 'garlic and the like.'

156. Vi. LI, 27, 34. Gov. and Râgh. take *agñâtam*, 'the nature of which is unknown,' to mean 'unintentionally.' Râgh. takes *bhaumâni*, 'growing on the ground,' separately, and interprets *kavakâni*, 'mushrooms,' by 'mushrooms growing on trees.' But Medh. says 'the word *bhaumâni* is used in order to exclude those growing in the holes (of trees) from the prohibition,' while Nâr. thinks that according to another *Smṛiti* another penance, the *Prasṛitiyâvaka*, shall be performed for eating the latter.

157. Gaut. XXIII, 4-5; Vas. XXIII, 30; Vi. LI, 3-4. With respect to this verse and the preceding one, see also above, V, 19-21, where other penances are prescribed. Kull. and Râgh. think that this rule refers to an offence committed once, while those given in the fifth chapter apply to a relapse. Regarding the *Tapta Krikkhra*, see below, verse 215.

158. Vi. LI, 43-44. The commentators state that the term

(home from his teacher's house), eats food, given at a monthly (Śrāddha), he shall fast during three days and pass one day (standing) in water.

159. But a student who on any occasion eats honey or meat, shall perform an ordinary *Krikkhra* (penance), and afterwards complete his vow (of studentship).

160. He who eats what is left by a cat, by a crow, by a mouse (or rat), by a dog, or by an ichneumon, or (food) into which a hair or an insect has fallen, shall drink (a decoction of) the *Brahmasuvarṅalā* (plant).

161. He who desires to be pure, must not eat forbidden food, and must vomit up such as he has eaten unintentionally, or quickly atone for it by (various) means of purification.

162. The various rules respecting penances for eating forbidden food have been thus declared; hear now the law of those penances which remove the guilt of theft.

māsika, 'a monthly (Śrāddha),' refers to a so-called *Ekoddishṭa Śrāddha*. According to Medh., 'others' thought that, because a student is allowed to partake of a Śrāddha by II, 189, the inviter should perform the penance. According to Medh., the student shall on the fourth day stand in water; but according to Gov., Kull., on one of the three fast days; according to Nār., on the first.

159. Vi. LI, 45; Vas. XXIII, 12; Yāgñ. III, 282. Instead of *brahmaṅgārī*, 'a student,' Medh., Gov., Nār., and Nand. read *vratāṅgārī*, 'a man performing a vow,' and Nār. explains it by 'a student, a hermit, a widow, an ascetic and so forth,' while the other commentators refer the term to a student alone.

160. Vi. LI, 46; Vas. XXIII, 11. 'Food into which an insect or a hair has fallen,' i. e. 'without scattering earth on it' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh.). Nār. adds during one day.

161. Gaut. XXIII, 26. 'Means of purification,' i. e. 'penances' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.), or 'purgative decoctions' ('others,' Medh., Nār., Nand.).

163. The chief of the twice-born, having voluntarily stolen (valuable) property, grain, or cooked food, from the house of a caste-fellow, is purified by performing *Krikkhra* (penances) during a whole year.

164. The lunar penance has been declared to be the expiation for stealing men and women, and (for wrongfully appropriating) a field, a house, or the water of wells and cisterns.

165. He who has stolen objects of small value from the house of another man, shall, after restoring the (stolen article), perform a *Sâmtapana Krikkhra* for his purification.

166. (To swallow) the five products of the cow (*pañkagavya*) is the atonement for stealing eatables of various kinds, a vehicle, a bed, a seat, flowers, roots, or fruit.

163. Vi. LII, 5. According to Medh. and Nâr. it is meant that others stealing the same articles from caste-fellows must perform the same penance. Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand., and Nâr. think that the verse gives the extreme limit of the penance, and that under special circumstances it may be reduced.

164. Vi. LII, 6. 'Men and women,' i. e. 'slaves' (Medh.). Râgh. mentions a var. lect. *tadâgânâm*, 'or a tank,' instead of *galânâm*, 'of the water.' Nâr. and Râgh. think that the penance is intended for an offence committed unintentionally.

165. Vi. LII, 7. 'Objects of small value,' i. e. 'earthen vessels, wooden ones, e. g. a trough, or iron utensils, e. g. a hoe' (Medh.), or 'tin, lead and the like' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'straw and the like' (Nâr.). K. omits 'after restoring,' and reads *tatpâpasya visudhaye*, 'for the expiation of that sin.'

166. Vi. LII, 8. Medh. says that the penance is to last one day only. Nâr. thinks that the *Mahâsâmtapana* penance is indicated by the mention of the *pañkagavya*, and that this holds good in the case of an unintentional offence only. Nand. adds, 'With this and the following rules the words "after restoring the property" have still their force;' so also Kull. on verse 165.

167. Fasting during three (days and) nights shall be (the penance for stealing) grass, wood, trees, dry food, molasses, clothes, leather, and meat.

168. To subsist during twelve days on (uncooked) grains (is the penance for stealing) gems, pearls, coral, copper, silver, iron, brass, or stone.

169. (For stealing) cotton, silk, wool, an animal with cloven hoofs, or one with uncloven hoofs, a bird, perfumes, medicinal herbs, or a rope (the penance is to subsist) during three days (on) milk.

170. By means of these penances, a twice-born man may remove the guilt of theft; but the guilt of approaching women who ought not to be approached (agamyâ), he may expiate by (the following) penances.

171. He who has had sexual intercourse with sisters by the same mother, with the wives of a friend, or of a son, with unmarried maidens, and with females of the lowest castes, shall perform the penance, prescribed for the violation of a Guru's bed.

167. Vi. LII, 9. According to Nâr. the rule refers to an unintentional offence.

168. Vi. LII, 10. According to Medh. the penance may be shortened according to the special circumstances of the case. Nâr. says, 'This refers to cases when the theft is not committed in times of distress.'

169. Vi. LII, 11. According to Nâr. this rule holds good if the theft is committed in times of distress and very small quantities are taken. Gov. and Kull. observe on this verse and the preceding ones, that the apparent inequality of the penances, which are prescribed equally for great and small things, will disappear if special circumstances, such as the frequency of the offence, time and place, the character of the owner and so forth, are taken into account.

171. Gaut. XXIII, 12-13, 32; Vas. XX, 15-16; Baudh. II, 1, 13; Vi. XXXIV, 2; XXXVI, 7; LIII, 1; Yâgñ. III, 233. See also above, verse 59. According to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh., the penance to be performed is that mentioned above in verse 106, while self-immolation is prescribed for repeated intentional offences only. Nâr. speaks of a twelve years' penance.

172. He who has approached the daughter of his father's sister, (who is almost equal to) a sister, (the daughter) of his mother's sister, or of his mother's full brother, shall perform a lunar penance.

173. A wise man should not take as his wife any of these three; they must not be wedded because they are (*Sapindā*-)relatives, he who marries (one of them), sinks low.

174. A man who has committed a bestial crime, or an unnatural crime with a female, or has had intercourse in water, or with a menstruating woman, shall perform a *Sāmtapana Krikkhṛa*.

175. A twice-born man who commits an unnatural offence with a male, or has intercourse with a female in a cart drawn by oxen, in water, or in the day-time, shall bathe, dressed in his clothes.

176. A *Brāhmaṇa* who unintentionally approaches a woman of the *Kandāla* or of (any other) very low caste, who eats (the food of such persons) and accepts

172. I read with all the commentators and K. in the second line *mātus ka bhrātur āptasya* (*āptām ka*, Nand.) instead of *mātus ka bhrātus tanayām* (editions). According to Kull. and Nār. the rule refers to an offence committed by mistake and, as the former says, once only.

173. This verse is directed against the custom of the southerners, mentioned by Baudh. I, 2, 3. 'Sinks low,' i.e. 'falls into hell or begets base-born offspring' (Medh.). Gov. and Kull. adopt the former explanation, while Nār. says 'he becomes an outcast.'

174. Gaut. XXII, 36; XXIII, 34; Vi. LIII, 4, 7; *Yāgñ.* III, 288. A bestial crime with a cow is excepted, see Vi. LIII, 3. Medh. mentions a var. lect., *gale khe ka*, instead of *gale kaiva*, which agrees with Vishṇu's text.

175. Vi. LIII, 4; *Yāgñ.* III, 291. Nār. says that the verse refers to an unintentional offence.

176. Vas. XXIII, 41; Baudh. II, 4, 13-14; Vi. LIII, 5-6. 'Very low caste,' i.e. '*Mlekkhas* or barbarians, *Sabaras* and so forth' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or '*Sūtas* and the like' (Nār.), or '*Gavanas*

(presents from them) becomes an outcast ; but (if he does it) intentionally, he becomes their equal.

177. An exceedingly corrupt wife let her husband confine to one apartment, and compel her to perform the penance which is prescribed for males in cases of adultery.

178. If, being solicited by a man (of) equal (caste), she (afterwards) is again unfaithful, then a *Krikkhra* and a lunar penance are prescribed as the means of purifying her.

179. The sin which a twice-born man commits by dallying one night with a *Vrishali*, he removes in three years, by subsisting on alms and daily muttering (sacred texts).

180. The atonement (to be performed) by sinners (of) four (kinds) even, has been thus declared ; hear now the penances for those who have intercourse with outcasts.

181. He who associates with an outcast, himself becomes an outcast after a year, not by sacrificing

(i. e. Mahommedans) and the like' (Râgh.). In the first case the penance for a *Patita* must be performed ; in the second, no penance can be prescribed.

177. Vas. XXI, 8, 12-13 ; Vi. LIII, 8. Adultery is an *Upapâ-taka* according to verse 60, and to be expiated, according to verse 118, by a *Govrata* or a *Kândrâyana*, which latter seems to be here intended. The commentators add that the penance must be lighter or heavier, according to the caste of the male offender.

178. I read with Gov., *Nâr. upamantritâ* instead of *upayantritâ* (editions, K., Nand.). Medh. seems to have read *anumantritâ*.

179. Âp. I, 27, 11 ; Baudh. II, 2, 11 ; Vi. LIII, 9. 'A *Vrishali*,' i. e. a *Kandâli* (Medh., Kull., Râgh.). But others, mentioned by Medh., Gov., and *Nâr.*, think that a *Sûdra* female is meant. Nand. places this verse before verse 178.

181. Gaut. XXI, 3 ; Vas. I, 22 ; Baudh. II, 2, 35 ; *Yâgñ.* III, 261 ; Vi. XXXV, 3-5. Gov. and *Nâr.* explain the verse differently, 'He who associates with an outcast by sacrificing for him or by forming

for him, teaching him, or forming a matrimonial alliance with him, but by using the same carriage or seat, or by eating with him.

182. He who associates with any one of those outcasts, must perform, in order to atone for (such) intercourse, the penance prescribed for that (sinner).

183. The *Sapindas* and *Samānodakas* of an outcast must offer (a libation of) water (to him, as if he were dead), outside (the village), on an inauspicious day, in the evening and in the presence of the relatives, officiating priests, and teachers.

184. A female slave shall upset with her foot a pot filled with water, as if it were for a dead person; (his *Sapindas*) as well as the *Samānodakas* shall be impure for a day and a night;

185. But thenceforward it shall be forbidden to converse with him, to sit with him, to give him a share of the inheritance, and to hold with him such intercourse as is usual among men;

186. And (if he be the eldest) his right of primogeniture shall be withheld and the additional share,

a matrimonial alliance with him, himself becomes an outcast after a year, but not by using the same carriage or seat or eating with him.' In the latter case four years are required. The parallel passage of *Vishṇu* shows, however, clearly what is meant.

182. Vi. LIV, 1.

183-186. Gaut. XX, 4-7; Vas. XV, 12-16; Baudh. II, 1, 36; *Yāgñ.* III, 295.

183. 'In the presence of the relatives, &c.,' i. e. 'of those who perform the ceremony, not of those of the outcast' (Medh.).

184. 'As if it were for a dead person,' i. e. 'saying, "This is for N. N."' (Medh.), 'turning to the south' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Nand., Râgh.).

185. I prefer K.'s reading *nivarterams tatas tasmât*. According to Medh. 'others' explained *dâyâdya*, 'a share of the inheritance,' by 'money,' and thought that all sums due to him were to be given to his heirs.

due to the eldest son; and in his stead a younger brother, excelling in virtue, shall obtain the share of the eldest.

187. But when he has performed his penance, they shall bathe with him in a holy pool and throw down a new pot, filled with water.

188. But he shall throw that pot into water, enter his house and perform, as before, all the duties incumbent on a relative.

189. Let him follow the same rule in the case of female outcasts; but clothes, food, and drink shall be given to them, and they shall live close to the (family-)house.

190. Let him not transact any business with unpurified sinners; but let him in no way reproach those who have made atonement.

191. Let him not dwell together with the murderers of children, with those who have returned evil for good, and with the slayers of suppliants for protection or of women, though they may have been purified according to the sacred law.

192. Those twice-born men who may not have been taught the *Sâvitṛī* (at the time) prescribed by the rule, he shall cause to perform three *Krikkhra* (penances) and afterwards initiate them in accordance with the law.

187-188. Gaut. XX, 10-14; Vas. XV, 17-21; Baudh. II, 1, 36; *Yâgñ.* III, 296.

188. Thus Gov., Kull., Râgh., and others quoted by Medh. But the latter commentator himself refers *sa tu*, 'but he,' to one of the relatives, and Nâr. seems to agree with him.

189. *Yâgñ.* III, 297.

190-191. Vi. LIV, 32-33; *Yâgñ.* III, 299.

192. Âp. I, 1, 23-2, 10; Vas. XI, 76-79; Vi. LIV, 26. Regarding the times of the initiation, see above, II, 38.

193. Let him prescribe the same (expiation) when twice-born men, who follow forbidden occupations or have neglected (to learn) the Veda, desire to perform a penance.

194. If Brāhmaṇas acquire property by a reprehensible action, they become pure by relinquishing it, muttering prayers, and (performing) austerities.

195. By muttering with a concentrated mind the Sāvitrī three thousand times, (dwelling) for a month in a cow-house, (and) subsisting on milk, (a man) is freed from (the guilt of) accepting presents from a wicked man.

196. But when he returns from the cow-house, emaciated with his fast, and reverently salutes, (the Brāhmaṇas) shall ask him, 'Friend, dost thou desire to become our equal?'

197. If he answers to the Brāhmaṇas, 'Forsooth, (I will not offend again),' he shall scatter (some) grass for the cows; if the cows hallow that place (by eating the grass) the (Brāhmaṇa) shall re-admit him (into their community).

193. Vi. LIV, 27.

194. Vi. LIV, 24, 28; Yâgñ. III, 290. 'By a reprehensible action,' i.e. 'by receiving presents from wicked men or, according to others, by acquiring money in any manner forbidden to him. The latter extend the rule to other Âryans' (Medh.). Gov., Kull., and Nâr. refer the verse to Brāhmaṇas and to their accepting presents from wicked men and similar acts.

195. Medh. remarks that according to some the offender shall daily recite the Gâyatrī three thousand times, according to others three thousand times in the whole month.

196-197. Yâgñ. III, 300.

197. The beginning of the verse is explained differently by Nâr. and Nand.: 'If he tells the truth to the Brāhmaṇas, i.e. with respect to his offence and his penance.' Medh. takes tīrtha in its usual sense, 'a bathing-place,' and connects it with pratigrahaṁ kuryuḥ,

198. He who has sacrificed for Vrātyas, or has performed the obsequies of strangers, or a magic sacrifice (intended to destroy life) or an Ahīna sacrifice, removes (his guilt) by three *Krikkhra* (penances).

199. A twice-born man who has cast off a suppliant for protection, or has (improperly) divulged the Veda, atones for his offence, if he subsists during a year on barley.

200. He who has been bitten by a dog, a jackal, or a donkey, by a tame carnivorous animal, by a man, a horse, a camel, or a (village-)pig, becomes pure by suppressing his breath (*Prāṇâyāma*).

201. To eat during a month at each sixth meal-time (only), to recite the *Samhitā* (of a Veda), and (to perform) daily the *Sākala* oblations, are the means of purifying those excluded from society at repasts (*Apāṅktya*).

'they shall re-admit at the bathing-place.' Nār. says it means *vya-vahāravartman*. The translation follows Gov., Kull., and Rāgh.

198. *Āp.* I, 26, 7; *Vi.* LIV, 25; *Yâgñ.* III, 289. Vrātyas, see above, X, 20. 'A magic rite (intended to destroy life),' i.e. 'a Syena sacrifice and the like.' The Ahīna sacrifices are those lasting between two and twelve days; see Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 355. Medh. thinks that the rule refers to the person who offers the sacrifices (*yagamāna*), while others mentioned by him hold that it applies to the officiating priests.

199. *Yâgñ.* III, 289. *Vedaṃ viplāvya*, 'having (improperly) divulged the Veda,' i.e. 'having taught people who ought not to be taught' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand.), means according to Nār. 'having improperly interpreted the Veda or perverted its sense by omitting *Anusvāras*, *Visargas*, and the like,' according to Rāgh. 'having intentionally forgotten it.'

200. Gaut. XXIII, 7; Vas. XXIII, 31; *Vi.* LIV, 12; *Yâgñ.* III, 277. 'A tame carnivorous animal,' i.e. 'a cat, an ichneumon, and so forth' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.). Nār. reads *agrāmyaiḥ* ('*grāmyaiḥ*') *kravyādbhiḥ*, and gives as an instance 'a wolf.'

201. Regarding the *Apāṅktyas*, elsewhere called *Pāṅktidūṣhasas*,

202. A Brāhmaṇa who voluntarily rode in a carriage drawn by camels or by asses, and he who bathed naked, become pure by suppressing his breath (Prāṇâyâma).

203. He who has relieved the necessities of nature, being greatly pressed, either without (using) water or in water, becomes pure by bathing outside (the village) in his clothes and by touching a cow.

204. Fasting is the penance for omitting the daily rites prescribed by the Veda and for neglecting the special duties of a Snâtaka.

205. He who has said 'Hum' to a Brāhmaṇa, or has addressed one of his betters with 'Thou,' shall bathe, fast during the remaining part of the day, and appease (the person offended) by a reverential salutation.

206. He who has struck (a Brāhmaṇa) even with a blade of grass, tied him by the neck with a cloth, or conquered him in an altercation, shall appease him by a prostration.

'defilers of the company,' see above, III, 151 seq. Nâr. remarks that this penance is to be performed by those only for whom no other expiation is specially prescribed. The Sâkala-homas are oblations offered with the eight verses Vâgasaneyi-saṃhitâ VIII, 13.

202. Vi. LIV, 23; Yâgñ. III, 291. Medh. and Kull. remark that he who rides on the back of camels or donkeys has to perform more than one Prāṇâyâma.

203. Vi. LIV, 10. 'Outside the village,' i.e. 'in a river or the like' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

204. Vi. LIV, 29. The rules for a Snâtaka are those given in the fourth chapter. The daily rites are the Agnihotra and so forth. The fasting is to last one day (Medh., Kull., Nâr.).

205. Yâgñ. III, 292. 'One's betters ought to be addressed with "You"' (Medh.).

206. Yâgñ. III, 292. See above, IV, 166. Gov. and Nâr. say, 'a Brāhmaṇa more venerable than himself.'

207. But he who, intending to hurt a Brāhmaṇa, has threatened (him with a stick and the like) shall remain in hell during a hundred years; he who (actually) struck him, during one thousand years.

208. As many particles of dust as the blood of a Brāhmaṇa causes to coagulate, for so many thousand years shall the shedder of that (blood) remain in hell.

209. For threatening a Brāhmaṇa, (the offender) shall perform a *Krikkhra*, for striking him an *Atikrikkhra*, for shedding his blood a *Krikkhra* and an *Atikrikkhra*.

210. For the expiation of offences for which no atonement has been prescribed, let him fix a penance after considering (the offender's) strength and the (nature of the) offence.

211. I will (now) describe to you those means, adopted by the gods, the sages, and the manes, through which a man may remove his sins.

212. A twice-born man who performs (the *Krikkhra* penance), revealed by Praṣāpati, shall eat during three days in the morning (only), during (the next) three days in the evening (only), during the (following) three days (food given) unasked, and shall fast during another period of three days.

207–208. See above, IV, 165, 167–169, where slightly different versions of these verses occur. I read with all the commentators and K. *dvīganmanaḥ*, 'of a Brāhmaṇa,' instead of *mahitale*, 'on the ground' (editions).

209. Vi. LIV, 30; Yāgñ. III, 293. Medh. points out that these offences have already been dealt with above in verses 67 and 125, and thinks that the penance prescribed in the latter verse may be performed optionally instead of those mentioned here.

210. Vi. LIV, 34; Yāgñ. III, 294.

212. Āp. I, 27, 7; Gaut. XXVI, 2–5; Vas. XXI, 20; Baudh. II,

213. (Subsisting on) the urine of cows, cowdung, milk, sour milk, clarified butter, and a decoction of Kusa-grass, and fasting during one (day and) night, (that is) called a *Sântapana Krikkhra*.

214. A twice-born man who performs an *Atikrikkhra* (penance), must take his food during three periods of three days in the manner described above, (but) one mouthful only at each meal, and fast during the last three days.

215. A *Brâhmana* who performs a *Taptakrikkhra* (penance) must drink hot water, hot milk, hot clarified butter and (inhale) hot air, each during three days, and bathe once with a concentrated mind.

216. A fast for twelve days by a man who controls himself and commits no mistakes, is called a *Parâka Krikkhra*, which removes all guilt.

217. If one diminishes (one's food daily by) one

2, 38; IV, 5, 6-7; Vi. XLVI, 10; *Yâgñ.* III, 320. According to Medh., food which a wife brings unasked is also 'food given unasked.'

213. Baudh. IV, 5, 13; Vi. XLVI, 19; *Yâgñ.* III, 313. There are two ways of performing this penance: Either the penitent may eat the six substances during one day and fast on the next, or he may subsist one day on each of the six and fast on the seventh day (Medh., Gov.). The other commentators give the first explanation only.

214. Gaut. XXV, 18-19; Vas. XXIV, 1-2; Baudh. II, 2, 40; IV, 5, 8; *Yâgñ.* III, 320. 'Above,' i.e. in verse 213.

215. Vas. XXI, 18; Baudh. II, 2, 37; IV, 5, 10; Vi. XLVI, 11; *Yâgñ.* III, 318.

216. Baudh. IV, 5, 15; Vi. XLVI, 18; *Yâgñ.* III, 221. 'Commits no mistakes,' i.e. 'with respect to the general rules to be followed during the performance of a *Krikkhra*,' see Vas. XXIV, 5 (Medh., Nâr.).

217-226. Gaut. XXVII; Vas. XXIV, 45-47; XXVII, 21; Baudh. III, 8; IV, 5, 17-21; Vi. XLVII; *Yâgñ.* III, 324-327.

217. The form of the lunar penance described in this verse is

mouthful during the dark (half of the month) and increases (it in the same manner) during the bright half, and bathes (daily) at the time of three libations (morning, noon, and evening), that is called a lunar penance (*Kāndrāyana*).

218. Let him follow throughout the same rule at the (*Kāndrāyana*, called) *yavamadhyama* (shaped like a barley-corn), (but) let him (in that case) begin the lunar penance, (with a) controlled (mind), on the first day of the bright half (of the month).

219. He who performs the lunar penance of ascetics, shall eat (during a month) daily at midday eight mouthfuls, controlling himself and consuming sacrificial food (only).

220. If a *Brāhmaṇa*, with concentrated mind, eats (during a month daily) four mouthfuls in a morning and four after sunset, (that is) called the lunar penance of children.

221. He who, concentrating his mind, eats during a month in any way thrice eighty mouthfuls of sacrificial food, dwells (after death) in the world of the moon.

222. The *Rudras*, likewise the *Ādityas*, the *Vasus* and the *Maruts*, together with the great sages, practised this (rite) in order to remove all evil.

223. Burnt oblations, accompanied by (the recitation of) the *Mahāvyañritis*, must daily be made (by

the so-called *pipplikāmadhya* or ant-shaped one, where the fast or lean days lie in the middle.

218. It will be advisable to read with *Medh.* and *Gov.*, in the second line, *ḥaret* instead of *ḥaran*. *Gov.* has *ḥaran* in the first line. *Nand.* reads the last words quite differently, (*niyatas*) *kāndrāyana* *athāparam*.

221. 'In any way,' i. e. 'without observing any particular limit as to the number of mouthfuls to be eaten on each day' (*Nār.*).

the penitent) himself, and he must abstain from injuring (sentient creatures), speak the truth, and keep himself free from anger and from dishonesty.

224. Let him bathe three times each day and thrice each night, dressed in his clothes; let him on no account talk to women, *Sûdras*, and outcasts.

225. Let him pass the time standing (during the day) and sitting (during the night), or if he is unable (to do that) let him lie on the (bare) ground; let him be chaste and observe the vows (of a student) and worship his Gurus, the gods, and *Brâhmaṇas*.

226. Let him constantly mutter the *Sâvitṛi* and (other) purificatory texts according to his ability; (let him) carefully (act thus) on (the occasion of) all (other) vows (performed) by way of penance.

227. By these expiations twice-born men must be purified whose sins are known, but let him purify those whose sins are not known by (the recitation of) sacred texts and by (the performance of) burnt oblations.

224. Medh. remarks that the penitent may however talk to the female members of his household, if an occasion requires it.

225. *Vratī syât*, 'observe the vows (of a student),' i. e. 'wear the girdle of *Muṅga*-grass, a staff and so forth' (Gov., Kull. *Nâr.*), means according to Medh. 'let him resolve to abstain from that which is not forbidden by good men.'

226. 'Purificatory texts,' i. e. 'the *Aghamarsha*, the *Pâvamânīs* and so forth;' see Vi. LVI. '(Other) vows,' i. e. 'the *Kṛikkṛas*.'

227. Vas. XXV, 3. Penances are usually imposed by a parishad, an assembly of learned *Brâhmaṇas*. In the case of secret sins the penances shall be settled by the learned in a general way, not with reference to a special case. By this interpretation the commentators get over the difficulty which the reading *sodhayet*, 'let him purify,' offers. But *Nâr.* reads *anāvishkṛitapâpâs tu mantrair homais ka sodhanaiḥ*, 'but those whose sins are not known, by sacred texts and burnt oblations, (declared to be) means of purification.'

228. By confession, by repentance, by austerity, and by reciting (the Veda) a sinner is freed from guilt, and in case no other course is possible, by liberality.

229. In proportion as a man who has done wrong, himself confesses it, even so far he is freed from guilt, as a snake from its slough.

230. In proportion as his heart loathes his evil deed, even so far is his body freed from that guilt.

231. He who has committed a sin and has repented, is freed from that sin, but he is purified only by (the resolution of) ceasing (to sin and thinking) 'I will do so no more.'

232. Having thus considered in his mind what results will arise from his deeds after death, let him always be good in thoughts, speech, and actions.

233. He who, having either unintentionally or intentionally committed a reprehensible deed, desires to be freed from (the guilt of) it, must not commit it a second time.

234. If his mind be uneasy with respect to any act, let him repeat the austerities (prescribed as a penance) for it until they fully satisfy (his conscience).

235. All the bliss of gods and men is declared by the sages to whom the Veda was revealed, to have

228. Âpadi, 'in case no other course is possible,' i.e. 'if the offender is unable to perform penances or to recite Vedic texts.'

230. 'His body,' i. e. 'the soul in his body' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand.), or 'the subtle body' (Nâr.).

231. Instead of *naivam*, 'so no (more),' Nâr. reads *nainah* ('I will) not sin (any more),' and K.'s reading *nainam* points to the same var. lect. Gov., Nand., and the best MS. of Medh. read *naitat kuryât punar iti*, and the translation would then be 'but he is purified (only) by ceasing (to sin), thereby that he does so no more.'

235. 'To have austerity for its root, austerity for its middle, and

austerity for its root, austerity for its middle, and austerity for its end.

236. (The pursuit of sacred) knowledge is the austerity of a Brâhmaṇa, protecting (the people) is the austerity of a Kshatriya, (the pursuit of) his daily business is the austerity of a Vaisya, and service the austerity of a Sûdra.

237. The sages who control themselves and subsist on fruit, roots, and air, survey the three worlds together with their moving and immovable (creatures) through their austerities alone.

238. Medicines, good health, learning, and the various divine stations are attained by austerities alone; for austerity is the means of gaining them.

239. Whatever is hard to be traversed, whatever is hard to be attained, whatever is hard to be reached, whatever is hard to be performed, all (this) may be accomplished by austerities; for austerity (possesses a power) which it is difficult to surpass.

240. Both those who have committed mortal sin (Mahâpâtaka) and all other offenders are severally freed from their guilt by means of well-performed austerities.

241. Insects, snakes, moths, bees, birds and beings, bereft of motion, reach heaven by the power of austerities.

austerity for its end,' i. e. 'to be produced, to continue, and to end in consequence of austerities performed' (Medh., Kull., Nâr.).

238. Medh. explains aushadhâni, 'medicines,' by 'elixirs.' Instead of agado (Kull., K., Râgh.) Medh., Gov., Nâr., and Nand. read agadâh, and explain it by 'medicines' (Medh., Nand.), 'remedies or charms against poison' (Gov., Nâr.).

241. Instead of ki/âs ka, 'insects,' Nâr. reads svânas ka, 'dogs.' Gov. and Nand. say that the verse refers to the Kî/opâkhyâna and the Kapotâkhyâna, told in the Iuhâsas (Mahâbhârata XII).

242. Whatever sin men commit by thoughts, words, or deeds, that they speedily burn away by penance, if they keep penance as their only riches.

243. The gods accept the offerings of that Brâhmana alone who has purified himself by austerities, and grant to him all he desires.

244. The lord, Pragâpati, created these Institutes (of the sacred law) by his austerities alone ; the sages likewise obtained (the revelation of) the Vedas through their austerities.

245. The gods, discerning that the holy origin of this whole (world) is from austerity, have thus proclaimed the incomparable power of austerity.

246. The daily study of the Veda, the performance of the great sacrifices according to one's ability, (and) patience (in suffering) quickly destroy all guilt, even that caused by mortal sins.

247. As a fire in one moment consumes with its bright flame the fuel that has been placed on it, even so he who knows the Veda destroys all guilt by the fire of knowledge.

248. The penances for sins (made public) have been thus declared according to the law ; learn next the penances for secret (sins).

249. Sixteen suppressions of the breath (Prânâyâma) accompanied by (the recitation of) the Vyâhr̥itis

245. I read with all the commentators and K. at the end of the verse, *udbhavam*, instead of *uttamam* (editions).

246. Vas. XXVII, 7 ; Yâgñ. III, 311.

247. Vas. XXVII, 1-2.

248. Kull. and Râgh. state that Gov. omits this verse, while Medh. gives it. The accessible MS. of Gov., however, shows it, but without a commentary. Medh. says only that 'some' read it. Nâr. and Nand. omit it.

249. Vas. XXVI, 4 ; Vi. LV, 5 ; Baudh. IV, 1, 29. The best

and of the syllable Om, purify, if they are repeated daily, after a month even the murderer of a learned Brâhmana.

250. Even a drinker of (the spirituous liquor called) Surâ becomes pure, if he mutters the hymn (seen) by Kutsa, 'Removing by thy splendour our guilt, O Agni,' &c., (that seen) by Vasishtha, 'With their hymns the Vasishthas woke the Dawn,' &c., the Mâhitra (hymn) and (the verses called) Suddhavatis.

251. Even he who has stolen gold, instantly becomes free from guilt, if he once mutters (the hymn beginning with the words) 'The middlemost brother of this beautiful, ancient Hotri-priest' and the Sivasamkalpa.

252. The violator of a Guru's bed is freed (from sin), if he repeatedly recites the Havishpântiya (hymn), (that beginning) 'Neither anxiety nor misfortune,' (and that beginning) 'Thus, verily, thus,' and mutters the hymn addressed to Purusha.

253. He who desires to expiate sins great or

explanation of the words 'accompanied by (the recitation of) the Vyâhr̥tis and (of) the syllable Om' is Nâr.'s, who asserts that they indicate the necessity of reciting the Gâyatrî with the Siras text during the performance of each Prânâyâma; see Vas. XXV, 13.

250. Vas. XXVI, 5. The hymn seen by Kutsa, i. e. Rig-veda I, 97; that seen by Vasishtha, i. e. Rig-veda VII, 80. The Mâhitra hymn, i. e. Rig-veda X, 185. The Suddhavatis, i. e. Rig-veda VIII, 84, 7-9. Medh., Gov., Nâr., and K. read mâhendram for mâhitram, and Nâr. adds that some give the latter reading. The hymns are to be recited during a month sixteen times (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 108 times a day (Nâr.).

251. Vas. XXVI, 6. The hymn is found Rig-veda I, 164; the Sivasamkalpa, Vâg. Samh. XXXIV, 1. 'Once,' i. e. 'once daily during a month' (Gov., Kull., Nâr.).

252. Vas. XXVI, 7; Yâgñ. III, 305. The four hymns are Rig-veda X, 88; X, 126; X, 119; and X, 90.

253. The two verses are found Rig-veda I, 24, 14, and VII, 89, 5.

small, must mutter during a year the *Rik*-verse 'May we remove thy anger, O Varuṇa,' &c., or 'Whatever offence here, O Varuṇa,' &c.

254. That man who, having accepted presents which ought not to be accepted, or having eaten forbidden food, mutters the Taratsamandīya (*Rikas*), becomes pure after three days.

255. But he who has committed many sins, becomes pure, if he recites during a month the (four verses) addressed to Soma and Rudra, and the three verses (beginning) 'Aryaman, Varuṇa, and Mitra,' while he bathes in a river.

256. A grievous offender shall mutter the seven verses (beginning with) 'Indra,' for half a year; but he who has committed any blamable act in water, shall subsist during a month on food obtained by begging.

257. A twice-born man removes even very great guilt by offering clarified butter with the sacred texts belonging to the Sākala-homas, or by muttering the *Rik*, (beginning) 'Adoration.'

258. He who is stained by mortal sin, becomes pure, if, with a concentrated mind, he attends cows for a year, reciting the Pāvamāṇī (hymns) and subsisting on alms.

254. Gaut. XXIV, 2-3; Baudh. IV, 2, 4-5. The verses are found Rig-veda IX, 58, 1-4.

255. The verses are found Rig-veda VI, 74, 1-4, and IV, 2, 4-6.

256. The verses are found Rig-veda I, 106, 1-7.

257. The Mantras for the Sākala-homas, i.e. Vâg. Samh. VIII, 13. The verse is found Rig-veda VI, 51, 8. According to Nâr. the Mantras must be muttered 108 times.

258. The Pāvamāṇī hymns, i.e. the ninth *Mandala* of the Rig-veda.

259. Or if, pure (in mind and in body), he thrice repeats the *Samhitâ* of the Veda in a forest, sanctified by three *Parâka* (penances), he is freed from all crimes causing loss of caste (*pâtaka*).

260. But if (a man) fasts during three days, bathing thrice a day, and muttering (in the water the hymn seen by) *Aghamarshana*, he is (likewise) freed from all sins causing loss of caste.

261. As the horse-sacrifice, the king of sacrifices, removes all sin, even so the *Aghamarshana* hymn effaces all guilt.

262. A *Brâhmaṇa* who retains in his memory the *Rig-veda* is not stained by guilt, though he may have destroyed these three worlds, though he may eat the food of anybody.

263. He who, with a concentrated mind, thrice recites the *Riksamhitâ*, or (that of the) *Yagur-veda*, or (that of the) *Sâma-veda* together with the secret(texts, the *Upanishads*), is completely freed from all sins.

264. As a clod of earth, falling into a great lake, is quickly dissolved, even so every sinful act is engulfed in the threefold Veda.

265. The *Rikas*, the *Yagus*(-formulas) which differ (from the former), the manifold *Sâman*(-songs), must

259. 'The *Samhitâ*,' i. e. the Mantras and *Brâhmaṇas* (Kull., Râgh.), the former alone (Nâr.). 'Parâka penances,' see above, verse 216. The verse seems to refer to the *Anasnatpârâyana*, fully described by Baudh. III, 9.

260-261. Gaut. XXIV, 10-12; Vas. XXVI, 8; Baudh. III, 5; IV, 2, 15; Vi. LV, 7; Yâgy. III, 302. The *Aghamarshana* is found *Rig-veda* X, 190.

262. Vas. XXVII, 3.

263. Baudh. IV, 5, 29.

264. I read with Gov., Nand., and K. pr. manu 'kshipram' instead of 'kshiptam' (Medh., K. sec. manu, editions).

265. Medh. and Gov. read âdyâni, 'chief,' instead of anyâni, 'which differ.' Medh. explains it as 'either those found in the

be known (to form) the triple Veda ; he who knows them, (is called) learned in the Veda.

266. The initial triliteral Brahman on which the threefold (sacred science) is based, is another triple Veda which must be kept secret ; he who knows that, (is called) learned in the Veda.

CHAPTER XII.

1. 'O sinless One, the whole sacred law, (applicable) to the four castes, has been declared by thee ; communicate to us (now), according to the truth, the ultimate retribution for (their) deeds.'

2. To the great sages (who addressed him thus) righteous Bhṛigu, sprung from Manu, answered, 'Hear the decision concerning this whole connexion with actions.'

3. Action, which springs from the mind, from speech, and from the body, produces either good or evil results ; by action are caused the (various) conditions of men, the highest, the middling, and the lowest.

4. Know that the mind is the instigator here

Samhitâ, not those read in the *Brâhmaṇa* or those recited according to the *Samhitâpâṭha*, not those recited according to the Pada or *Kramapâṭhas*.' Gov. gives the first explanation only.

266. K. omits this verse, and inserts in its stead the following lines:

esha vo vadita[*bhihita*]s sarvaḥ prâyaścittavinirṇayaḥ ।
naiḥsreyasaṃ karmavidhim viprasayitam nibodhata ॥
ataḥ param pravakshyâmi saṃsâraavidhim uttamam ।

Nand. gives the first two lines after verse 266, reading, however, *ityeshâ(?)bhihitaḥ*.

XII. 1. Râgh. takes *tattvataḥ parâm* separately and explains the second line as follows : 'communicate to us (now) the retribution for (their) deeds (and) supreme (liberation, which springs) from (the recognition of) truth.'

4. 'Of three kinds,' i.e. 'good, middling, or bad.' 'Has three

below, even to that (action) which is connected with the body, (and) which is of three kinds, has three locations, and falls under ten heads.

5. Coveting the property of others, thinking in one's heart of what is undesirable, and adherence to false (doctrines), are the three kinds of (sinful) mental action.

6. Abusing (others, speaking) untruth, detracting from the merits of all men, and talking idly, shall be the four kinds of (evil) verbal action.

7. Taking what has not been given, injuring (creatures) without the sanction of the law, and holding criminal intercourse with another man's wife, are declared to be the three kinds of (wicked) bodily action.

8. (A man) obtains (the result of) a good or evil mental (act) in his mind, (that of) a verbal (act) in his speech, (that of) a bodily (act) in his body.

9. In consequence of (many) sinful acts committed with his body, a man becomes (in the next birth) something inanimate, in consequence (of sins) com-

locations,' i. e. 'the mind, speech, and the body.' 'Falls under ten heads,' i. e. 'those mentioned in verses 5-7.' The mind, which is here called the instigator, is the internal organ, which has the faculty of *saṃkalpa*, 'volition.'

5. 'Thinking in one's heart what is undesirable,' means according to Medh. either 'thinking of or wishing anything that may be injurious to others or what is forbidden.' Gov. and Nâr. give the first explanation, the other commentators the second. Others mentioned by Medh. explained *vitathâbhinivesam*, 'adherence to false doctrines' (i. e. the denial of a future state, of the authority of the Vedas and so forth), by 'a constant deep hatred.' In their remarks on this verse and the next two, the commentators point out that the opposites of the acts mentioned are the different kinds of good actions.

5-9. *Yâgñ.* III, 131, 134-136.

mitted by speech, a bird, or a beast, and in consequence of mental (sins he is re-born in) a low caste.

10. That man is called a (true) *tridandīn* in whose mind these three, the control over his speech (*vâg-danda*), the control over his thoughts (*manodanda*), and the control over his body (*kâyadanda*), are firmly fixed.

11. That man who keeps this threefold control (over himself) with respect to all created beings and wholly subdues desire and wrath, thereby assuredly gains complete success.

12. Him who impels this (corporeal) Self to action, they call the *Kshetragñā* (the knower of the field); but him who does the acts, the wise name the *Bhûtâtman* (the Self consisting of the elements).

13. Another internal Self that is generated with all embodied (*Kshetragñās*) is called *Gīva*, through which (the *Kshetragñā*) becomes sensible of all pleasure and pain in (successive) births.

10. Usually an ascetic who wears three staves (*danda*) tied together, is called a *tridandīn*. According to our verse this outward sign avails nothing. That man only deserves the name *tridandīn* who keeps a threefold control (*danda*) over himself.

11. 'Complete success,' i. e. 'final liberation.'

12. 'This (corporeal) Self,' i. e. 'the body' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or 'the gross visible body which includes the three sheaths' (Râgh., Nâr.). 'The *Kshetragñā* (the knower of the field),' i. e. 'the individual Soul (*Gīva*),' (Medh. on verse 13, Nâr.), the *Paramâtman* (Nand.); Râgh. quotes, in explanation of the term 'the field,' *Bhagavadgītā* XIII, 5-6. 'The *Bhûtâtman* (the Self consisting of the elements),' i. e. 'the body which is composed of or a modification of the elements, i. e. of earth and so forth' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.), 'the Self which has the form of the non-sentient, the elements and so forth' (Nâr.), or 'the *Gīva*' (Nand.).

13. According to Medh. 'some' understand by the term *Gīva* 'the subtle body (*liṅga sarīra*) which is overspread by Mahat, the Great One,' because the individual soul, which is usually called

14. These two, the Great One and the Kshetragña, who are closely united with the elements, pervade him who resides in the multiform created beings.

Giva, has been mentioned in verse 12 under the appellation Kshetragña. He adds that 'others' explain Giva by 'the internal organ, which has the form of mind, intelligence, and egoism.' The former view is adopted by Râgh., while Gov., who paraphrases Giva by *manaḥ*, 'the mind,' and Kull. as well as Nâr., who render it by 'Mahat,' 'the Great One or intelligence,' lean towards the second. Nand. says, '*givasamgñāḥ* means "he who fully knows the Givas," i. e. the omniscient.' *Sahagaḥ*, 'that is generated with,' means according to Medh. and Gov. 'that is associated with until the period of destruction (pralaya) or until final liberation is obtained.'

14. The term mahân, 'the Great One,' is referred by Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh. to the Giva mentioned in the preceding verse, and hence is explained by each in accordance with the view expressed on verse 13. *Bhûtasampṛiktau*, 'closely united with the elements' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or 'enveloped by the elements' (Râgh.), means according to Nâr. 'united with the Bhûtâtman.' *Sthitam tam vyâpya tish/hataḥ*, 'pervade him who resides,' i. e. 'pervade' (Gov.), or 'rest on' (Kull.), or 'conceal through illusion' (Nâr.) him, i. e. 'the Paramâtman, the Supreme Soul' (Gov., Kull., Nâr.), 'who resides in all created beings' (Gov., Nâr.) 'as the witness' (Kull., Nâr.). Gov. adds 'or (the expression *vyâpya tish/hataḥ*) "they pervade" is used because the Supreme Soul pervades everything.' This latter explanation probably refers to Medh.'s rendering, according to which the verse must be translated 'Those two, the Great One and the Knower of the Field, who are closely united, rest on him who resides in the multiform created beings, pervading (them).' Medh. expressly declares that *tish/hataḥ* is to be taken as a transitive verb (*sarvakarmatvam* [sakarmatvam] *tish/hater anekârthatvât*). He explains 'him' by 'the Supreme Soul,' and adds that the expression 'rest on' is justified, because the Paramâtman is the cause of the whole world, and the product rests on its cause. Râgh. differs very much, and says, 'Those two, the Great One (i. e. the Intelligence and by implication the subtile body) and the Knower of the Field, i. e. the individual soul enveloped by the five elements (and) pervading him who is found in the manifold created beings, i. e. the gross bodies, and reside, i. e. there, as the enjoyers.' Nand. finally has the following explanation: 'Those two, i. e. the

15. From his body innumerable forms go forth, which constantly impel the multiform creatures to action.

16. Another strong body, formed of particles (of the) five (elements and) destined to suffer the torments (in hell), is produced after death (in the case) of wicked men.

17. When (the evil-doers) by means of that body have suffered there the torments imposed by Yama, (its constituent parts) are united, each according to its class, with those very elements (from which they were taken).

individual and the Supreme Soul; united with the elements, i. e. residing in the body; the Great One, i. e. the Supreme Soul and the Knower of the Field; in the manifold, i. e. in the gross and in the subtle; him who is found, i. e. the field (*kshetra*), pervading they reside. The meaning is that the individual soul pervades the body and the Supreme Soul pervades the individual soul.'

15. 'From his body,' i. e. 'from nature or the form of the Supreme Soul (*Paramâtman*, *Medh.*, *Nâr.*) or from the body of Brahman which is endowed with the qualities' (*Râgh.*), 'like waves from the ocean or sparks from fire, in the manner mentioned in the Vedânta philosophy' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*). 'Others,' mentioned by *Medh.*, and *Nand.* explain the expression by 'from the root-evolvent or matter (*prakṛiti*) which is the body of the Supreme Soul.' *Mûrtayaḥ*, 'forms,' i. e. '*Kshetragñas*' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Nâr.*), or 'souls limited by subtle bodies' (*Râgh.*), or 'portions which are the causes of the production of forms' (*Nand.*).

16. *Dhruvam*, 'strong,' i. e. 'able to withstand the supernatural torments' (*Medh.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*). *Gov.* and *Nand.* read *dridham*.

17. The translation follows *Medh.*, *Gov.*, and *Râgh.*, with whom *Nâr.* seems to agree, and it presupposes that the construction of the verse is ungrammatical. *Kull.* and *Nand.*, who wish to show that *Manu's* text does not depart from the ordinary rules of grammar, assume that the subject of both clauses is *dushkrîto givâḥ*, 'the evil-doing souls.' The former says, 'The evil-doing souls that are subtle, having suffered by means of that produced body those torments imposed by Yama, are individually dissolved on the disappearance of the gross body, in those very constituent portions of

18. He, having suffered for his faults, which are produced by attachment to sensual objects, and which result in misery, approaches, free from stains, those two mighty ones.

the elements;’ the meaning is, ‘they remain being united with them.’ Nand.’s explanation is more intelligible. According to him the translation must be as follows: ‘(The individual souls) having suffered by means of that body the torments of Yama, are dissolved (on the termination of their sufferings, as far as that body is concerned), in those very (five) elements according to the proportion of their works’ (vibhāgaras tatkarmavibhāgânurûpam). But it seems to me that these attempts to save the grammatical reputation of the author are useless.

18. The translation follows the reading of Gov. (comm.), Kull., Nand., and Râgh., anubhūyāsukhodarkân. Medh., Gov. (text), and K. read anubhūya sukhodarkân, ‘(after the expiation) of which happiness is the result’ (Medh.). ‘He,’ i. e. ‘the individual soul’ (kshetragñā, Medh., Gov., Nand.), or ‘the individual soul limited by the subtle body’ (Kull., Râgh.), refers according to Nâr. to ‘the Great One’ (Mahân). ‘Those two mighty ones,’ i. e. ‘the Great One and the Supreme Soul’ (Medh. ‘others,’ Gov., Kull.), are according to Medh. and Râgh. ‘the Great One and the Kshetragñā’ (mentioned verse 14), according to Nâr. and Nand. (on verse 19) ‘the Giva and the Paramâtman or Supreme Soul.’ Medh. adds that under his explanation the verse looks as if it were self-contradictory, because the end to be attained and the attainer are the same, but that the distinction is merely figurative. For the expression ‘he approaches’ means ‘he becomes nothing else but that’ [i. e. after the dissolution of the body, assumed in order to suffer the punishments, he remains purely Kshetragñā and Mahân]. His words are, *atah kshetragñāṃ abhyetīti prāptam taḥ ka viruddham sa eva prāpya[ḥ] prāpakas ka | satyam aupatāriko bhedo 'bhipretaḥ | abhyetīty ayam arthaḥ | etāvanmātrasesho bhavati yad uta kshetragñātayā prāptādisamghātmakena mahān iti vyapadish/ena phaleshu tāvanmātraḥ parishiṣyate | līngagīvas ka kshetragñāḥ ||* Râgh., the only other commentator, who occupies himself with the ulterior meaning of the verse, renders *abhyeti*, ‘he approaches,’ by *anugakṣhati*, ‘he follows,’ and adds ‘in order to produce a new body’ (*sarīrāntarārambhāya*). He further quotes Satapatha-brāhmaṇa XIV, 7, 2, 5, in order to show that according to the Veda the individual soul, united with the subtle body, makes for itself another body.

19. Those two together examine without tiring the merit and the guilt of that (individual soul), united with which it obtains bliss or misery both in this world and the next.

20. If (the soul) chiefly practises virtue and vice to a small degree, it obtains bliss in heaven, clothed with those very elements.

21. But if it chiefly cleaves to vice and to virtue in a small degree, it suffers, deserted by the elements, the torments inflicted by Yama.

22. The individual soul, having endured those torments of Yama, again enters, free from taint, those very five elements, each in due proportion.

23. Let (man), having recognised even by means of his intellect these transitions of the individual soul (which depend) on merit and demerit, always fix his heart on (the acquisition of) merit.

24. Know Goodness (sattva), Activity (ragas), and Darkness (tamas) to be the three qualities of the

19. 'Those two,' i. e. 'the Great One and the Supreme Soul' (mahatparamâtmânau, Gov., Kull.), are according to Medh., who modifies the explanation given on the preceding verse, the Mahân and the Paramâtman; according to Râgh., the Mahân and the Kshetragña. Pasyatah, 'examine,' means according to Râgh. 'by their presence cause to be performed.' 'The guilt,' i. e. 'which remains after the sufferings (in hell,' Kull.). Nand. explains the first line very differently: 'Those two (merit and demerit) watchfully attend him (the Kshetragña) who is bent on performing good and evil.' 'United with which,' i. e. 'with merit and guilt' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand.), refers in Râgh.'s opinion to the Mahân and the Kshetragña.

20. 'With those very elements,' i. e. 'with a gross body consisting of the before-mentioned five elements.'

21. 'Deserted by the elements,' i. e. 'after death' (Kull., Nâr.).

22. Medh. and K. read abhyeti for apyeti.

24. Yâgñ. III, 182. 'Of the Self,' i. e. 'of the Mahat' (Kull.,

Self, with which the Great One always completely pervades all existences.

25. When one of these qualities wholly predominates in a body, then it makes the embodied (soul) eminently distinguished for that quality.

26. Goodness is declared (to have the form of) knowledge, Darkness (of) ignorance, Activity (of) love and hatred; such is the nature of these (three) which is (all-)pervading and clings to everything created.

27. When (man) experiences in his soul a (feeling) full of bliss, a deep calm, as it were, and a pure light, then let him know (that it is) among those three (the quality called) Goodness.

28. What is mixed with pain and does not give satisfaction to the soul one may know (to be the quality of) Activity, which is difficult to conquer, and which ever draws embodied (souls towards sensual objects).

Râgh., Nâr., Nand.), the latter two saying mahattattvasya, 'of the (Sâmkhya) principle, called Mahat.' Medh.'s somewhat longer discussion arrives at the same result.

25. 'In a body,' i. e. 'in a subtile body' (Râgh.). Medh. and Gov. add to the first clause 'in consequence of acts done in a former life.'

26. Kull. takes etat, 'such,' in the sense of 'as follows.' Nâr. and Nand. take the last line somewhat differently: 'The nature of these three is pervaded by the (three characteristics just mentioned and) clings to all created beings.'

27. 'A (feeling) full of bliss,' i. e. 'without any particular cause for such a sensation' (Gov.). I take tatra, which Gov. and Kull. explain by tasmin and construe with âtmani, in the sense of teshu, 'among those three.' Râgh. says tatreti tribhiḥ.

28. Medh. has apratipam, which he explains by apratyaksham, 'not perceptible by the senses,' instead of apratigham, 'difficult to conquer.'

29. What is coupled with delusion, what has the character of an undiscernible mass, what cannot be fathomed by reasoning, what cannot be fully known, one must consider (as the quality of) Darkness.

30. I will, moreover, fully describe the results which arise from these three qualities, the excellent ones, the middling ones, and the lowest.

31. The study of the Vedas, austerity, (the pursuit of) knowledge, purity, control over the organs, the performance of meritorious acts and meditation on the Soul, (are) the marks of the quality of Goodness.

32. Delighting in undertakings, want of firmness, commission of sinful acts, and continual indulgence in sensual pleasures, (are) the marks of the quality of Activity.

33. Covetousness, sleepiness, pusillanimity, cruelty, atheism, leading an evil life, a habit of soliciting favours, and inattentiveness, are the marks of the quality of Darkness.

29. I follow Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh., and K., who read *avyakta-vishayâtmakam* instead of *avyaktam vishayâtmakam* (Nand., editions). Medh.'s reading is doubtful. 'What is coupled with delusion,' i. e. 'where it is impossible to decide if the (thing) is real or unreal' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). *Avyaktavishayâtmakam*, 'what has the character of an undiscernible mass' (*asphu/avishayâkârâsvabhâvam*, Kull., Râgh.), or 'what has the form of an undiscernible mass and the nature of which is unreal' (*aspash/avishayâkârâsatsvabhâvam*, Gov.), means according to Nâr. 'where the mass and the soul are not luminous' (*aprakâso vishaya âtmâ ka yatra*).

31. The last words of the verse, which have been translated according to Medh., mean according to Nâr. literally '(are the result) of Goodness (and) the marks of (that) quality' (*sâttvikam sattvaganyam gunasya tasyaiva lakshanam kîhnam*).

32. Adhairyam, 'want of firmness,' means according to Nâr. 'want of a contented disposition.'

33. Bhinnavrittî, 'leading an evil life,' i. e. 'omitting to live

34. Know, moreover, the following to be a brief description of the three qualities, each in its order, as they appear in the three (times, the present, past, and future).

35. When a (man), having done, doing, or being about to do any act, feels ashamed, the learned may know that all (such acts bear) the mark of the quality of Darkness.

36. But, when (a man) desires (to gain) by an act much fame in this world and feels no sorrow on failing, know that it (bears the mark of the quality of) Activity.

37. But that (bears) the mark of the quality of Goodness which with his whole (heart) he desires to know, which he is not ashamed to perform, and at which his soul rejoices.

38. The craving after sensual pleasures is declared to be the mark of Darkness, (the pursuit of) wealth (the mark) of Activity, (the desire to gain) spiritual

according to the rule of conduct;’ *pramâdah*, ‘inattentiveness,’ i. e. ‘to duty.’

34. Instead of *trishu*, ‘in the three (times,’ *Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*), *Nand.* reads *nrîshu*, ‘in men.’ *Nâr.*, who reads *trishu*, explains the words *trayânâm gunânâm*, *trishu* as follows: ‘of the three,’ i. e. ‘of the study of the Veda and so forth;’ ‘of the *gunas*, i. e. ‘of the three classes of virtues;’ ‘in the three,’ i. e. ‘in the three original qualities.’

36. *Nand.* has *rikkhati* instead of *ikkati*. I read with *Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*, and *Nand.*, *na ka sokati* instead of *sa ka sokati* (editions). *K.* reads *naiva*. ‘And feels no sorrow on failing,’ i. e. ‘if on failing to accomplish his undertaking he begins another, but does not desist from it out of sorrow, that is the meaning’ (*Râgh.*).

37. Instead of *yat sarvena* (*Gov.*, *Kull.*), *Medh.* and *K.* read *yah sarvena*, and *Nand.* *sarvam yene*^o. ‘Which with his whole (heart) he desires to know,’ i. e. ‘the meaning of the Veda and so forth’ (*Kull.*, *Râgh.*).

merit the mark of Goodness; each later (named quality is) better than the preceding one.

39. I will briefly declare in due order what transmigrations in this whole (world a man) obtains through each of these qualities.

40. Those endowed with Goodness reach the state of gods, those endowed with Activity the state of men, and those endowed with Darkness ever sink to the condition of beasts; that is the threefold course of transmigrations.

41. But know this threefold course of transmigrations that depends on the (three) qualities (to be again) threefold, low, middling, and high, according to the particular nature of the acts and of the knowledge (of each man).

42. Immovable (beings), insects, both small and great, fishes, snakes, and tortoises, cattle and wild animals, are the lowest conditions to which (the quality of) Darkness leads.

43. Elephants, horses, Sûdras, and despicable barbarians, lions, tigers, and boars (are) the middling states, caused by (the quality of) Darkness.

44. *Kâranas*, *Suparnas* and hypocrites, *Rākshasas*

40. Yâgñ. III, 137-139.

41. 'Of the knowledge (of each man),' i. e. 'if the acts were committed intentionally or not' (Medh.).

42. 'Immovable (beings),' i. e. 'trees and so forth.' *Paravaḥ*, 'cattle,' i. e. 'cows and so forth' (Nâr.), or 'dogs and so forth' (Râgh.). Instead of *sakakḥapâḥ* (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), 'and tortoises,' Medh., Nâr., and Nand. read *saṛisripâḥ*, 'creeping things,' i. e. 'scorpions and the like' (Nâr.). Instead of *mṛigâs kaiva* (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), 'and wild animals (or deer),' Medh. and Nand. have *srigâlâs ka*, 'and jackals.'

43. *Mlekḥâḥ*, 'barbarians,' i. e. 'Sabaras and so forth' (Nâr.).

44. *Kârana* may denote a caste of men, i. e. 'bards, singers, panders, and the like' (Medh.), or 'rope-dancers' (Nâr.), or 'Naḥas'

and Pisâkas (belong to) the highest (rank of) conditions among those produced by Darkness.

45. *Ghallas*, *Mallas*, *Nâtas*, men who subsist by despicable occupations and those addicted to gambling and drinking (form) the lowest (order of) conditions caused by Activity.

46. Kings and Kshatriyas, the domestic priests of kings, and those who delight in the warfare of disputations (constitute) the middling (rank of the) states caused by Activity.

47. The Gandharvas, the Guhyakas, and the servants of the gods, likewise the Apsarases, (belong all to) the highest (rank of) conditions produced by Activity.

48. Hermits, ascetics, Brâhmanas, the crowds of the Vaimânika deities, the lunar mansions, and the Daityas (form) the first (and lowest rank of the) existences caused by Goodness.

(Gov., Kull.); but it may also, with Râgh., be referred to a class of mythological beings. *Suparnas* are the bird-deities, mentioned above, I, 37.

45. *Ghallas*, *Mallas*, i. e. 'those mentioned above, X, 22 (Kull., Nâr.), who are fencers with sticks or wrestlers and jesters' (Medh., Kull.). *Nâtas*, i. e. 'those exhibiting themselves on the stage' (*raṅgavatârakâh*, Medh., Kull.). I read with Medh., Gov., Nâr., and Nand. *purushâs ka kuvrittayaḥ*, 'men who subsist by despicable occupations,' instead of *purushâs sastravrittayaḥ*, 'men living by the trade of arms' (Kull., editions).

46. With respect to the low estimation in which domestic priests are held, see the verse quoted *Pañkatantra* II, 63 (Bombay edition). Nand. reads *dānayuddhapradhânâs ka*, 'very liberal men, and those delighting in strife.'

47. *Guhyakas*, i. e. 'evil spirits who hurt children;' *Yakshas*, i. e. 'the guardians of treasures' (Nâr.). Both are demigods, servants of Kubera. 'The servants of the gods,' i. e. 'Vidyâdharas and so forth.'

48. Medh. mentions an opinion, held by 'others,' according to

49. Sacrificers, the sages, the gods, the Vedas, the heavenly lights, the years, the manes, and the Sâdhyas (constitute) the second order of existences, caused by Goodness.

50. The sages declare Brahmâ, the creators of the universe, the law, the Great One, and the Undiscernible One (to constitute) the highest order of beings produced by Goodness.

51. Thus (the result) of the threefold action, the whole system of transmigrations which (consists) of three classes, (each) with three subdivisions, and which includes all created beings, has been fully pointed out.

which the Yatis, 'ascetics,' are a people living on mount Meru. 'The Vaimânika deities,' i.e. 'those who move in mid-air with their palatial chariots, called vimânas.' Instead of Daityâh, Nâr. mentions as a var. lect. Siddhâh.

49. 'The Vedas,' i.e. 'sounds placed in a certain sequence' (Medh.), or 'the guardian deities or personifications of the Vedas, such as are described in the Itihâsas as belonging to the court of Brahman' (Medh. 'others,' Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). With respect to the next two terms the commentators vacillate whether the things mentioned or their regents (adhishthâtrî devatâ) are intended.

50. Brahmâ, i.e. 'Hiranyagarbha' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). 'The creators of the universe,' i.e. 'Marîçi and the rest;' see above, I, 35; 'the law,' i.e. 'either the meaning of the Veda or the incarnate law' (Medh.); according to the other commentators, the latter only. 'The Great One,' i.e. 'the deity presiding over the principle (of the Sâmkhya philosophy) called the Great One (or Intellect,' Gov., Kull., Râgh.); 'the Undiscernible One,' i.e. 'the deity presiding over the root-evolvent or chief cause of the Sâmkhya philosophy' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). Medh., who discusses and rejects these explanations of the last two terms, holds that they refer to the Supreme Soul (paramâtman). Nâr. explains 'the Undiscernible' by 'egoism.' Medh., Gov., and K. read *avyakta eva ka* instead of *avyaktam eva ka*.

51. Medh. and K. read *esha dharma*, 'Thus the law with respect to the threefold action, &c.' Nand. places verse 81 immediately after this.

52. In consequence of attachment to (the objects of) the senses, and in consequence of the non-performance of their duties, fools, the lowest of men, reach the vilest births.

53. What wombs this individual soul enters in this world and in consequence of what actions, learn the particulars of that at large and in due order.

54. Those who committed mortal sins (*mahâpâ-taka*), having passed during large numbers of years through dreadful hells, obtain, after the expiration of (that term of punishment), the following births.

55. The slayer of a *Brâhmana* enters the womb of a dog, a pig, an ass, a camel, a cow, a goat, a sheep, a deer, a bird, a *Kandâla*, and a *Pukkasa*.

56. A *Brâhmana* who drinks (the spirituous liquor called) *Surâ* shall enter (the bodies) of small and large insects, of moths, of birds, feeding on ordure, and of destructive beasts.

57. A *Brâhmana* who steals (the gold of a *Brâhmana* shall pass) a thousand times (through the bodies) of spiders, snakes and lizards, of aquatic animals and of destructive *Pisâkas*.

58. The violator of a Guru's bed (enters) a hundred times (the forms) of grasses, shrubs, and creepers, likewise of carnivorous (animals) and of (beasts) with fangs and of those doing cruel deeds.

52. *Yâgñ.* III, 219. 'Fools,' i.e. 'those who do not perform penances' (Gov., Kull.).

55. *Yâgñ.* III, 207. Nand. reads *Pulkasa*, Medh. and Gov. *Pukhka* with a *Gihvâmûliya* which looks like *śh*.

56. *Yâgñ.* III, 207.

57. *Yâgñ.* III, 208. 'Aquatic animals,' i.e. 'crocodiles and so forth' (Gov.). Gov. explains *lûta*, 'spider,' by 'scorpion.' K. omits this verse.

58. *Yâgñ.* III, 208. The commentators explain 'carnivorous

59. Men who delight in doing hurt (become) carnivorous (animals); those who eat forbidden food, worms; thieves, creatures consuming their own kind; those who have intercourse with women of the lowest castes, Pretas.

60. He who has associated with outcasts, he who has approached the wives of other men, and he who has stolen the property of a Brâhmaṇa become Brahmarâkshasas.

61. A man who out of greed has stolen gems, pearls or coral, or any of the many other kinds of precious things, is born among the goldsmiths.

62. For stealing grain (a man) becomes a rat, for stealing yellow metal a Hamsa, for stealing water a Plava, for stealing honey a stinging insect, for stealing milk a crow, for stealing condiments a dog, for stealing clarified butter an ichneumon;

63. For stealing meat a vulture, for stealing fat a cormorant, for stealing oil a winged animal (of the

(animals)' by 'vultures and the like,' '(beasts) with fangs' by 'lions or tigers and the like.' 'Those doing cruel deeds' are, according to Gov., 'men such as Sabaras;' according to Kull., 'animals such as tigers.'

59. 'Creatures consuming their own kind,' i.e. 'fish and the like.' Nand. places verse 60 before verse 59.

60. Yâgñ. III, 212. 'A Brahmarâkshasa,' lit. 'a Brâhmanical Râkshasa,' is an evil spirit. K. omits this verse.

61. Yâgñ. III, 213. According to another explanation, which Medh. considers the only admissible one, and which the other commentators mention as an alternative, hemakartṛi, 'a goldsmith,' is the name of a bird.

62. Yâgñ. III, 214, 215; Vi. XLIV, 15-20. Rasam, 'condiments,' i.e. the juice of sugar-cane, &c. (Kull.), means according to Nâr. 'quicksilver.'

63. Yâgñ. III, 211, 215; Vi. XLIV, 21-25. I read with Medh., Gov., and Nand., vasâm, 'fat,' instead of vapâm (Kull., editions);

kind called) Tailapaka, for stealing salt a cricket, for stealing sour milk a bird (of the kind called) Balākā.

64. For stealing silk a partridge, for stealing linen a frog, for stealing cotton-cloth a crane, for stealing a cow an iguana, for stealing molasses a flying-fox ;

65. For stealing fine perfumes a musk-rat, for stealing vegetables consisting of leaves a peacock, for stealing cooked food of various kinds a porcupine, for stealing uncooked food a hedgehog.

66. For stealing fire he becomes a heron, for stealing household-utensils a mason-wasp, for stealing dyed clothes a francolin-partridge ;

67. For stealing a deer or an elephant a wolf, for stealing a horse a tiger, for stealing fruit and roots a monkey, for stealing a woman a bear, for stealing water a black-white cuckoo, for stealing vehicles a camel, for stealing cattle a he-goat.

68. That man who has forcibly taken away any kind of property belonging to another, or who has eaten sacrificial food (of) which (no portion) had been offered, inevitably becomes an animal.

which latter word Nār. also gives, but explains by *medaḥ*. The Tailapaka is probably the cockroach. *Kīrīvāka*, 'a cricket,' may also mean 'a cicada.' Nand. reads *Kakravāka*, 'a Brāhmaṇī duck.'

64. *Yāgñ.* III, 215 ; *Vi.* XLIV, 25-30. Regarding *Vāgguda*, 'the flying-fox,' see note on *Gaut.* XVII, 34. *Rāgh.* confirms the explanation given there, as he says that it is a bird flying at night. *Medh.* and *Nand.* seem to have had a different reading at the end of the verse. The MSS. of the former have *krauṇko godhā māmsāshu valgutīḥ* (?), and that of the latter *godhā gavyam dado sallam* (?).

65. *Yāgñ.* III, 213 ; *Vi.* XLIV, 31-34.

66. *Yāgñ.* III, 214-215 ; *Vi.* XLIV, 35-37.

67. *Yāgñ.* III, 214 ; *Vi.* XLIV, 38-43.

68. *Yāgñ.* III, 217 ; *Vi.* XLIV, 44.

69. Women, also, who in like manner have committed a theft, shall incur guilt; they will become the females of those same creatures (which have been enumerated above).

70. But (men of the four) castes who have relinquished without the pressure of necessity their proper occupations, will become the servants of Dasyus, after migrating into despicable bodies.

71. A Brâhmaṇa who has fallen off from his duty (becomes) an Ulkâmukha Preta, who feeds on what has been vomited; and a Kshatriya, a Kaṭapûtana (Preta), who eats impure substances and corpses.

72. A Vaisya who has fallen off from his duty becomes a Maitrâkshagryotika Preta, who feeds on pus; and a Sûdra, a Kailâsaka (Preta, who feeds on moths).

69. Vi. XLIV, 45. 'In like manner,' i. e. 'intentionally' (Gov., Kull.).

70. I follow Medh., Gov., Nâr., Nand., Râgh., and K., who read dasyushu instead of satrushu, 'of their enemies' (editions). Gov. explains dasyushu by satrushu, and the same explanation is given by Kull.; while according to Medh., 'thieves and robbers' are meant; and according to Nâr., 'forest-tribes, such as Sabaras.' Nand. reads pretatâm (MS. prenatâm) for preshyatâm, and explains it by 'will become Pisâkas among the Dasyus.' His reading looks like a correction made on account of the next verses.

71. Ulkâmukha, i. e. 'with flaming mouth' (Medh.). Medh. prefers Kûṭapûtana, 'with a stinking nose,' to Kaṭapûtana (Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand., K.). Gov. reads Kaṭapûtana.

72. Maitrâkshagryotika is, according to Medh., Kull., and Râgh., to be explained as a kind of Preta who has a light in or sees with the anus. Medh. gives another explanation, according to which it simply means 'a Preta,' and adds that 'others' explain it by 'an owl.' Kailâsaka, 'a (Preta) who feeds on moths' (Gov.), means according to Kull., 'who feeds on body-lice.' Kailâsaka is the reading of Gov., Nâr., and Nand.

73. In proportion as sensual men indulge in sensual pleasures, in that same proportion their taste for them grows.

74. By repeating their sinful acts those men of small understanding suffer pain here (below) in various births ;

75. (The torture of) being tossed about in dreadful hells, Tâmisra and the rest, (that of) the Forest with sword-leaved trees and the like, and (that of) being bound and mangled ;

76. And various torments, the (pain of) being devoured by ravens and owls, the heat of scorching sand, and the (torture of) being boiled in jars, which is hard to bear ;

77. And births in the wombs (of) despicable (beings) which cause constant misery, and afflictions from cold and heat and terrors of various kinds,

78. The (pain of) repeatedly lying in various wombs and agonizing births, imprisonment in fetters hard to bear, and the misery of being enslaved by others,

79. And separations from their relatives and dear ones, and the (pain of) dwelling together with the wicked, (labour in) gaining wealth and its loss, (trouble in) making friends and (the appearance of) enemies,

80. Old age against which there is no remedy, the

73. I follow Medh. and Gov., who explain *kusalatâ*, literally 'cleverness' (Kull., Râgh.), by *ekarasiḥhâvaḥ*.

75-76. See above, IV, 88-89 ; Yâgñ. III, 206, 221-225.

76. Medh. reads *karambhavâlukâs taptâḥ*, and explains *karambhaḥ* by *karmadaḥ* (*kardamaḥ* ?), 'heated mud and sand (?)'. The translation follows Kull.'s and Râgh.'s notes. Medh., Gov., Râgh., Nand., and K. read *suduḥsahân*, 'very hard to bear,' which has been given above, instead of *dâruṣân*, 'terrible' (Kull., editions).

pangs of diseases, afflictions of many various kinds, and (finally) unconquerable death.

81. But with whatever disposition of mind (a man) performs any act, he reaps its result in a (future) body endowed with the same quality.

82. All the results, proceeding from actions, have been thus pointed out; learn (next) those acts which secure supreme bliss to a Brâhmaṇa.

83. Studying the Veda, (practising) austerities, (the acquisition of true) knowledge, the subjugation of the organs, abstention from doing injury, and serving the Guru are the best means for attaining supreme bliss.

84. (If you ask) whether among all these virtuous actions, (performed) here below, (there be) one which has been declared more efficacious (than the rest) for securing supreme happiness to man,

85. (The answer is that) the knowledge of the Soul is stated to be the most excellent among all of them; for that is the first of all sciences, because immortality is gained through that.

86. Among those six (kinds of) actions (enumer-

81. E. g. if while a man performs an act his disposition is *sâttvika*, or 'chiefly penetrated by the quality of Goodness,' he will reap its reward in a body produced chiefly by that quality, e. g. that of a god.

83. *Yâgñ.* III, 190.

84. Medh. omits this verse.

85. *Yâgñ.* I, 199. 'The knowledge of the Soul,' i. e. not that of the *Kshetragñā*, but that of the Supreme Soul, which is taught in the Upanishads (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand.), means according to Nâr., 'meditation' (*dhyânam*). Nand. asserts that the genitive *sarveshâm*, 'among all,' stands in the sense of the ablative. According to him the translation should be, 'is more excellent than all those.'

86. Medh. takes the genitive *shannâm*, 'among those six,' in the

ated above, the performance of) the acts taught in the Veda must ever be held to be most efficacious for ensuring happiness in this world and the next.

87. For in the performance of the acts prescribed by the Veda all those (others) are fully comprised, (each) in its turn in the several rules for the rites.

88. The acts prescribed by the Veda are of two kinds, such as procure an increase of happiness and

sense of an ablative, and according to him the translation would be, 'The acts taught in the Veda must ever be held to be more efficacious for ensuring happiness in this world and in the next than all those six (kinds of) actions (enumerated above).' He proposes two explanations for karma vaidikam. 'The acts taught in the Veda' may either be 'the Srauta rites, such as the Gyo-tish/oma,' or 'those called further on, in verses 88-89, *nivṛtta*,' i. e. 'rites performed as a matter of duty, without a desire for rewards.' Nand. accepts the first explanation, and so does Gov., who, however, takes the genitive in its usual sense, 'among those six.' Nār. adopts Medh.'s second explanation, and says, 'acts, taught in the Veda,' i. e. 'sacrifices and so forth, performed without the intention of (gaining) rewards,' and construes the genitives like Gov. The same construction is adopted by Kull., who explains karma vaidikam by 'the knowledge of the Supreme Soul.' Medh.'s second explanation seems to be the best, on account of verses 89 and 90, where 'knowledge,' i. e. 'the knowledge of the Supreme Soul' (see verse 85) and the performance of the *nivṛttam* karma are said to effect final liberation. The explanation of the genitives *śannām* *eteshām* by 'among those six' may perhaps be defended, if *vaidikam* karma is taken to correspond to *vedābhyāsaḥ*, 'studying the Veda (and obeying its rules),' in verse 83. But Medh.'s explanation of the construction is quite possible.

87. Kull. alters his explanation of *vaidikam* karma slightly, and interprets it by 'the worship of the Supreme Soul' (*paramātmopāsanā*), and quotes *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upanishad* IV, 4, 22 in support of his view. The other commentators find no difficulty in showing that both 'the Srauta sacrifices' and 'the *nivṛttākhyam* karma' include all the six points mentioned above, verse 83. I read in the first line with K. *hi* instead of *tu* (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand.).

88. Kull. again changes his explanation of the expression 'acts

cause a continuation (of mundane existence, *pravṛtta*), and such as ensure supreme bliss and cause a cessation (of mundane existence, *nivṛtta*).

89. Acts which secure (the fulfilment of) wishes in this world or in the next are called *pravṛtta* (such as cause a continuation of mundane existence); but acts performed without any desire (for a reward), preceded by (the acquisition) of (true) knowledge, are declared to be *nivṛtta* (such as cause the cessation of mundane existence).

90. He who sedulously performs acts leading to future births (*pravṛtta*) becomes equal to the gods; but he who is intent on the performance of those causing the cessation (of existence, *nivṛtta*) indeed, passes beyond (the reach of) the five elements.

91. He who sacrifices to the Self (alone), equally recognising the Self in all created beings and all created beings in the Self, becomes (independent like) an autocrat and self-luminous.

taught in the Veda,' and takes it to mean 'sacrifices like the *Gyotish/oma* and the worship of images.'

89. Medh. explains *gñānapūrvam*, 'preceded by (the acquisition of true) knowledge,' to mean 'whereof knowledge is the chief (part,' *gñānam ādyam mukhyam yasya*).

90. Kull. remarks that the expression 'becomes equal to the gods' gives only an instance of the rewards attainable by *kāmyāni karmāni*. 'Passes beyond (the reach of) the five elements,' i. e. 'casts off the subtle body' (*Nār.*), or 'obtains final liberation' (*Medh., Gov., Kull.*).

91. *Īśa-upanishad*, 6. 'He who sacrifices to the Self (alone),' i. e. 'who connects himself with the nature of one who consists of all deities, i. e. thinks, "Not Agni, nor *Āditya* is the deity, I am here the deity"' (*âtmanam eva sarvadevatâmayatvena yogayate | manyate nâstir [nâgnir] âdityo vâ devatâ | aham iha ka devatâ mati [ihaiva devatâ iti?]*, *Medh.,* similarly *Gov.* and *Nâr.*), means according to *Kull., Râgh.,* and *Nand.,* 'he who performs the *Gyotish/oma* and the like (sacrifices) in the manner of the *Brahmârpâṇa*,' i. e. in such

92. After giving up even the above-mentioned sacrificial rites, a Brâhmaṇa should exert himself in (acquiring) the knowledge of the Soul, in extinguishing his passions, and in studying the Veda.

93. For that secures the attainment of the object of existence, especially in the case of a Brâhmaṇa, because by attaining that, not otherwise, a twice-born man has gained all his ends.

94. The Veda is the eternal eye of the manes, gods, and men ; the Veda-ordinance (is) both beyond the sphere of (human) power, and beyond the sphere of (human) comprehension ; that is a certain fact.

a manner that he understands Brahman to be the object of the worship, and makes over the merit to Brahman. The participial clause means, according to Medh. and Gov., thinking 'I am contained in the whole creation, both the movable and the immovable' (vyavasthitaḥ, Gov.), or 'I am, as it were, the whole world' (aham ivaitaggagat, Medh.) and 'all created beings are contained in me' (mayy avasthitâni, Gov., mayi sthitâni, Medh.). Kull., Râgh., and Nand. (who reads sampāsyān) explain it on pure Vedânta principles. The sacrificer is to recognise his identity with the Supreme Soul, and that through this identity he is one with all created beings, and that all created beings are one with him. The double rendering of the term svârâgyam is based on the double meaning of the verb râg, 'to rule' and 'to shine.' Medh. alone points it out. Kull. gives the second meaning alone, and takes the phrase a little differently: 'attains the state of the self-luminous (Brahman).' Gov., Nâr., and Nand. give Medh.'s first meaning only.

92. 'Above-mentioned,' i.e. 'as securing supreme bliss' (Nand.), or 'the Agnihotra and the rest' (Medh., Gov., Kull.). The last three commentators point out that this verse is not intended to authorise an irregular discontinuance of the daily rites.

93. Nand. omits this verse. Kritakrîtyaḥ, 'has gained all his ends' (Medh.), is taken by Gov. in its other sense, 'has done all he ought to do' (krîtakaramîyaḥ).

94. Instead of asakyam, 'beyond (the sphere of human) power,' i.e. 'which cannot have been produced by men' (Gov., Kull.), Nâr. and Nand. read atarkyam, 'beyond (the sphere of human) reasoning' (tarkenânyathâsambhavam, Nâr.; îdrisam ity adhyavasâtum

95. All those traditions (*smṛiti*) and all those despicable systems of philosophy, which are not based on the Veda, produce no reward after death ; for they are declared to be founded on Darkness.

96. All those (doctrines), differing from the (Veda), which spring up and (soon) perish, are worthless and false, because they are of modern date.

97. The four castes, the three worlds, the four orders, the past, the present, and the future are all severally known by means of the Veda.

98. Sound, touch, colour, taste, and fifthly smell are known through the Veda alone, (their) production (is) through the (Vedic rites, which in this respect are) secondary acts.

asakyam apaurusheyatvât, Nand.). Aprameyam, 'beyond (the sphere of human) comprehension,' may, according to the commentators, mean either that the Veda can never be fully known, on account of the number of its branches and of the depth of its meaning, or that it cannot be understood by human reasoning alone, but requires the help of grammar of the *Mîmâmsâ* and so forth.

95. As an example of false traditions Medh. names 'rules such as "Heavenly bliss is attained by worshipping *Kaityas*," which occur in the *Sobha* and other *Siddhântas* of the *Nirgranthas* (*Digambara Gainas*).' 'Despicable systems of philosophy,' e.g. 'that of the *Kârvâkas*' (Kull.). *Pretya*, 'after death' (*paraloke*, Gov., Kull.), means according to Medh. *prakarsham prâpya*, 'after attaining eminence.' Medh. mentions the explanation adopted above as that of 'others,' and adds that it requires the reading *prete*.

97. *Nâr.* and *Râgh.* explain *prasidhyati*, 'are made known,' by *gâyate*, 'are produced.' Gov. and Kull. point to III, 76.

98. I read with all the commentators *prasidhyanti* instead of *prasûyante* (Indian editions). The last words of the verse are extremely doubtful. Medh. reads *prasûtir guṇakarmataḥ*, and Gov. seems to have adopted the same version, though the text of the *Pura* MS. has *prabhûtaguṇakarmataḥ*. Kull. and *Râgh.* give *prasûtiguṇakarmataḥ*; Nand. *prasûtiguṇakarmabhiḥ*, and *Nâr.* *prasûtiguṇadharmataḥ*, with which reading a var. lect., mentioned by Medh., *prasûteguṇadharmataḥ* may have originally agreed. In concluding his note on the

99. The eternal lore of the Veda upholds all created beings; hence I hold that to be supreme,

verse Medh. remarks that many other varr. lectt. exist which he omits, because they are useless (*vaiṣṭītryapāḥ/hāntarāṇi nishprayogana tvān na likhyante*). The explanations differ still more than the readings. The translation follows Medh.'s interpretation. According to him the verse means that 'sound and the rest are known to be enjoyable and means of obtaining pleasure through the Veda, as they are perceived in the form of melodies and so forth at the performance of Vedic rites,' but that 'the Veda is not their material cause, the Vedic rites being secondary actions only with respect to their production' (*sabḍādīnām bhogyatvena sukhāsāadhanānām vedād eva prasiddhiḥ* | *vaidikakarmānush/hānād gitādisrabdopapattiḥ* . . . na punar veda upādānakāraṇam . . . etad āha prasūtir guṇakarmataḥ | *prasūtiḥ sabḍādīnām utpattiḥ* | *tadartham guṇakarma phalārthatvāt pradhānakarme* [ma] *ka kītrādīshu guṇadharmā* [karme] *ty uktam*). Gov.'s short note in substance agrees with this view (*ye svargādivipratā* [shayā] *upabhogyatvenābhimatāḥ sabḍādādayo viśayās te 'bhimataviśhayopabhogotpattīrtham yad upakāraṇam karmāgnihotrādikam tadanush/hānadvāreṇa vedād eva prasidhyanti*). According to Kull. the meaning of the compound is, 'through the Vedic rites, (originating from) the (three) qualities (Goodness and so forth, which are) the sources (of sound and so forth).' Rāgh. gives two explanations: '(The elements which are the substrata of) sound, touch, colour, taste, and fifthly (of) smell, are known through the Veda according to their origin, their qualities, and their actions.' Afterwards he gives for the last word an alternative version which closely agrees with Kull.'s view. Nand. says, 'Sound and so forth, together with their sources, i. e. ether and so forth, with their qualities, i. e. their manifold subdivisions, e. g. the *śadga* (note), and so forth, and with their actions, i. e. attracting the organs of sensation and so forth, are known from the Veda alone.' Nār. finally interprets his reading as follows: '(Sound and so forth) are produced from the Veda alone, which is characterised—the affix *tasi* has the meaning of the third and other cases—by the following, (*viz.*) the origin, i. e. the cause of production, quality, i. e. excessiveness and so forth, property, i. e. fragrance and so forth' (*prasūtiḥ ganmahetuḥ* | *guṇa utkaṭvādi* | *dharmaḥ surabhitvādiḥ* | *trīṭīyādi tasiḥ* | *etair upalakshitād vedāt prasidhyanti gāyante*).

99. In explanation of the first line the commentators point to

which is the means of (securing happiness to) these creatures.

100. Command of armies, royal authority, the office of a judge, and sovereignty over the whole world he (only) deserves who knows the Veda-science.

101. As a fire that has gained strength consumes even trees full of sap, even so he who knows the Veda burns out the taint of his soul which arises from (evil) acts.

102. In whatever order (a man) who knows the true meaning of the Veda-science may dwell, he becomes even while abiding in this world, fit for the union with Brahman.

103. (Even forgetful) students of the (sacred) books are more distinguished than the ignorant, those who remember them surpass the (forgetful) students, those who possess a knowledge (of the meaning) are more distinguished than those who

III, 76, and the corresponding Vedic passages. Gov. and Kull. explain *asya gantoḥ*, 'of these creatures,' by 'of men entitled to perform Vedic rites.' Nār. takes the second line differently: 'Through that, i. e. the Veda alone, I know that highest, i. e. meditation, which is the means, i. e. the means of securing final liberation to these creatures' (*yad asya gantoḥ sâdhanam apavarga-sâdhanam | param dhyânam dhyeyâdi | tad etasmâd vedâd eva manye gâne*).

100. Medh. places this verse later. The order in which the remaining verses of the *Samhitâ* are read in the MSS. differs very much from that adopted by the other commentators. They stand as follows: 106, 107, 108, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122; next both the text and the commentary of 91, 92, 93 are repeated, and then comes the last verse, 126.

101. Vas. XXVII, 2.

103. *Agñebhyaḥ*, 'than the ignorant,' i. e. 'entirely ignorant'

(only) remember (the words), men who follow (the teaching of the texts) surpass those who (merely) know (their meaning).

104. Austerity and sacred learning are the best means by which a Brâhmana secures supreme bliss ; by austerities he destroys guilt, by sacred learning he obtains the cessation of (births and) deaths.

105. The three (kinds of evidence), perception, inference, and the (sacred) Institutes which comprise the tradition (of) many (schools), must be fully understood by him who desires perfect correctness with respect to the sacred law.

106. He alone, and no other man, knows the sacred law, who explores the (utterances) of the sages and the body of the laws, by (modes of) reasoning, not repugnant to the Veda-lore.

(Medh., Nâr.), 'who have not studied the Veda' (Nand.), means according to Gov. and Kull., 'those who have learned a little.' Granthinaḥ, '(forgetful) students' (Kull., Nand.), means according to Medh. and Gov., 'students who learn the texts alone, but do not take very great trouble with them ;' according to Nâr., 'men who know the text only.' Dhârinah, 'those who remember (the texts)' (Kull., Nand.), are according to Medh. and Gov., 'men who are very persevering in studying ;' according to Nâr., 'those who know the meaning of the texts.' Nâr. takes gñânin, 'he who knows (the meaning of the texts),' in the sense of 'he who knows the Soul or Self.'

104. Yâgñ. I, 200.

105. Sâstram, 'the (sacred) Institutes,' i. e. 'the Veda, which has many Sâkhâs' (Gov., Nâr.), or 'the Veda and the Smṛiti' (Medh.), or 'the Smṛiti' (Kull.). Nand. reads siddhim, 'a complete knowledge or accurate performance,' instead of suddhim. The Pura copy of Nâr. stops with this verse, the remaining leaves being lost.

106. 'The utterances of the sages,' i. e. 'the Veda.' 'The body of the laws,' i. e. 'the Smṛiti.' 'The modes of reasoning' are, according to Medh. and Kull., the Mîmâṃsâ of Gaimini ; according to 'others' quoted by Medh., all the philosophical schools, excepting

107. Thus the acts which secure supreme bliss have been exactly and fully described; (now) the secret portion of these Institutes, proclaimed by Manu, will be taught.

108. If it be asked how it should be with respect to (points of) the law which have not been (specially) mentioned, (the answer is), 'that which Brâhmanas (who are) Sishṭas propound, shall doubtlessly have legal (force).'

109. Those Brâhmanas must be considered as Sishṭas who, in accordance with the sacred law, have studied the Veda together with its appendages, and are able to adduce proofs perceptible by the senses from the revealed texts.

those which, like the Bauddhas, Nirgranthas, and Lokâyatikas, deny the authority of the Vedas.

108-115. Âp. II, 29, 13-14; Gaut. XXVIII, 48-51; Vas. III, 20; Baudh. I, 1, 5-13, 16; Yâgñ. I, 9-10.

109. 'In accordance with the sacred law,' i. e. 'while observing the rules prescribed for a student.' The expression *śruti-pratyakshahetavaḥ*, 'who are able to adduce proofs perceptible by the senses from the revealed texts,' is variously interpreted. According to Medh. it means either 'those who possess the revealed texts, (proof through) perception and argument' (*śruti-pratyakshe hetuḥ ka śruti-pratyakshahetavaḥ*), or 'those for whom the revealed texts which are perceptible by the senses, are the reason for distinguishing between virtue and sin' (*athavā śruteḥ pratyakshasruteḥ | pratyakshasabdaḥ sraute pratyaye pratyakshatulyatvāt prayuktaḥ | sa ka hetur dharmādharma-pariṇāne kāraṇam yeshām ta evam uḥyante*); according to Gov., 'who are the cause of the teaching of the subjects perceptible in the Veda' (*vedagoḥārapadārthopadesakāraṇabhūtāḥ*); according to Kull., 'who are the causes of making the revealed texts perceptible, by reciting the revealed texts'; and according to Nand., 'those for whose knowledge and exposition of the law hearing and perception by means of the senses are the causes' (*yeshām śravaṇam pratyaksham ka dharmagñānavakāṇāyor hetuḥ te*). 'The appendages,' i. e. 'the Itihāsas and Purāṇas' (Medh. according to the Mahābhārata,

110. Whatever an assembly, consisting either of at least ten, or of at least three persons who follow their prescribed occupations, declares to be law, the legal (force of) that one must not dispute.

111. Three persons who each know one of the three principal Vedas, a logician, a Mīmāṃsaka, one who knows the Nirukta, one who recites (the Institutes of) the sacred law, and three men belonging to the first three orders shall constitute a (legal) assembly, consisting of at least ten members.

112. One who knows the *R̥g*-veda, one who knows the Yagur-veda, and one who knows the Sāma-veda, shall be known (to form) an assembly consisting of at least three members (and competent) to decide doubtful points of law.

113. Even that which one Brāhmaṇa versed in the Veda declares to be law, must be considered (to have) supreme legal (force, but) not that which is proclaimed by myriads of ignorant men.

114. Even if thousands of Brāhmaṇas, who have

Nand.), or 'the Aṅgas, Mīmāṃsā, the law-books, the Purāṇas, and so forth' (Gov., Kull.).

110. Medh. and Gov. read *viṭārayet* instead of *viṭālayet* (Kull., Nand.).

111. 'Three men belonging to the first three orders,' i. e. 'a student, a householder, and a hermit' (Gov., Kull., Nand.). Medh. says that some think 'a student, a householder, and an ascetic' to be meant, because the hermit must not enter a village, and because Gautama, in the enumeration of the castes, places the ascetic before the hermit, while others refer the words to Manu's first three orders. The reading *traividyo*, which all the commentaries give, is probably incorrect. It ought to be *traividyaṃ*, *tisrinām vidyānām samāhārah*; see *Yāgñ.* I, 9, and compare *kāturvidyam*, *kāturvaidyam*, Baudh. I, 1, 1, 8, and Vas. III, 20.

114. *Avratānām*, 'who have not fulfilled their sacred duties,' i. e. 'who have not fulfilled the vows incumbent on a student' (Gov., Kull.).

not fulfilled their sacred duties, are unacquainted with the Veda, and subsist only by the name of their caste, meet, they cannot (form) an assembly (for settling the sacred law).

115. The sin of him whom dunces, incarnations of Darkness, and unacquainted with the law, instruct (in his duty), falls, increased a hundredfold, on those who propound it.

116. All that which is most efficacious for securing supreme bliss has been thus declared to you ; a Brâhmaṇa who does not fall off from that obtains the most excellent state.

117. Thus did that worshipful deity disclose to me, through a desire of benefiting mankind, this whole most excellent secret of the sacred law.

118. Let (every Brâhmaṇa), concentrating his mind, fully recognise in the Self all things, both the real and the unreal, for he who recognises the universe in the Self, does not give his heart to unrighteousness.

115. Nand. gives yad for yam, instead of tamobhûtâḥ, 'incarnations of Darkness,' the reading of the Dharma-sûtras, tamomûdhâḥ, 'perplexed by Darkness or ignorance.'

118. Sampasyet, 'let (every Brâhmaṇa) fully recognise,' i. e. 'let him clearly realise in his mind' (sâkshâtkuryât, Medh., Kull.), through devotional exercises (upâsanâ, Medh.), or through deep meditation (Kull.), or 'let him vow to be solely intent on that one object of knowledge, to the exclusion of the knowledge of all other knowable objects' (gñeyântaravishayanirâkaraṇena tadekagñeyanish-*thâ*m anubrûyât, Medh.). Âtmani, 'in the Self,' i. e. 'in the Supreme Self' (Kull., Nand.), or 'in his own individual Self' (Gov.). Medh. remarks that 'the learned dispute regarding the meaning of the term âtman, and that besides the two explanations already given a third was proposed by some, according to which it meant 'the corporeal Self.' Medh. himself considers the first explanation to be the correct one. Sadasat, 'the real and the unreal,' i. e. either 'the

119. The Self alone is the multitude of the gods, the universe rests on the Self; for the Self produces the connexion of these embodied (spirits) with actions.

120. Let him meditate on the ether as identical with the cavities (of the body), on the wind as identical with the organs of motions and of touch, on the most excellent light as the same with his digestive organs and his sight, on water as the same with the (corporeal) fluids, on the earth as the same with the solid parts (of his body);

121. On the moon as one with the internal organ, on the quarters of the horizon as one with his sense of hearing, on Vishnu as one with his (power of) motion, on Hara as the same with his strength, on Agni (Fire) as identical with his speech, on Mitra as identical with his excretions, and on Pragâpati as one with his organ of generation.

122. Let him know the supreme Male (Purusha, to be) the sovereign ruler of them all, smaller even than small, bright like gold, and perceptible by the intellect (only when) in (a state of) sleep(-like abstraction).

123. Some call him Agni (Fire), others Manu, the

products and the causes,' or 'the intelligent and the non-intelligent' (Nand.), means according to Gov., 'that which possesses a shape of certain proportions and its opposite' (mûrtam prithivyâdi yakshâ-mûrtam âkâśâdi). Medh. proposes two other explanations, 1. 'that which is both existent and non-existent, i. e. comes into existence and perishes;' 2. 'that which like the hare's horn is non-existent, and that which like ether is eternal.' The word samâhita, 'concentrating himself,' may have, as Medh. thinks, a technical meaning, and refer to the Samâdhi, mentioned in the Yoga and Vedânta systems.

119. In this verse Gov., too, explains âtmâ by paramâtmâ.

120. Medh. explains snehe, 'on the (corporeal) fluids,' by 'on the viscous substances,' e. g. 'the brain and so forth.'

Lord of creatures, others Indra, others the vital air, and again others eternal Brahman.

124. He pervades all created beings in the five forms, and constantly makes them, by means of birth, growth and decay, revolve like the wheels (of a chariot).

125. He who thus recognises the Self through the Self in all created beings, becomes equal(-minded) towards all, and enters the highest state, Brahman.

126. A twice-born man who recites these Institutes, revealed by Manu, will be always virtuous in conduct, and will reach whatever condition he desires.

124. The five forms are the five great elements, which produce all bodies (Gov., Kull., Nand.).

125. Instead of param padam, 'the highest state,' Nand. reads sanâtanam, 'the eternal (Brahman).'

APPENDIX.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE INSTITUTES OF MANU, IN THE TRANSLATED HINDU LAW-BOOKS¹.

- I, 101. Col. Dig. II, 4, 42.
- II, 96. Mit. II, 1, 22.
 - 140. Sar. Vi. 421, 426, 436-7.
 - 145. Col. Dig. V, 424; Viram. III, 4, 7.
 - 146. Dây. XI, 4, 3.
 - 172. Col. Dig. V, 123.
- III, 4-11. Col. Dig. IV, 185.
 - 5. Datt. Mî. VI, 27.
 - 12. Col. Dig. V, 144; Dây. IX, 2; Mit. I, 8, 7.
 - 14. Col. Dig. V, 147.
 - 15-7. Col. Dig. V, 145; Dây. IX, 9; Viram. II, 1, 25.
 - 18. Col. Dig. IV, 52.
 - 20-1. Dây. IV, 3, 4.
 - 42. Viram. III, 1, 2.
 - 49. Smṛi. K. XI, 2, 4; Sar. Vi. 138, 332, 336,
Varad. p. 41.
 - 51. Dây. IV, 3, 24.
 - 55. Col. Dig. IV, 42.
 - 56-9. Col. Dig. IV, 39.
 - 60. Col. Dig. IV, 40, 189, 1; May. IV, 8, 21.
 - 61-2. Col. Dig. IV, 189, 2-3.
 - 81. Dây. XI, 6, 17.

¹ Colebrooke's Digest (Col. Dig.); Vyavahâramayûkha, by Borradaile (Vyav.); Dâyahhâga and Mitâksharâ on Inheritance, by Colebrooke (Dây.; Mit.); Mitâksharâ on Vyavahâra, by Macnaghten (M. Mit.); Dâyakramasamgraha, by Wynch (Dâyakr.); Dattakamîmâmsâ and Dattakandrikâ, by Sutherland (Datt. Mî.; Datt. Kand.); Vivâdaintâmânî, by Prosonno Koomar Tagore (Viv. Kint.); Vîramitrodaya on Inheritance, by Golâpchand Sarkâr (Vîram.); Smṛitîkandrikâ, by T. Kristnaswamy Jyer (Smṛi. K.); Sarasvatîvilâsa, by Foulkes (Sar. Vi.); Vyavahâramâdhava and Varadarâjya on Inheritance, by Burnell (Mâdh.; Varad.).

- IV, 162. M. Mit. II, 8, 21.
 V, 60. Dây. XI, 1, 42; XI, 6, 17; Datt. Mi. VI, 27.
 127. Col. Dig. V, 321.
 147-9. Col. Dig. IV, 86.
 150. Col. Dig. IV, 89.
 153-6. Col. Dig. IV, 103.
 157. Col. Dig. IV, 139; Mit. I, 10, 9; Viram. II, 2, 4; Sar. Vi. 345.
 158. Col. Dig. IV, 139; Mit. I, 10, 9; Viram. II, 2, 4.
 159. Col. Dig. IV, 140; Mit. I, 10, 9; Viram. II, 2, 4.
 160. Col. Dig. IV, 141; Mit. I, 10, 9; Datt. Mi. I, 29; Viram. II, 2, 4.
 161. Col. Dig. IV, 142; Mit. I, 10, 9; Viram. II, 2, 4; Sar. Vi. 345.
 162. Col. Dig. IV, 143.
 163. Col. Dig. IV, 161.
 165. Col. Dig. IV, 105.
 VII, 14-28. Viv. Kint. pp. 320-2.
 82. Col. Dig. V, 163; Dây. IX, 20.
 85. Col. Dig. II, 4, 63.
 127-40. Col. Dig. II, 2, 14, 1-13.
 VIII, 1-2. May. I, 1, 5.
 4. Col. Dig. II, 1, 2; May. I, 1, 3; Viv. Kint. p. 4.
 5-7. Col. Dig. II, 1, 2; May. I, 1, 3; M. Mit. I, 2, 5.
 11. M. Mit. I, 1, 12.
 13. M. Mit. I, 1, 15; VI, 1, 59.
 27. Col. Dig. V, 449; Viv. Kint. p. 300.
 28. Col. Dig. V, 480, 1.
 29. Col. Dig. V, 480, 2; May. IV, 10, 10; Smri. K. IX, 2, 27.
 30. Col. Dig. II, 2, 60, 1; May. VII, 8; M. Mit. V, 4.
 31-2. Col. Dig. II, 2, 60, 2-3.
 33. May. VII, 8; M. Mit. V, 5.
 34. Viv. Kint. p. 180.

- (VIII), 35. May. VII, 10; M. Mit. V, 11.
 37-8. M. Mit. V, 9.
 40. May. VII, 11; M. Mit. V, 12.
 43. M. Mit. I, 2, 7.
 45. Col. Dig. II, 4, 68.
 46. Col. Dig. I, 50, 233.
 47. Col. Dig. I, 233.
 48. Col. Dig. I, 234; Viv. *Kint.* p. 43.
 49. Col. Dig. I, 235; Viv. *Kint.* p. 43.
 50. Col. Dig. I, 254.
 51. Col. Dig. I, 264.
 59. Col. Dig. I, 265; Viv. *Kint.* p. 47.
 68. M. Mit. VI, 1, 6.
 70. May. II, 3, 8.
 74. M. Mit. VI, 1, 1.
 79-80. May. II, 3, 14.
 87. May. II, 3, 4.
 102. May. II, 3, 17; M. Mit. VI, 1, 22.
 107. M. Mit. VI, 1, 29.
 108. May. II, 3, 20; M. Mit. VI, 1, 45.
 113. May. II, 3, 17; III, 3; M. Mit. VI, 1, 23;
 VIII, 20, 1.
 115. M. Mit. VIII, 10, 2.
 117. M. Mit. VI, 1, 31.
 120. M. Mit. VI, 1, 49; Viv. *Kint.* p. 221.
 121. M. Mit. VI, 1, 49; Viv. *Kint.* p. 222.
 122. Viv. *Kint.* p. 221.
 123. M. Mit. III, 4, 9; Viv. *Kint.* p. 222.
 124-5. M. Mit. III, 4, 4.
 128. M. Mit. I, 1, 6.
 129. M. Mit. III, 4, 3.
 132-4. Col. Dig. III, 1, 77, 1-3.
 138. Viv. *Kint.* p. 222.
 139. Col. Dig. I, 273; Viv. *Kint.* pp. 48, 221.
 140. Col. Dig. I, 23, 29, 1.
 141. Col. Dig. I, 29, 2; Viv. *Kint.* p. 7.
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188. Col. Dig. V, 442; Dây. XI, 6, 26; Mit. II, 7,
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189. Col. Dig. II, 3, 23, 1; V, 443; Dây. XI, 6,
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190. Col. Dig. II, 3, 23, 2; May. IV, 10, 8.
191. Col. Dig. V, 344; Dây. X, 16.

- (IX), 192. Col. Dig. V, 485; Dâṃ. IV, 2, 1; Mit. II, 11, 19; Vīram. II, 1, 18; V, 2, 1, 5; Viv. Kint. pp. 226, 266; Smṛi. K. IX, 3, 6; Sar. Vi. 309; Mādḥ. p. 43; Varad. p. 43.
193. Col. Dig. V, 498; Mit. II, 11, 17; May. IV, 10, 16; Vīram. V, 2, 1; Smṛi. K. IX, 3, 10; Sar. Vi. 285; Mādḥ. p. 43; Varad. p. 43.
194. Col. Dig. V, 462; Dâṃ. IV, 1, 4; Mit. II, 11, 4; May. IV, 10, 1; Vīram. V, 1, 1; Viv. Kint. p. 256; Smṛi. K. IX, 1, 1, 3; Sar. Vi. 260; Mādḥ. p. 44; Varad. p. 45.
195. May. IV, 10, 13; Vīram. V, 2, 1; Smṛi. K. IX, 3, 1; Varad. p. 46.
196. Col. Dig. V, 502; Dâṃ. IV, 2, 27; May. IV, 10, 29; Dâṃakr. II, 3, 14; H, 4, 10; Vīram. V, 2, 9; Viv. Kint. p. 269; Smṛi. K. IX, 3, 28; Sar. Vi. 319; Mādḥ. p. 44; Varad. p. 46.
197. Col. Dig. V, 503; Dâṃ. IV, 2, 27; May. IV, 10, 29; Dâṃakr. II, 3, 19; Vīram. V, 2, 9; Viv. Kint. p. 269; Mādḥ. p. 44; Varad. p. 47.
198. Col. Dig. V, 495; Dâṃ. IV, 2, 16; IV, 3, 3; Mit. II, 11, 22; May. IV, 10, 19; Dâṃakr. II, 5, 3; Vīram. V, 2, 5; Smṛi. K. IX, 3, 40; Sar. Vi. 307; Mādḥ. p. 44; Varad. p. 45.
199. Col. Dig. V, 474; Vīram. V, 1, 5; Smṛi. K. IX, 1, 14.
200. Col. Dig. V, 473; Mit. I, 4, 19; II, 11, 34; Viv. Kint. p. 260; Smṛi. K. IX, 2, 27; Sar. Vi. 201; Mādḥ. p. 50; Varad. p. 49.
201. Col. Dig. V, 329, 1; Dâṃ. V, 7; Mit. II, 10, 5; May. IV, 11, 3; Dâṃakr. III, 1; Vīram. VIII, 1; Viv. Kint. p. 243; Smṛi. K. V, 4; Sar. Vi. 148; Mādḥ. p. 39; Varad. p. 13.
202. Col. Dig. V, 329, 2; Mit. II, 10, 5; Vīram. VIII, 2; Viv. Kint. p. 243; Smṛi. K. V, 22; Sar. Vi. 159; Varad. p. 13.
203. Col. Dig. V, 329, 3; Vīram. VIII, 9; Viv. Kint. p. 243; Varad. p. 13.

- (IX), 204. Col. Dig. V, 341; Dâ. VI, 1, 54; Mit. I, 4, 13; Varad. p. 30.
205. Col. Dig. V, 73; May. IV, 7, 14; Viv. Kint. p. 254; Varad. p. 30.
206. Col. Dig. V, 345; Dâ. VI, 1, 9, 31, 51; May. IV, 7, 1; Dâ. IV, 2, 2; Viv. Kint. p. 249; Smṛi. K. VII, 26; Varad. p. 28.
207. Col. Dig. V, 107; Dâ. III, 28; Vīram. II, 1, 15; Viv. Kint. p. 237; Smṛi. K. II, 2, 26; Varad. p. 12.
208. Col. Dig. V, 348; Dâ. VI, 1, 3, 31; Mit. I, 4, 10; May. IV, 7, 4; Dâ. IV, 2, 5; Vīram. VII, 1; Viv. Kint. p. 250; Smṛi. K. VII, 27; Sar. Vi. 173; Varad. p. 29.
209. Col. Dig. V, 91; Dâ. II, 21; VI, 2, 32; Mit. I, 5, 11; May. IV, 4, 5; Vīram. II, 1, 17; Viv. Kint. p. 229; Sar. Vi. 223; Mād. p. 13.
210. Col. Dig. V, 35, 406, 1; Dâ. XII, 1; Mit. II, 9, 12; May. IV, 9, 2; Vīram. IV, 1, 4; Smṛi. K. XII, 3; Mād. p. 34; Varad. p. 52.
211. Col. Dig. V, 406, 2; Mit. II, 9, 12; May. IV, 9, 13; Vīram. IV, 4; Smṛi. K. XI, 1, 51; XII, 17; Sar. Vi. 767; Mād. pp. 35-6; Varad. p. 52.
212. Col. Dig. V, 406, 3; Dâ. XI, 6, 32; Mit. II, 9, 12; May. IV, 9, 13; Vīram. IV, 4, 6; Smṛi. K. XI, 1, 51; XII, 17; Sar. Vi. 767; Mād. pp. 35-6; Varad. p. 52.
213. Col. Dig. V, 52; Mit. I, 9, 5; May. IV, 7, 24; Vīram. II, 1, 7; VI, 2; Viv. Kint. p. 234; Sar. Vi. 781; Mād. p. 52.
214. Col. Dig. V, 317; Dâ. V, 6; May. IV, 11, 9; Vīram. VIII, 11; Viv. Kint. p. 242; Smṛi. K. V, 19; Varad. p. 12.
215. Col. Dig. V, 29; Dâ. II, 86; Vīram. II, 1, 10; Viv. Kint. p. 235.
216. Col. Dig. V, 101; Dâ. I, 46; II, 2; VII, 1;

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- (IX), 217. Col. Dig. V, 424; Dâṃ. XI, 3, 2; Mit. II, 1,
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218. Col. Dig. V, 375; Dâṃ. XIII, 1; Dâṃakr.
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219. Col. Dig. V, 343; Dâṃ. VI, 2, 23; May. IV,
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- 222-3. Viv. Kint. p. 317.
224. May. XXI, 2; Viv. Kint. p. 317.
229. Col. Dig. III, 1, 34.
- 231-2. Viv. Kint. pp. 190-1.
237. Viv. Kint. p. 213.
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A.

SYNOPSIS

OF

PARALLEL PASSAGES.

By the advice of the editor I add a detailed synopsis of the parallel passages from the six Dharma-sūtras and Smṛitis, as well as of the wholly or partly identical verses from the Mahābhārata, Parāśara, Mānava Śrāddhakalpa, the Upanishads, and some other works. I trust that, though references to the Smṛitis have already been given in the notes to the translation, this addition will not be found useless. The principle on which I have worked is, a different one, and this synopsis shows much more clearly which rules of Manu's work are represented in the older books and which are not. It also shows at a glance which verses I have been able to trace elsewhere. According to what has been said in the Introduction, both points are of some importance. I have used this opportunity to supply some omissions, and to correct the misprints occurring in the figures of the quotations given in the notes. Wherever the notes and the synopsis differ, the latter alone is to be relied on. The addition of an asterisk (*) to a quotation means that the passage is in verse, and that it is thus intimately connected with Manu's Sloka. The passages quoted from the Mahābhārata are all cognate verses. Hence no asterisks have been added.

Abbreviations: Ga.=Gautamiya Dharmaśāstra; Ba.=Baudhāyana Dharmaśāstra; Âp.=Âpastambiya Dharma-sūtra; Va.=Vāsishṭha Dharmaśāstra; Vi.=Viṣṇu Smṛiti; Yâ.=Yâgñavalkiya Dharmaśāstra; Par.=Parāśara Smṛiti (Calc. ed.); Mâ. Sr.=Mānava-Śrāddhakalpa (Introduction, pp. xl-xliii); Â. Gri.=Ârvalāyana Grīhya-sūtra (Calc. ed.); Sâ. Gri.=Sāṅkhāyana Grīhya-sūtra; Pâ. Gri.=Pāraskara Grīhya-sūtra; Go. Gri.=Gobhiliya Grīhya-sūtra (Calc. ed.); Mai. Up.=Maitrāyaṇīyabrāhmaṇopaniṣad; Îrâ. Up.=Îrāvāsyopaniṣad; Sa. Up.=Saṃhitopaniṣad; Nir.=Nirukta; Mah.=Mahābhārata; V. P.=Viṣṇu-purāṇa, Wilson's translation, edited by Dr. F. E. Hall.

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61. Ba. I, 8, 17; Âp. I, 15, 4-7; Va. III, 31; Vi. LXII, 5; Yâ. I, 18, 20; Go. *Gri. I*, 2, 5, 22-23.
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 108. Ga. II, 8, 30, 35; Ba. I, 3, 16; 4, 4-8; Âp. I, 4, 16, 23; 5, 25; Va. VII, 9, 15; Vi. XXVIII, 4, 7, 9, 12; Yâ. I, 25.
 109. Yâ. I, 28.
 110. Ba. I, 4, 2; Âp. I, 32, 22-24; Va. II, 12.
 111. Vi. XXIX, 7*.
 112. Sa. Up. III* (p. 30, Bur.); Ba. I, 4, 1a*; Vi. XXIX, 8*.
 113. Ba. I, 4, 1b*.
 114. Nir. II, 4*; Sa. Up. III* (pp. 29-30, Bur.); Va. II, 8*; Vi. XXIX, 9*.
 115. Nir. II, 4*; Va. II, 9*; Vi. XXIX, 10*.
 116. Vi. XXX, 41-42.
 117. Vi. XXX, 43*; Ga. VI, 1-3, 5; Ba. I, 3, 25-28; Âp. I, 5, 19-20; 14, 7-9; Va. XIII, 41-43; Vi. XXVIII, 14-17; Go. *Gri.* III, 1, 27.
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 119. Ga. II, 21, 25; Âp. I, 8, 11.
 120. Mah. XIII, 104, 64^b-65^a.
 121. Âp. I, 5, 15; Ba. I, 3, 23.
 122. Ga. VI, 5; Ba. I, 3, 27; Âp. I, 5, 12; Va. XIII, 44; Vi. XXVIII, 17; Yâ. I, 26; Sâ. *Gri.* IV, 12, 5.
 123. Va. XIII, 45.
 124. Vi. XXVIII, 17.
 125. Âp. I, 5, 18; Va. XIII, 46.
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 127. Ga. V, 41; Âp. I, 14, 26-29.
 128. Ga. VI, 19.
 129. Vi. XXXII, 7.
 130. Ga. VI, 9; Ba. I, 3, 45; Âp. I, 14, 11; Va. XIII, 41; Vi. XXXII, 4; Sâ. *Gri.* IV, 12, 1-5.
 131. Ga. VI, 7; Âp. I, 14, 6-9; Vi. XXXII, 2.
 132. Ga. VI, 7-8; Vi. XXXII, 2.
 133. Vi. XXXII, 3.
 134. Âp. I, 14, 13*; Ga. VI, 14-17.
 135. Mah. XIII, 8, 21; Âp. I, 14, 25*; Vi. XXXII, 17*.
 136. Vi. XXXII, 16*; Ga. VI, 20; Va. XIII, 56-57; Yâ. I, 116.
 137. Ga. VI, 10; Yâ. I, 116.
 138. Ga. VI, 24; Ba. II, 6, 30; Âp. II, 11, 7; Va. XIII, 58, 60; Vi. LXIII, 51; Yâ. I, 117.
 139. Ga. VI, 25; Âp. II, 11, 5-6; Va. XIII, 59; Yâ. I, 117.
 140. Ga. I, 9-10; Âp. I, 1, 13; Va. III, 21; Vi. XXIX, 1; Yâ. I, 34.
 141. Va. III, 22-23; Vi. XXIX, 2; Yâ. I, 35.
 142. Yâ. I, 34.
 143. Vi. XXIX, 3; Yâ. I, 35.
 144. Sa. Up. III* (p. 32, Bur.); Nir. II, 4*; Va. II, 10*; Vi. XXX, 47*; Âp. I, 1, 14.
 145. Va. XIII, 48*; Ga. VI, 51; Yâ. I, 35.
 146. Vi. XXX, 44*; Ga. VI, 50; Va. II, 3-5.
 147. Vi. XXX, 45*; Âp. I, 1, 17.
 148. Vi. XXX, 46*; Ga. I, 8; Âp. I, 1, 16.

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 151. Ba. I, 3, 47.
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 154. Mah. III, 133, 12.
 155. Vi. XXXII, 18*.
 156. Ga. VI, 21-23.
 157. Mah. XII, 36, 46; Va. III, 11*; Ba. I, 1, 10*; Par. VIII, 23*.
 158. Mah. XII, 36, 47; Par. VIII, 24*.
 159. Ga. II, 42; Âp. I, 8, 25-30.
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 166. Âp. I, 12, 1-2; Yâ. I, 40.
 167. Ba. II, 11, 8.
 168. Va. III, 2*; Vi. XXVIII, 36.
 169. Va. II, 3*; Vi. XXVIII, 37; Yâ. I, 39.
 170. Mah. III, 180, 34^b; Va. II, 3*; Vi. XXVIII, 38.
 171. Va. II, 6^a*; Ga. I, 10; Va. II, 4-5; Ba. I, 3, 6^a; Âp. II, 15, 19.
 172. Mah. III, 180, 35^a; Va. II, 6^b*; Ba. I, 3, 6^b*; Ga. II, 4-5.
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 174. Vi. XXVII, 28*.
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 176. Ga. II, 8; Va. VII, 17; Vi. XXVIII, 4-5; Yâ. I, 22.
 177. Ga. II, 13; Ba. I, 3, 23-24; Âp. I, 2, 23, 25-26; Yâ. I, 33; Pâ. Gri. II, 5, 12; Go. Gri. III, 1, 17, 19, 23.
 178. Ga. II, 13; Ba. I, 3, 24; Âp. I, 3, 11, 17-24; 7, 5; Va. VII, 15; Vi. XXVIII, 11; Yâ. I, 33; Go. Gri. III, 1, 16, 19, 25-26.
 179. Ga. II, 13, 16, 17; Ba. I, 3, 20; Âp. I, 3, 12-13; 7, 3, 8-10; Vi. XXVIII, 11; Yâ. I, 33; Pâ. Gri. II, 5, 12; Go. Gri. III, 1, 16.
 180. Vi. XXVIII, 48.
 181. Vi. XXVIII, 51*.
 182. Ba. I, 3, 19; Âp. I, 4, 13-14; Â. Gri. I, 22, 5; Sâ. Gri. II, 6, 8; Pâ. Gri. II, 5, 11; Go. Gri. III, 1, 27.
 183. Ga. II, 35; Ba. I, 3, 18; Âp. I, 3, 25; Vi. XXVIII, 9; Yâ. I, 29.
 184. Ga. II, 37-38.
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 186. Ba. I, 3, 19; Âp. I, 4, 16; Vi. XXVIII, 4; Â. Gri. I, 22, 6; Sâ. Gri. II, 6, 8; Pâ. Gri. II, 5, 9, 11; Go. Gri. III, 1, 27.
 187. Vi. XXVIII, 52*; Yâ. III, 281.
 188. Yâ. I, 32.
 189. Yâ. I, 32.
 190. Yâ. I, 32.
 191. Ga. II, 29-30; Âp. I, 5, 24-27; Va. VII, 13; Vi. XXVIII, 6-7; Yâ. I, 27; Sâ. Gri. II, 6, 8; Pâ. Gri. II, 5, 11; Go. Gri. III, 1, 15.
 192. Ga. II, 22; Âp. I, 5, 17.
 193. Âp. I, 6, 18-20.
 194. Ga. II, 21; Ba. I, 3, 21; Âp. I, 4, 22, 28; Vi. XXVIII, 13.
 195. Ga. II, 25; Âp. I, 6, 5; Vi. XXVIII, 18.

196. Vi. XXVIII, 19*; Ga. II, 28; Ba. I, 3, 38; Va. VII, 12; Âp. I, 6, 6-9; Pâ. Gri. II, 5, 30.
197. Vi. XXVIII, 20-22.
198. Ga. II, 14-15, 21; Âp. I, 2, 21; 3, 15; 6, 13-17; 8, 8-10; Vi. XXVIII, 23; Sâ. Gri. IV, 8, 5, 7-11.
199. Ga. II, 18, 23; Âp. I, 8, 15; Vi. XXVIII, 24-25.
200. Vi. XXVIII, 26.
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203. Âp. I, 6, 15, 23.
204. Ba. I, 3, 34; Âp. I, 8, 12-13; Vi. XXVIII, 27-28.
205. Va. XIII, 54^a*; Ga. VI, 3-4; Âp. I, 6, 29-30; 8, 19-20; Vi. XXVIII, 29-30.
206. Âp. I, 7, 28-29.
207. Ga. II, 31; Ba. I, 3, 44; Âp. I, 7, 29-30; Va. XIII, 54; Vi. XXXII, 1.
208. Vi. XXVIII, 31.
209. Ga. II, 32; Ba. I, 3, 36; Âp. I, 7, 30; Vi. XXVIII, 32-33.
210. Ga. II, 31; Ba. I, 3, 37; Âp. I, 7, 27; Vi. XXXII, 2, 5.
211. Ga. II, 32; Ba. I, 3, 37; Âp. I, 7, 27; Vi. XXXII, 6.
212. Vi. XXXII, 13*; Ga. II, 34; Ba. I, 3, 33.
213. Mah. XIII, 48, 38.
214. Mah. XIII, 48, 37.
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216. Vi. XXXII, 14*.
217. Vi. XXXII, 15*; Ga. VI, 2; Âp. I, 14, 8.
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219. Ga. I, 27; II, 10; Âp. I, 2, 31-32; 30, 8; Va. VII, 11; Vi. XXVIII, 41.
220. Vi. XXVIII, 53*; Ga. XXIII, 21; Ba. II, 7, 16; Âp. II, 12, 13-14; Va. XX, 4.
221. Va. I, 18; Âp. II, 12, 22.
222. Ga. II, 11; Ba. II, 7, 2; Vi. XXVIII, 2.
223. Mah. XIII, 105, 13; Âp. II, 29, 11.
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225. Ga. XXI, 15; Âp. I, 14, 6; Vi. XXXI, 1-3.
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228. Vi. XXXI, 5.
229. Mah. XII, 108, 5^b.
230. Mah. XII, 108, 6; Vi. XXXI, 7*.
231. Mah. XII, 108, 7; Vi. XXXI, 8; Âp. I, 3, 44.
232. Mah. XII, 108, 8^a.
233. Mah. XII, 108, 8^b-9; Vi. XXXI, 10*.
234. Mah. XII, 108, 12; Vi. XXXI, 9*.
235. Vi. XXXI, 6.
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238. Mah. XII, 165, 31^a, 32^a; Âp. II, 29, 11.
239. Mah. XII, 165, 31^b, 32^a.
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241. Ga. VII, 1-3; Ba. I, 3, 41-43; Âp. II, 4, 25.
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243. Ga. III, 5, 6; Ba. II, 11, 13; Âp. II, 21, 6; Va. VII, 4; Vi. XXVIII, 43; Yâ. I, 49.
244. Ga. III, 9; Yâ. I, 50.
245. Ga. II, 48-49; Âp. I, 7, 19; Vi. XXVIII, 42; Yâ. I, 51; Â. Gri. III, 9, 4; Go. Gri. III, 4, 1-2.

246. *Sâ. Gri.* III, 1, 18.

247. *Ga.* III, 7; *Vi.* XXVIII,
44-45; *Yâ. I.* 49.

248. *Ga.* III, 8; *Va.* VII, 5-6;
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249. *Vi.* XXVIII, 47*.

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1. *Ga.* II, 45-47; *Ba. I.* 3, 1-4;
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2. *Va.* VIII, 1; *Yâ. I.* 52.

3. *Sâ. Gri.* III, 1, 5, 17; *Go.*
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4. *Ga.* IV, 1; *Va.* VIII, 1; *Yâ.*
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9, 4; *Sâ. Gri. I.* 5, 6-10; *Pâ.*
Gri. II. 6, 1, 4; *Go. Gri. II.*
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5. *Ga.* IV, 2-5; *Va.* VIII, 1-2;
Ba. II. 1, 37-38; *Vi.* XXIV,
9-10; *Yâ. I.* 53; *Go. Gri.*
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6. *Â. Gri. I.* 5, 1.

7. *Yâ. I.* 54.

8. *Vi.* XXIV, 12-16; *Yâ. I.* 53.

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11. *Yâ. I.* 53.

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13. *Ba. I.* 16, 2-5; *Va. I.* 24-25;
Vi. XXIV, 1-4; *Yâ. I.* 57;
Pâ. Gri. I. 4, 8-11.

14. *Va. I.* 26; *Yâ. I.* 56.

15. *Vi.* XXVI, 6*; *Va. I.* 27.

16. *Ba. II.* 2, 7.

17. *Va. I.* 27.

18. *Vi.* XXVI, 7*; *Va. XIV.* 11.

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20. *Mah. I.* 73, 8.

21. *Mah. I.* 73, 8-9; *Ba. I.* 20,
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23. *Mah. I.* 73, 10; *Ga.* IV, 15.

24. *Mah. I.* 73, 10-11; *Ga.* IV,
14; *Ba. I.* 20, 10; *Âp. II.* 12,
3; *Vi.* XXIV, 27-28.

25. *Mah. I.* 73, 11-12.

26. *Mah. I.* 73, 13; *Ba. I.* 20,
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27. *Ga.* IV, 6; *Ba. I.* 20, 2;
Âp. II. 11, 17; *Va. I.* 30; *Vi.*
XXIV, 19; *Yâ. I.* 58; *Â. Gri.*
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28. *Ga.* IV, 9; *Ba. I.* 20, 5;
Âp. II. 11, 19; *Va. I.* 31; *Vi.*
XXIV, 20; *Yâ. I.* 59; *Â. Gri.*
I, 6.

29. *Ga.* IV, 8; *Ba. I.* 20, 4; *Âp.*
II. 11, 18; *Va. I.* 32; *Vi.*
XXIV, 21; *Yâ. I.* 59; *Â. Gri.*
I, 6.

30. *Ga.* IV, 7; *Ba. I.* 20, 3; *Vi.*
XXIV, 22; *Yâ. I.* 60; *Â. Gri.*
I, 6.

31. *Ga.* IV, 11; *Ba. I.* 20, 6¹;
Âp. II. 12, 1; *Va. I.* 35; *Vi.*
XXIV, 24; *Yâ. I.* 61; *Â. Gri.*
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32. *Ga.* IV, 10; *Ba. I.* 20, 7¹;
Âp. II. 11, 20; *Va. I.* 33; *Vi.*
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¹ The order of the Sûtras followed here is that adopted by Dr. Hultzsach in his edition of the text.

33. Ga. IV, 12; Ba. I, 20, 8; Âp. II, 12, 2; Va. I, 34; Vi. XXIV, 25; Yâ. I, 61; Â. *Gri.* I, 6.
 34. Ga. IV, 13; Ba. I, 20, 9; Vi. XXIV, 26; Yâ. I, 61; Â. *Gri.* I, 6.
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 37. Ga. IV, 33; Vi. XXIV, 29; Yâ. I, 58; Â. *Gri.* I, 6.
 38. Ga. IV, 29-32; Vi. XXIV, 30-32; Yâ. I, 59-60; Â. *Gri.* I, 6.
 39.
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 42. Ba. I, 21, 1; Âp. II, 12, 4.
 43. Vi. XXIV, 5; Yâ. I, 62.
 44. Vi. XXIV, 6-8; Yâ. I, 62.
 45. Ga. V, 1-2; Ba. IV, 1, 18-19; Âp. II, 1, 17-18; Va. XII, 21-24; Vi. LXIX, 1; Yâ. I, 79-81; Sâ. *Gri.* IV, 11, 16; Pâ. *Gri.* I, 11, 7-8.
 46. Yâ. I, 79.
 47. Yâ. I, 79.
 48. Yâ. I, 79.
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 50. Yâ. I, 79.
 51. Ba. I, 21, 2-3; II, 2, 27; Âp. II, 13, 11; Va. I, 37-38.
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 53. Mah. XIII, 45, 20; Âp. II, 13, 12; Va. I, 36.
 54. Mah. XIII, 46, 1^{b-2^a}.
 55. Mah. XIII, 46, 3; Yâ. I, 82.
 56. Mah. XIII, 46, 5^{b-6^a}.
 57. Mah. XIII, 46, 6^b.
 58. Mah. XIII, 46, 7.
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 61. Mah. XIII, 46, 4.
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 63. Ba. I, 10, 26*.
 64. Ba. I, 10, 28*.
 65. Ba. I, 10, 28^b*.
 66. Ba. I, 10, 29.
 67. Ga. V, 7-8; Ba. II, 4, 22; Vi. LIX, 1-2; Yâ. I, 97.
 68. Par. II, 11*; Vi. LIX, 19.
 69. Vi. LIX, 20.
 70. Ga. V, 3-4, 9; Ba. II, 5, 11; II, 11, 1; Vi. LIX, 20-25; Yâ. I, 102; Â. *Gri.* III, 1, 1-4.
 71.
 72. Vi. LIX, 26*.
 73. Sâ. *Gri.* I, 5, 1; Pâ. *Gri.* I, 4, 1.
 74. Â. *Gri.* I, 1, 3; Sâ. *Gri.* I, 10, 6.
 75. Â. *Gri.* III, 2, 2.
 76. Mah. XII, 264, 11; Mai. Up. VI, 37; Va. XI, 13.
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 78. Va. VIII, 14-16; Vi. LIX, 27-28.
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 80. Vi. LIX, 29*; Sâ. *Gri.* II, 16, 6.
 81. Yâ. I, 23, 104.
 82. Mah. XIII, 97, 8^{b-9^a}; Mâ. Sr. IV*; Vi. LXVII, 23-25.
 83. { Ga. V, 10; Ba. II, 5, 11;
 Âp. II, 3, 12, 16-17; Va.
 84. { XI, 3; Vi. LXVII, 1-3;
 85. { Â. *Gri.* I, 2, 1-2; Sâ. *Gri.*
 86. { II, 14, 1-4; Pâ. *Gri.* II,
 9, 1-12.
 87. { Ga. V, 11-17; Âp. II, 3,
 12, 15, 18-23; II, 4, 1-8;
 88. { Va. XI, 4; Vi. LXVII, 4-
 89. { 22; Â. *Gri.* I, 2, 3-10;
 90. { Sâ. *Gri.* II, 14, 5-17; Pâ.
 91. { *Gri.* II, 9, 3-10; Go.
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92. *Âp.* II, 9, 5-6; *Vi.* LXVII, 26; *Yâ.* I, 103; *Sâ. Gri.* II, 14, 22.
93. *Âp.* II, 4, 9; *Vi.* LXVII, 28, 32, 44, 46.
94. *Ba.* II, 5, 15; *Âp.* II, 4, 10-11; *Va.* XI, 5; *Vi.* LIX, 14; LXVII, 27; *Yâ.* I, 108; *Sâ. Gri.* II, 14, 20; *Pâ. Gri.* II, 9, 11-12.
95.
96. *Ga.* V, 18; *Yâ.* I, 108; *Sâ. Gri.* II, 14, 19.
97. *Va.* III, 8.
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99. *Ga.* V, 31-34; *Va.* VIII, 12; *Âp.* II, 4, 13, 16; II, 6, 7-14; *Vi.* LXVII, 45; *Yâ.* I, 107.
100. *Sâ. Gri.* II, 17, 1*; *Vi.* LXVII, 33.
101. *Âp.* II, 4, 14*; *Ga.* V, 35-36; *Yâ.* I, 107.
102. *Va.* VIII, 7*; *Vi.* LXVII, 34*; *Ga.* V, 40.
103. *Va.* VIII, 8a*; *Vi.* LXVII, 35*; *Par.* I, 43*; *Sâ. Gri.* II, 16, 3*; *Ga.* V, 40; *Âp.* II, 6, 5.
104. *Yâ.* I, 112.
105. *Va.* VIII, 8b*; *Ga.* V, 40; *Va.* VIII, 4-5; *Vi.* LXVII, 29-30; *Yâ.* 107.
106. *Ga.* V, 38-39; *Âp.* II, 8, 2-4; *Yâ.* I, 104.
107. *Yâ.* I, 107.
108. *Âp.* II, 6, 16-17; *Va.* XI, 12.
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110. *Ga.* V, 43.
111. *Vi.* LXVII, 36*; *Ga.* V, 44.
112. *Vi.* LXVII, 37*; *Ga.* V, 45; *Ba.* II, 5, 14; *Âp.* II, 4, 18-20.
113. *Vi.* LXVII, 38*; *Yâ.* I, 108.
114. *Vi.* LXVII, 39*; *Ga.* V, 25; *Ba.* II, 13, 5^{a-b}; *Âp.* II, 4, 12; *Yâ.* I, 105; *Sâ. Gri.* II, 14, 21; *Pâ. Gri.* II, 9, 13.
115. *Ba.* II, 13, 5^{c-d}*; *Vi.* LXVII, 40*; *Ba.* II, 5, 18.
116. *Vi.* LXVII, 41*; *Âp.* II, 8, 2; *Yâ.* I, 105; *Pâ. Gri.* II, 9, 14.
117. *Vi.* LXVII, 42*; *Ba.* II, 13, 6.
118. *Vi.* LXVII, 43*; *Ba.* II, 13, 2.
119. *Ga.* V, 27-28; *Ba.* II, 6, 36-38; *Âp.* II, 8, 5-9; *Va.* XI, 1-2; *Yâ.* I, 109-10; *Â. Gri.* I, 24, 1-4; *Sâ. Gri.* II, 15, 1-9; *Pâ. Gri.* I, 3, 1-3; *Go. Gri.* IV, 10, 24-26.
120. *Ga.* V, 29-30; *Ba.* II, 6, 37; *Yâ.* I, 110; *Sâ. Gri.* II, 15, 10.
121. *Go. Gri.* I, 4, 19.
122. *Ga.* XV, 2; *Yâ.* I, 217.
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125. *Ba.* II, 15, 10*; *Va.* XI, 27*; *Mâ. Sr.* IV*; *Ga.* XV, 21; *Vi.* LXXIII, 3-4; *Yâ.* I, 228; *Â. Gri.* IV, 7, 2; *Sâ. Gri.* IV, 1, 2.
126. *Ba.* II, 15, 11*; *Va.* XI, 28*; *Mâ. Sr.* IV*.
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128. *Va.* III, 8a*; *Â. Gri.* IV, 7, 2.
129. *Ga.* XV, 21; *Va.* XI, 29.
130. *Vi.* LXXXII, 2.
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 134. Mah. XIII, 90, 50; Va. VI, 26; Vi. LXXXIII, 9-13; Yâ. I, 221.
 135. Mah. XIII, 90, 51^a.
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 138. Ga. XV, 12; Ba. II, 14, 6; Âp. II, 17, 4; Va. XI, 17.
 139. Âp. II, 17, 9.
 140. Mah. XIII, 90, 42.
 141. Mah. XIII, 90, 46; Âp. II, 17, 8^{*}.
 142. Mah. XIII, 90, 44.
 143.
 144. Ba. II, 14, 4; Âp. II, 17, 5-6; Va. XI, 18.
 145. Mâ. Sr. IV^{*}; Ba. II, 14, 4.
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 148. Mâ. Sr. IV^{*}; Ga. XV, 20; Vi. LXXXIII, 17-18; Yâ. I, 220.
 149. Vi. LXXXII, 1-2.
 150. Ga. XV, 16; Va. XI, 19; Yâ. I, 223-224.
 151. Ga. XV, 16, 18; Vi. LXXXII, 13.
 152. Ga. XV, 18; Vi. LXXXII, 8-9.
 153. Ga. XV, 16, 18; Va. XI, 19; Vi. LXXXII, 26; Yâ. I, 222.
 154. Ga. XV, 16, 18; Va. XI, 19; Yâ. I, 223.
 155. Ga. XV, 17-18; Yâ. I, 222.
 156. Vi. LXXXII, 20-21; Yâ. I, 222, 223.
 157. Vi. LXXXII, 23, 29; Yâ. I, 224.
 158. Mah. XIII, 90, 7; Ga. XV, 18; Yâ. I, 223-224.
 159. Mah. XIII, 90, 8; Ga. XV, 19; Vi. LXXXII, 5, 28; Yâ. I, 222, 223.
 160. Ga. XV, 18; Vi. LXXXII, 18; Yâ. I, 223.
 161. Ga. XV, 18; Âp. II, 17, 21; Va. XI, 19; Vi. LXXXII, 19; Yâ. I, 222.
 162. Âp. II, 17, 21; Vi. LXXXII, 7.
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 164. Ga. XV, 18; Vi. LXXXII, 22; Yâ. I, 223.
 165. Yâ. I, 223.
 166. Ga. XV, 16; Yâ. I, 224.
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 170. Mah. XIII, 90, 11^b-12^a.
 171. Par. IV, 20.
 172. Mah. XII, 165, 68^a; Ba. II, 1, 39^{*}; Par. IV, 19^{*}.
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 174. Par. IV, 17^{*}.
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 180. Mah. XIII, 90, 13^b-14^a.
 181. Mah. XIII, 90, 14^b-15^a.
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 184. Mah. XIII, 90, 36; Ga. XV, 9, 28; Âp. II, 17, 22; Vi. LXXXIII, 5; Yâ. I, 219.
 185. Mah. XIII, 90, 26^b-27^a; Mâ. Sr. IV^{*}; Ga. XV, 28; Ba. II, 14, 2; Âp. II, 17, 22; Vi.

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186. Mâ. Sr. IV*; Yâ. I, 219.
187. Ba. II, 14, 6; Âp. II, 17, 11-15; Va. XI, 17; Vi. LXXXIII, 2; Yâ. I, 225.
188. Ga. XV, 23; Yâ. I, 225.
189. Mâ. Sr. IV.
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202. Mâ. Sr. II; Âp. II, 19, 3-5; Vi. LXXIX, 24; Yâ. I, 236.
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205. Vi. LXXXIII, 27; Yâ. I, 244.
206. Ga. XV, 25; Âp. II, 18, 6; Yâ. I, 227; Vi. LXXXV, 62.
207. Vi. LXXXV, 54-61.
208. Vi. LXXXIII, 2; Yâ. I, 226; Â. *Gri.* IV, 7, 2.
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- Vâyu, deity, V, 96; VII, 4, 7; IX, 42, 303, 306; XI, 120.
- Veda, conflicting passages of, all authoritative, II, 14-15.
- definition of the term, II, 10.
- first source of the law, II, 6-15.
- greatness and power of, I, 21; XII, 94-104.
- offences against, cavilling at, III, 161; IV, 163; XI, 57; divulging, see Penance for; Śûdra, disabilities; forgetting, XI, 57; scorning, II, 11.
- origin of, I, 23; XII, 49.
- purifying power of, XI, 264. See Veda-study.
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- riddles from, III, 231.
- stealing the, II, 116; XI, 51. See Atharvan; Brâhmana, Mantra-samhitâ, Rahasya, Rig-veda, Samhitâ, Sâman, Sâma-veda, Upanishads, Yagur-veda.
- Vedânta, II, 160; VI, 83, 94.
- Vedasamnyâsika. See Ascetic, informal.
- Veda-study, ceremonies on beginning, II, 70-74; V, 145.
- destroys guilt, XI, 246-247. See Veda, purifying power.
- duration of annual term, pp. xlv-xlvii; IV, 95-96.
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- general rule of, IV, 99-100.
- interruptions of, III, 188; IV, 101-127; exceptions, II, 105-106.
- Veda-study, neglect of, III, 151. See Penance for neglecting.
- private daily, duty of, II, 106, 166-167; III, 70, 74, 81; IV, 58, 145-149; VI, 8.
- neglect of, an Upapâtaka, XI, 60; results of, III, 63. See Penance.
- rewards for, II, 107; III, 66. See Muttered prayer, Vows.
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- Vedotsarga, IV, 96-97, 119.
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- Vena caste, X, 19, 49.
- Vice, the eighteen vices of a king, VII, 45-53.
- Vigānman caste, X, 23.
- Vikhanas, institutes of. See Vaidikhanasa-sûtra.
- Village, boundaries of. See Boundaries.
- pasture-ground around, VIII, 237.
- Vinâsana, a place, II, 21.
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- a title of the law, VIII, 6, 344-351.
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- Vîrâsana, a posture, XI, 111.
- Vishnu, XII, 121.
- Vishnu-smṛiti, pp. xxi-xxiii, xlv, lxvi, lxx-lxxi, lxxiii, cxxii.
- Virvagit sacrifice, XI, 75.
- Virvâmitra, sage, VII, 42; X, 108.
- Virvesvara-bhâṣa, p. cxxv.
- Vows, for the Veda-study, II, 28, 165, 173-174.
- Vrâtya, II, 39; X, 20; XI, 63.
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- sacrificing for, XI, 198.
- sexual intercourse with female, VIII, 373. See Initiation; Penance for neglect of initiation.
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- Vṛiddhi-śrâddha, III, 254.
- Vyâhritis, II, 76, 78, 81; VI, 70; XI, 223, 249.
- Wages, non-payment of, VIII, 5, 215-218.
- of herdsmen, VIII, 231.
- of royal servants, VII, 125-126.

- Warfare, rules of, VII, 87-94, 164-167, 170-171, 181-199.
- Washerman, food of, forbidden to Brāhmaṇa, IV, 219.
- rules for washing, VIII, 396.
- Water, indivisible property, IX, 219.
- penance for stealing, XI, 164.
- prohibition against defilement of, IV, 46, 48, 56; XI, 174.
- punishment for diverting or stealing, III, 163; IX, 274, 281.
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- how replaced, II, 64.
- Way, right of, II, 138-139.
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- Weights, enumeration of, of copper, silver, and gold, VIII, 131-137.
- to be examined by king, VIII, 403.
- Well, boundaries of, VIII, 262.
- Widow, duties of faithful, V, 156-160, 165-166.
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- and husband indissolubly united, IX, 45-46.
- dines separately, IV, 43.
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- explanation of term, IX, 8.
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- inherits, IX, 187 note.
- manner of burning dead, V, 167-168.
- may be beaten, VIII, 299-300.
- not to make hoard from husband's property, IX, 199.
- penance for unfaithful, XI, 177-178.
- punishment for defaming, VIII, 275; for forsaking, VIII, 389.
- Wife, qualifications required for, III, 4-11; exceptions, II, 238-240.
- repudiation and supersession, IX, 46, 77-85, 95.
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- Witnesses, conflict of, VIII, 73.
- duty of speaking the truth, VIII, 74, 76.
- exhortation of, VIII, 79-86, 89-101.
- manner of examination, VIII, 87-88.
- moral guilt of perjured, VIII, 75, 82, 89, 93-101; exceptions, VIII, 103-106, 112.
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- persons disqualified to be, VIII, 64-67.
- persons qualified to be, VIII, 62-63; in special cases, VIII, 68-72, 254, 256, 258-262.
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- suffer for others, VIII, 169.
- to whom misfortune happen, pay debt, VIII, 108. See Evidence.
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- special punishment for a, IX, 230.
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- Writing, pp. xcix-ci; VIII, 154 note, 168. See Documents, Edicts.
- Yâg#avalkya-smṛiti, pp. xlviii, xlix, lv, lxxiii, xcix, ci-civ, cvii, cxii.
- Yâg#ikas, pp. xlviii, l.
- Yagur-veda, pp. xvi, lx; I, 23; IV, 124; XI, 263, 265; XII, 112.
- quoted, VIII, 106; XI, 251, 257.
- Yakshas, I, 37; III, 196; XI, 96.
- Yama, III, 87, 211; V, 96; VI, 61; VII, 4, 7; VIII, 86, 92; IX, 303, 307; XII, 17, 21-22.
- Yavana race, pp. cxiv, cxvii; X, 44.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page xx, ll. 26-33. The tradition which asserts that the Gautamiya and Vāsishṭha Dharmaśāstras originally were the property of Vedic schools, studying the Sāma-veda and the Rig-veda, has already been mentioned by Colebrooke in his Essay on the Mīmāṃsā. It goes back to Kumārila, who adduces it in his Vārttika on Mīmāṃsā-sūtra, I, 3, 11 (Tantra-vārttika, p. 179, Benares Sanskrit Series). The same author states there that the Dharmaśāstra of Saṅkha and Likhita belonged to the Vāgasaneyins.
- P. xxxix, *add at the end of note 3*: 'It is, however, found in some other Grīhya-sūtras.'
- P. lvii, *add at the end of note 4*: 'The copy of the Munich MS. No. 83 has मन्ः.'
- P. cxii, l. 1. More important is the fact that Kumārila, who, as I hold with Professor Max Müller, cannot be placed later than 700 A.D., knew our Manu-smṛiti. In the portions of the Tantra-vārttika, published in the Benares Sanskrit Series, I find the following verses quoted, i, 21^b (p. 203, l. 14); ii, 140 (p. 178, l. 8); iv, 178 (p. 138, l. 17); v, 56 (p. 111, l. 11); viii, 57 (p. 199, l. 23); ix, 182 (p. 135, l. 2); xi, 30 (p. 110, l. 19); xi, 93 (p. 136, l. 19); xi, 94 (p. 136, l. 24); xi, 96^b (p. 137, l. 7); xii, 95 (p. 117, l. 20); xii, 105, 106^b (p. 80, l. 18). Most of these quotations show some variae lectiones, which, however, are not very important, and possibly, nay probably, are due to inaccuracy on Kumārila's part. One verse, quoted p. 241, l. 22, is not traceable in our Manu. Kumārila names Manu throughout as the first and most venerable authority on the sacred law. His predecessor, the author of the metrical Tīkā, on the Mīmāṃsā-sūtra, which he quotes at great length, holds the same opinion, and clearly and frequently alludes to our Manu-smṛiti.
- P. 11, ch. I, ver. 19, *add at the end of the note*: 'The idea that seven Purushas make up man, occurs Satapatha-brāhmaṇa VI, 1, 1, 3, and 6.'
- P. 32, ch. II, v. 15, *add at the end of the note*: 'The passages referred to in the text are quoted in the Sabarabhāṣya on Mīmāṃsā-sūtra, II, 4, 8.'
- P. 33, ch. II, v. 21, *for* 'to the east of Prayāga and to the west of Vināṣana' *read* 'to the west of Prayāga and to the east of Vināṣana.'
- P. 39, ch. II, v. 52, *for* 'truthfulness, if he faces the east' *read* 'truthfulness, if he faces the north.'
- P. 58, ch. II, v. 151, *for* 'old enough to be) fathers' *read* 'old enough to be his) fathers.'

- P. 94, ch. III, v. 103 note, *read at the end*: 'âgatam apy atithim na vidyât.'
- P. 101, ch. III, v. 141 note, *for* 'paisakî' *read* 'Paisâkî.'
- P. 105, ch. III, v. 159, *for* 'substances used for flavouring' *read* 'condiments.'
- P. 112, ch. III, v. 202 note, *for* 'akshayâyakalpate' *read* 'akshayâyopak.'
- P. 121, ch. III, v. 251, *for* 'Rest either (here or at home)' *read* 'Take rest.'
- P. 126, ch. III, v. 274 note. The passage quoted by Vigñānēśvara on Yâgñ. I, 217, is to the following effect: 'When the moon stands in the (asterism) sacred to the manes (Maghâb) and the sun in the (asterism) Hasta, that lunar day is sacred to Yama; it is called the elephant's shadow.' Another explanation of the same term from the Malamāsātattva, quoted in the Petersburg Dictionary, asserts that it means an eclipse of the sun.
- P. 137, ch. IV, v. 55, *after* 'let him not take off his garland' *add* '(with his own hands).'
- P. 141, ch. IV, v. 80 note, *add* 'Regarding the consequences of giving spiritual advice to a Sûdra, see also Mah. XIII, 10, 55.'
- P. 144, ch. IV, note to vv. 95-97, *for* 'The Pushya-day is the sixth lunar day of each month' *read* 'The Pushya-day of the month of Pausha is the day of the full moon; see Bâpudeva Sâstrî, note on Sûryasiddhânta, p. 94, s. 16.'
- P. 147, ch. IV, v. 113 note, *add* 'Some parallel passages make the latter meaning more probable.'
- P. 172, ch. V, v. 16 note, *add* 'For Sasalkas on all (occasions,' Medh., Gov.) Ku. proposes 'Sasalkas of all (kinds).'
- P. 182, ch. V, v. 82 note, *for* 'such a one who is mentioned' *read* 'such a one as is mentioned.'
- P. 189, ch. V, v. 115, *for* 'for solid things' *read* 'for things piled up.' The commentators give as examples 'couches, beds, and the like,' and apparently refer to the cushions and mattresses used for such purposes.
- P. 199, ch. VI, v. 6. The translation 'a dress made of bark or grass' ought to be placed in the text, instead of 'a tattered garment.'
- P. 206, ch. VI, v. 43 note, *for the first* 'asamkasukab' *read* 'asamkusukab.'
- P. 222, ch. VII, v. 43. In accordance with the explanation of Medh., 'the science of dialectics, (which gives) self-knowledge' ought to be inserted in the text, instead of 'the science of dialectics and the knowledge of the (supreme) Soul;' see Introduction, p. xxxvii.
- P. 234, ch. VII, v. 118 note, *insert* 'or Mahattara' *after* 'Grâmakûta,' *and* 'are' *before* 'the so-called haks.'
- P. 241, ch. VII, v. 157, *for* 'consists)' *read* '(consists).'
- Pages 253, 255, superscription, *for* 'ceremonial' *read* 'criminal.'
- P. 253, ch. VIII, v. 4 note, *insert at beginning* 'Rinasyâdânām.'
- P. 257, ch. VIII, v. 25 note, *for* 'âkâra' *read* 'âkâra' (twice).

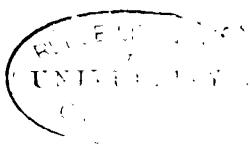
- P. 263, ch. VIII, v. 53 note, *for* 'apadesam' *read* 'adesam.'
- P. 265, ch. VIII, v. 65 note, *for* 'includes according to Nâr., Gov., Nand., Medh. also ascetics,' *read* 'includes according to Nâr., Gov., Medh. also ascetics, or, refers to the latter alone, Nand.'
- P. 288, ch. VIII, v. 192 note, *for* 'Nâr. takes' *read* 'Nâr. and Nand. take.'
- P. 292, ch. VIII, v. 210 note. Add after the quotation from Âsv. Srauta-sûtra, 'Âp. Srauta-sûtra XIII, 5, 12.'
- P. 295, ch. VIII, v. 227 note, *dele* 'Nand. omits this verse and the next.'
- P. 295, ch. VIII, v. 228 note, *add* 'Nand. omits this verse.'
- P. 296, ch. VIII, v. 237 note, *add after* 'The samyâ is,' 'either the wedge at the yoke, or.'
- P. 308, ch. VIII, v. 309 note, *for* 'who takes the goods of Brâhmanas or injures them' *read* 'who takes the goods of Brâhmanas, injures, or abandons them.'
- P. 331, ch. IX, v. 20 note, *add* 'The Pratîka of this verse is quoted by Vi. LXXIII, 12; see also Âp. Srauta-sûtra I, 9, 9, where a somewhat different version occurs.'
- P. 339, ch. IX, vv. 64-68 note, *for* 'Aupagandhani' *read* 'Aupagaṅghani,' which latter is the correct form of the name.
- P. 352, ch. IX, v. 128 note, *add* 'The story agrees exactly with Mah. XII, 343, 57; see also Vishṇu-purâṇa, vol. ii, p. 10 (ed. Hall).'
- P. 362, ch. IX, v. 170, *for* 'Gûdhotpanna' *read* 'Gûdhotpanna.'
- P. 398, ch. IX, v. 315 note, *add at end*, 'see also Mah. XIII, 33, 17.'
- P. 399, ch. IX, v. 323. Mah. XII, 65, 1 seq. recommend âhave deha-tyâgam, 'death in battle,' for a king.
- P. 405, ch. X, v. 19 note, *for* 'the name of caste' *read* 'the name of the caste.'
- P. 406, ch. X, v. 22. The form Likkbivi for Likkbavi actually occurs.
- P. 407, *ibid.*, *for* 'waters' *read* 'water.'
- P. 416, ch. X, v. 64 note, *for* 'Sacred Books of the East, II,' *read* 'S. B. E. XIV.'
- P. 425, ch. X, v. 111, *for* 'offering sacrifices for teaching' *read* 'offering sacrifices for, or, teaching.'
- P. 443, ch. XI, v. 64 note, *add* 'Yâ. III, 240 favours Nâr.'s explanation of mahâyāntṛapṛavartana.'
- P. 457, ch. XI, v. 134, *for* 'a spade of black iron' *read* 'a mattock of black iron.'
- P. 479, ch. XI, v. 242, *for* 'penance' *read* 'austerity' (twice).
- P. 480, ch. XI, v. 250, *for* '(that seen) by Vasishṭha' *read* 'the three verses (seen) by Vasishṭha.' *Make the same correction in the note, and add*, 'the correct reading in the text is prati tryikam.'
- P. 481, ch. XI, v. 253, *add at the end*, or, 'Thus, verily thus.'
- P. 512, ch. XII, v. 120 note, *add* 'Compare for this verse and the next, Rig-veda X, 90, 13-14.'

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pahlavi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.		III Class.								
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k			क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
2 " aspirata	kh			ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh	
3 Media	g			ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗		
4 " aspirata	gh			घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘		
5 Gutturo-labialis	q			ङ	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙		
6 Nasalis	h (ng)			ङ	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚		
7 Spiritus asper	h			ह	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	h, hs	
8 " lenis	,			ह	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜		
9 " asper faucalis	'h			ह	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝		
10 " lenis faucalis	'h			ह	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞		
11 " asper fricatus		'h		ह	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟		
12 " lenis fricatus		'h		ह	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠		
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis		k		क	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	k	
14 " aspirata		kh		ख	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	kh	
15 Media		g		ग	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣		
16 " aspirata		gh		घ	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥		
17 " Nasalis		ñ		ङ	𐬦	𐬦	𐬦	𐬦	𐬦		

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .		य	𐬨𐬀 𐬨𐬀 𐬨𐬀	𐬨	𐬨	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper	. . .	(y)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 " lenis	. . .	(y)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 " asper assibilatus	. . .	s		श	𐬱𐬀	𐬱𐬀	𐬱𐬀	ش	ש	. . .
22 " lenis assibilatus	. . .	z		. . .	𐬱𐬀	𐬱𐬀	𐬱𐬀	ز	ז	z
Dentales.										
23 Tennis	t	. . .		त	𐬢𐬀	𐬢𐬀	𐬢𐬀	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th	. . .		थ	𐬢𐬀	𐬢𐬀	𐬢𐬀	ת	ת	th
25 " assibilata	. . .	. . .		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .		द	𐬢𐬀	𐬢𐬀	𐬢𐬀	ד	ד	. . .
27 " aspirata	dh	. . .		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
28 " assibilata	. . .	. . .		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .		न	𐬢𐬀	𐬢𐬀	𐬢𐬀	נ	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .		ल	𐬢𐬀	𐬢𐬀	𐬢𐬀	ל	ל	l
31 " mollis 1	. . .	l		𐬢𐬀	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 " mollis 2	. . .	. . .		𐬢𐬀	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .		स	𐬢𐬀	𐬢𐬀	𐬢𐬀	ס	ס	s
34 " asper 2	. . .	s (ʃ)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
35 " lenis	z	. . .		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
36 " asperimus 1	. . .	z (ʒ)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
37 " asperimus 2	. . .	z (ʒ)		. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.		III Class.							
	I Class.	II Class.								
1 Neutralis	0			ॐ					—	ā
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē								—	ā
3 " labialis	ō								—	ā
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬀	—	—	—	ā
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐬁	𐬁	—	—	—	ā
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬂	𐬂	—	—	—	i
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐬃	𐬃	—	—	—	ī
8 Dentalis brevis	ē			ए	𐬄	𐬄	—	—	—	ē
9 " longa	ī			ऐ	𐬅	𐬅	—	—	—	ī
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			रि	𐬆	𐬆	—	—	—	ri
11 " longa	rī			री	𐬇	𐬇	—	—	—	rī
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ	𐬈	𐬈	—	—	—	u
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ	𐬉	𐬉	—	—	—	ū
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	𐬊	𐬊	—	—	—	e
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21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		आउ	𐬑	𐬑	—	—	—	āu
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